GENERAL CORRESPONDENCE, 1943 - 1987

BAYARD RUSTIN - CORRESPONDENCE 1943

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Letters from Pvt. Alton Levy - 32333639
The Guard House
Lincoln Air Base
Lincoln, Nebraska

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July 28, 1943

I told you, I think, that we have about 300 Negro illiterates we are training. Well, - they finally segregated them in barracks about two miles from where we stay.

Most of the whites in charge of them are Southerners. Naturally, - as a result, - they are treated like dogs. They are kept in camp while the others are allowed out. They sleep in old canvas cots while the others sleep in the new army cots with mattresses and "all the trimmin's". And, they are hounded and harrassed and yelled at and cursed and insulted and generally treated abominably.

They're afraid to move. They get no sympathy and no help. It's unbelievable. I have had ever so many fights about it. I've argued and protested but all in vain. Today, the Commanding Officer asked me if I wanted to take charge of the office they've set up in the Negro area. I immediately said yes and was assigned there. Actually, nobody else wanted it. All of the drill instructors and teachers have refused to live in this area with the men even though it means hoofing two miles each morning in order to get to them. I have moved down here a nd am, so far, the only white living in the area. I don't know how much good I'll be able to do for them. I may be able to get them more passes and a recreation hall for themselves. Treatment is usually a reflection of the officer in cha rge so changes will depend upon his attitude.

I have been protesting against the treatment they have been getting ever since I arrived here. At staff meetings and in sessions with the officers I have made my criticism clear. In fact, while I have not been the only one to feel this way, I have been the only one to make my feelings public to officers and enlisted men.

Already, I am called "Nigger Lover," - etc. They can't understand me (the whites, I mean). "How can you live with them and use the same toilet?" That sort of stuff. For my part I like it. It's interesting and besides, I'm curious to see exactly how much I can do with them. I only wish I had more control and authority over them than I do. This way my hands are tied.

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August 5, 1943

As I feared, - a blow-up finally did take place. The other night a group of our boys tangled with a group of Mexican illiterates in the latrine. Knives were used and when they proved insufficient they broke toilet seats in half and beat each others brains out. Four men are seriously hurt - in the hospital. Scores more have bumps, bruises, blackeyes and sundry marks of battle. At 2:30 in the morning they found a Staff Sgt. unconscious on the road, his face and body slashed and his head battered. He's not expected to live. It was quite a row! It took a major, two captains, three lieutenants and fifteen M.P.'s with machine guns to break it up finally. This time, it just so happens that

it was a fight between the Negroes and Mexicans. The next time the whites will be involved. It must be. The treatment they got has so aroused them that some slight incident will set off the spark. It was the same mistreatment, abuse, and segregation that was at the bottom of the Detroit, Beaumont and Harlem riots. Of course, there were other factors, in each of these cases, of varying degrees of importance, but the basic cause is the same in each case. And it's the same here.

It's a little disheartening, as I mentioned before. There just isn't anything that can be done. I mean by me. And those who can do something either don't know what to do, - or, as is most generally the case, - don't want to do anything to better the lot of the Negro. Bad as the problem has been and is now - it will loom as one of the greatest and most ticklish of all post-war nuts to crack.

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August 9, 1943

Things are happening to me here - but fast.

Today our Major called me in and told me to meet him at Base Headquarters at 1 o'clock. He didn't know what it was all about so he couldn't enlighten me. I couldn't imagine what it was either.

We were ushered into a Lt. Colonel's office. He and another Major and Captain were there. They invited us to sit down. The Lt.-Col. cleared his throat and then said, "Sgt. Levy, - you are charged with a very serious offense and before you answer any questions you are to know that we have sworn statement concerning certain remarks attributed to you. So, don't deny anything we may have sworn statements about in this office." Then he proceeded to read from two typewritten sheets.

What he read were statements allegedly made by me to "witnesses". There were remarks about the General and his wife, about the running of the post, about Lincoln (Nebraska) politics and the effect of it upon the post, about the Negroes and the way they are mistreated and a host of others. What seemed to be causing the greatest concern were my statements about the handling of the Negro situation. The only statements I made around here were about the handling of the Negro troops. I admitted these statements, elaborated upon them at their "request" and denied in no uncertain terms all the other statements attributed to me. They asked me about the union I had worked for (I.L.G.W.U.) and the college I had attended (City College) and as much as told me that they thought I was guilty of a carefully planned, scurrilous campaign to undermine morale and discredit the base and the Commanding General and his wife.

Actually the important thing is that they seem to have had a pretty complete dossier on me. They shot a million questions at me. The Major and Captain who were there when I came in were Intelligence Officers. Finally the Lt.-Col. barked at me, "You know, Sgt., we have witnesses who are prepared to testify against you at court-martial proceedings. You don't think we called you up here without a good case." I said, "Sir, I imagine you must have felt you had a basis for calling me in but except for the remarks I admit making, the other statements attributed to me are untrue." They then dismissed me. It's pretty clear to me from their attitude that I'm going to be court-martialed. They'll throw the book at me because, as he indicated, this is the "first time" such a case has happened on the base.

But, it's all sort of hopeless. They seem to have me dead to rights. I have no doubt but that they can get witnesses to "prove" that I made those remarks. So, I'm ordered back to work, warned not to discuss the interview with anyone and told to await further call. They have to "decide" whether or not to court-martial me. The decision is, of course, foregone.

Oh yes, - I'm restricted to the post; my pass was taken away. Not "under arrest" you understand, but not to leave the post - - until they set the case up against me.

So much for that. It may even be that they are "unofficially" looking through my mail. For three days now I haven't received any, - a very unusual situation.

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August 16, 1943
11 A. M.

You may be pleased to know that I was court-martialed Friday afternoon. No, I'm not kidding. I was hailed before a Special Court Martial of seven officers and tried. The verdict hasn't yet been announced. There have been three postponements so far because of the inability of the court to make its mind up. I will know my fate for sure on Monday afternoon.

On Friday morning I was called in by the Trial Judge Advocate and informed that I was to be tried. I was given a copy of the charges, allowed to see all of the statements made against me and introduced to the defense counsel. I asked for permission to do my own cross-examining of witnesses and made my own sumation. The Lt. I was "given" merely sat by to advise on purely legalistic questions.

The defense counsel read the charge sheet and the evidence and said, "They have no case at all. They will never be able to prove either that you made the remarks or that there was any malicious intent in what you did say, but... .....you will be convicted."

He went on to explain that he thought that the Court would be "afraid" of offending the higher authorities and would therefore find against me despite the weakness of the prosecution's case. Naturally, I felt fine when he told me that. It was at that moment that I first suspected that he was not quite the type of person I would like to have "defend" me. I asked him if he would mind if I did most of my own defense. He was very agreeable about it. In fact, I think he was secretly relieved by my suggestion. He certainly did not relish the assignment.

The charge was violation of the 96th Article of War (conduct unbecoming a soldier). It is a very handy instrument in the army. Under it you can "get" anyone for almost anything you want. It is an ideal "frame-up" agency. It was under this Article of War, for example, that they framed Billie Mitchell. And so I was arraigned under that also. Within the charge there were three separate specifications.

1) In that Sgt. Alton I. Levy did wilfully and maliciously make the following false statements on such and such a date to Cpl. Helen Perkins, (a WAC)

2) The same

3) The same except that I made this statement to another woman.

To explain the sudden entrance of these Mata Haris in my life.....I had a date with this WAC. The other dame is one that another Sgt. and I "met" at the bar of a local hotel one night. We stayed in town last Saturday and on Sunday we called this gal and she asked us over to the house. Well, the gist of all this, if you haven't already gotten it, is that both the WAC and the other girl turned us in for alleged statements. The WAC in fact, had a field day. She had dates with five of the men in my outfit and we were all turned in by her. Watch the peculair connection though. The men were Rothman, Greenbaum, Josephson, Levy and Bolton. Bolton, the only Aryan to be turned in, was the guy who visited with me at the home of the girl we met at the bar. As it develops it was a good thing that he was there because it was his testimony which definitely cleared me of the charge she made against me, - that I had deliberately made the positive statement that Mrs. Duncan (wife of the General) owned the bus line and that the General was a drunkard. He was so indignant about this and genuinely so, that he made a wonderful impression on the court.

All the other "non-Aryans" were called and questioned about remarks they were supposed to have made but most of the questions they were asked were about me. Did they ever hear me make remarks about the Negroes? Did I ever say the Negroes were mistreated? etc., etc. Naturally they denied all knowledge. Oh yes, the intelligence officers tried to make them admit that they knew me in civilian life. Two of the boys went to City College so they tried to connect us that way. But, nothing came of all that.

They called in the WAC. She testified that I had made all those statements to her and that I was very serious when I made them and that she was shocked, etc., etc. I cross-examined. She admitted that she thought I was reprehensible and unpatriotic and all sorts of other things because I had made those statements. Then I asked, "If you thought all that, Cpl. Perkins, why did you have a date with me three days after I made the remarks?" Prosecution protested but I argued that that was a proper question and the court agreed and allowed it. She sputtered but couldn't answer the question.

I also established that she hadn't turned me in until four days after I was supposed to have made the statements. She couldn't explain why she hadn't reported me sooner. And, I also made her admit that maybe I didn't make all of the statements she said I did and that maybe some of the others weren't quite the same as they appeared in the charge sheet. It was merely her "impression" that this was so. She was a very bad witness and did herself and the prosecution no good at all.

Then this Sgt. Bolton was called and he clared me of the charge that the other girl had made (concerning the General and his wife). And then I was called to the stand. My defense counsel steered me through my story which was merely a complete denial of all the charges and an admission of the statements about the Negroes. I wouldn't deny them if I could, I said them and I still say them. I was on the stand for over two hours under cross-examination.

Court was finally closed and they deliberated for an hour. Then we were called in and asked another question. Finally it was announced that court would be carried over until Saturday. Again they reopened for an hour and again they called us in. This time the court wanted to know what to do if they wanted to

find the accused not guilty of all counts but guilty of a charge that may have come up, in some of the evidence that was presented. The prosecution then said that there was nothing that had come up which, in his opinion, warranted any other charges and that in such a case they would be obliged to find me not guilty on all counts. Again they adjourned this time until Monday. The Trial Judge Advocate told my lawyer that he was pretty sure I'd be acquitted. Of course, there is no telling until the verdict is announced but it looks pretty good for our side. He also said he thought the two girls were complete liars and that they may have been plants, which is what I also think.

They were out to get me. There is no doubt about that anymore. Luckily for me I was tried before a new Court. Mine was the third case they had heard. They were still fresh and still able to maintain interest in a case. Now I have to be trebly careful because, smarting under the string of this seeming defeat, they will undoubtedly try something else.

Keep your fingers crossed for me. It appears now that I will be completely acquitted. If they only hold the same opinions on Monday!

Billie Mitchell and me! Actually, although I joke about it, it was a very rotten, nasty business. It was a real frame. And the most significant thing of all is that they have a very, very complete dossier on me.

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August 16, 1943
10:30 P.M.

Is my face red. I thought I was such a hot lawyer. Imagine my surprise when I was found guilty today of all charges. Just like that. Starting today I go to the guardhouse for four months at hard labor plus reduction to private plus an 18 dollar a month forfeiture of pay for four months. I can't say more than that now. I am racing against time. The guard will be here for me shortly.

All mail in and out - is censored there so be careful of what you write and tell all others to be also. There is no logic to this. They had no case, - everyone including the prosecutor admitted that but here I am on the way to the hoose-gow. It is as close to a frame as I have ever dreamed of being. Resentment is high. I am practically a martyr but I serve the time none-the-less.

The only good thing about it all is that an investigation of the treatment of the Negroes is under way by the Administrative Inspector and the Inspector General. Also the men as of yesterday are being given three passes a week. So, though I am getting it - as I expected - these poor Negroes are getting a bit of a break. More soon. But please be careful of what you write. It will all be read before I get it. Write often. That's all I'll have to look forward to these next few months.

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Released by:
National Headquarters
Workers Defense League
112 East 19th Street
New York 3, N. Y.

LETTERS FROM PVT. ALTON LEVY (32333639)
The Guard House
Army Air Base
Lincoln, Nebraska

August 18, 1943

Physically I'm in fine shape and what with hard labor, lots of walking and calisthenics I'll be in even better shape after four months. But, as I say - that's my physical condition. Here I am, a prisoner of two days standing, and already the word freedom has taken on a greater meaning and significance. Prisons being instruments of punishment I guess all this is in order, but aside from all else, it's a very humiliating and demoralizing experience.

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August 27, 1943

One week of hard labor is over and I'm none the worse for it physically. Of course, comes evening I have no trouble falling asleep and I've lost 11 lbs. but I am, despite all that, in good shape. Today I was called very suddenly and whisked thru an overseas physical examination. What that portends seems clear, but nothing, of course, has been said yet officially. I've been reconciled to that for a long while now, as you know, and in fact, from some aspects, it's an experience I look forward to; it's the way it was done that doesn't quite appeal to me.

I never thought I'd find myself appreciating some of the humorous aspects of prison, but I am. One of the guards is an ambling, hulking Mortimer Snerd-ish sort of boy. He works hard and does his job well but he's a little ill at ease. He's fresh off the farm and is just about feeling his oats. He hears the other guards yell commands or admonitions at us and somehow he feels that, being a guard also, he too should yell something. And so, at the craziest times he comes out with a quavery sort of half-shriek, "Dress it up." (Meaning to straighten our lines.) As yet he hasn't yelled it at a time when it was appropriate but at least he yells and is therefore a full-fledged guard and his chest swells as he swings happily along. One of these days he'll yell "At ease" and we'll all faint at his varied vocabulary. It's screamingly funny but we daren't laugh since we march at attention. It's a combined Thurber-Price-Hoff cartoon! There are other little things to keep me from going crazy but they must wait on another letter.

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September 6, 1943

Tuesday, I was called in to Headquarters and interviewed by a Lt.-Col. who had just flown in from Washington - under orders of the Secretary of War - to investigate my case. Obviously, he had the letter to McCloy with him. He questioned me about the entire case for over an hour. He also asked about other more or

(more)

less related matters. Regarding the appeal: Capt. Cavanaugh, the Provost Marshall called Hq. for me to ask for a record of the trial. Their answer was "None available." If that means they won't give me one or there are "none available" - I don't know. The point is I don't have and can't get a record. The Col. interviewed everyone in any way connected with the case. He was a very nice guy and a very, very smart one. He didn't miss a trick. Everyone - especially me - is amazed at the swiftness and high origin of this investigation. It has everyone guessing.

If only I could see one of you and talk to you! One letter a week permits no exchange of any sort. This is by far my worst punishment.

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September 9, 1943

I've been getting scores of letters, - wonderful, heart-warming, friendly letters, mostly from people I know, but also from complete strangers. Needless to add, the letters and what many of them hint at, give me a fairly rough idea of what must have taken place and probably still is taking place. More than anything else, I'm embarrassed by it. What, after all, did I do that was so unusual and so deserving of bravos? After 15 years how could I do otherwise and what right have others to expect less? The "extraordinariness" of the whole thing is, I think, being exaggerated. What courage did it take? You do certain things because you believe them to be so right that it's a natural reaction. I couldn't have done otherwise. So all these "eulogies," wonderful as they are, make me blush. What a sad commentary on our weakness and smallness of size if such an ordinary thing can elicit such a reaction!

As yet, I've heard nothing of the investigation that was held last week. Frankly, I am not optimistic about the results. An appeal seems out also since in one small letter a week I cannot discuss the details of the case sufficiently. Also, I cannot get a trial record.

There is much to tell of "improvements" that have been made since my difficulties took place. There have been many. Significantly - once officially called "colored area," the section is now officially named <u>North</u> Area. There is much else but how can I tell you on one small sheet of paper? By the way, can you, in some way call to the attention of my friends and acquaintances that I can write but one sheet a week and therefore cannot answer them. But, as I've said before, have them all write. I have nothing else to keep me going on an even keel. Also, I can get no reading matter or food stuff. Only mail, cigarettes, shaving cream, etc. And that's an appeal <u>only</u> for mail, believe me. By the way, I'd be remiss if I didn't pay tribute to a really fine person who has worked his head off to help. I mean the Jewish Chaplain, Lt. Proth, who has been magnificent. More about him later. He's a man of action and a surprisingly swell guy. Sunday, one of my visitors agreed to write a letter, from me to my dad, who is still, I hope, unaware of all this. I gave him a slip with my dad's name and address. I was turned in for this since it's a violation of prison regulations to give visitors anything except a broad hello. As a result, I may get a week of solitary confinement on a bread and water diet. I'm so anxious not to hurt and upset him in his present condition that I guess my better judgment was warped. C'est la guerre! My deepest heartfelt thanks to all. All my chins are up. Carry on!

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Bayard.

CORRESPONDENCE RELATING TO SEGREGATION IN FEDERAL PRISONS

September 24, 1943

A. J. Muste to
James V. Bennett, Director, Bureau of Prisons

The occasion for the work strike in which some of the conscientious objectors are engaged and for the events preceding it—and in the case of some of the men, the basic cause of the strike—is the issue of segregation or Jim Crowism. I understand that an incident on the farm set things in motion. The table or tables at which Negroes ate were filled when a colored Jehovah's Witness was added to the group. The C.O.s suggested that this man be permitted to eat at the table with the White persons who were willing to associate in this way with the colored man. This was forbidden. The Negro was made to eat in the kitchen and even there was not permitted to sit at the same table with others but was put all by himself

This seemed to the C.O s such a flagrant and utterly unnecessary act of discrimination that they felt they could not continue to eat in the dining room. Except, therefore, for a little food which was given them by other prisoners, they fasted. After a few days they felt that they were too weak to continue to work.

About the same time, not, it would appear, as a result of deliberate planning that it should coincide, some of the C.O.s in prison signed a petition asking that those Negroes and Whites who wished to do so should be permitted to eat at an interracial table. I believe that the petition also included a request that Negroes and Whites wishing to do so should be permitted to be housed together in an interracial cell block.

The difference of opinion between officials and C.O s appears not to be as to the general principles of opposition to segregation and Jim Crowism; but over the question whether the specific steps toward further abolition of segregation could be taken without serious disturbance, possibly violence, resulting. The officials say "no"; the C O s say, "yes".

In support of the opinion that serious disturbance could not have been avoided, the officials point to the tension already existing in the nation and hold that this naturally reflects in the prison population. I believe that a considerable number of persons from the South, both White and Negro, have been added to the Lewisburg population. The fact that there were certain expressions, in the way of petitions and otherwise, against the proposal for an interracial table, is also pointed to. It is said that there were men on the farm who insisted that if there was to be interracial eating, they wanted to go back to the prison. The C O s contended that the steps proposed could have been taken without serious disturbance. I was impressed by the fact that Barnett Junker, whom I know well and who has been in prison a long time and has been rated as a trusted and cooperative person, firmly shares this conviction. The men point out that there is already a great deal of free mingling of the races—at work, on the farm, in educational classes, and recreation rooms. They take showers separately on certain days, but together on Saturday. During the quarantine period, Negroes and Whites live in the same cell block. It is admitted that there were expressions of opposition to the proposed changes. It is held that some of the guards or attendants helped to stir up this opposition—for example, were over-heard to say that the cause of the trouble was that "some Communists at the farm want to make you sleep with Niggers". I believe that Barnett Junker and two others were kept for twelve hours, when they indicated that they could no longer sleep in a cell block under segregation conditions, in a place where large numbers of inmates could see them, under circumstances

that naturally stirred excitement. It is also thought that petitions of this kind are probably signed by a good many men because they think the authorities want them to do so and because, for various reasons, they do not want to incur ill-favor--"stick their necks out". I gathered that some of the very men on the farm who signed the statement above-referred to at the same time passed food to the men who were on hunger strike. In some respects, the C.O.s feel that the situation with regard to race relationships is bad at Lewisburg, perhaps even deteriorating. For example, formerly there were Negroes in certain favored cell blocks; now they have been moved. Some of them protested vigorously when this was done. No Negroes work in the general kitchen; on the other hand, janitors in corridors are all Negroes. Negroes are not given the opportunity to teach classes in the education department. There is no Negro hospital attendant (I am not certain I use the correct term here). One of the key people in one of the clinics is a Negro but his designation in spite of the important nature of the work he does is that of janitor.

On the other hand, the C.O.s feel that some progress has been made. A Negro has recently for the first time been employed on a first-class job in the prison industry

It is recognized that in racial matters inmates and prison attendants have certain habit patterns and emotional reactions and that an effort to deal with these in a spirit of reconciliation and understanding is necessary. It is hoped that the prison authorities will also recognize the problem which is created for C.O.s by their strong convictions and feelings relating to interracial brotherhood.

William Sutherland (Negro) would be willing to go to work if he were permitted to sleep and eat in his present quarters. He feels that he can no longer conscientiously sleep and eat under segregation conditions I think this is also pretty much the attitude of Barnett Junker The other five men in this group have similar feelings on the segregation issue; but in addition they feel that they cannot conscientiously cooperate with a prison regime which they regard as authoritarian and injurious to those who are subjected to it.

At a time when the nation is engaged in war against racism and when such measures as the President's Proclamation establishing the Fair Employment Practices Committee are advanced, it would seem that a creative solution of this racial problem might be found.

James V. Bennett, Dir., Bureau of Prisons
to A. J. Muste

October 1, 1943

Thank you for your letter of September 24, giving us an analysis of your visit to the conscientious objectors at Lewisburg who are declining to cooperate.

In the matter of racial relations, it would appear that there is no problem as to equality of treatment as between negroes and white prisoners but, rather, simply one which involves a difference of opinion as to which is the better method of approaching this question. As you point out, a few conscientious objectors take the position that such equality can only be established by non-separation of the races whereas after very thoughtful consideration the prison authorities feel it can best be achieved through separation in line with the generally accepted practice in the community at large. We are sorry if this small group of men cannot agree with us, but since we have to take the responsibility for deciding between these two courses we will continue to do the best we can on the basis which has been adapted.

? Since the position which we have taken is one approved by many leading sociologists and idealists both white and negro, as well as by society in general, the question at issue is not one of race relations but simply one of who will determine the proper policy of race relations we shall adopt at Lewisburg. It seems hardly reasonable for six or seven prisoners to insist upon their point of view as against those in charge at the institution who must bear in mind the safety of the institution and the well-being of 15,000 other prisoners as well as many other problems.

J. Muste to October 14, 1943
James V. Bennett, Director, Bureau of Prisons

Referring to that portion of your letter of October 1, 1943, which has to do with the matter of segregation of Negroes and whites in Lewisburg and other federal institutions under your direction, I am distressed over your unqualified declaration that the official policy is one of Jim Crow, i.e. segregation. You state that "after very thoughtful consideration, the prison authorities feel that it (i.e. equality of treatment as between Negroes and whites) can best be achieved through separation in line with the generally accepted practice in the community at large".

May I point out, in the first place, that what you assert to be the official policy is not consistently carried out in the institutions under your direction. It is admitted by all concerned that there is already a good deal of free mingling of the races -- at work, on the farm, in educational classes and recreation rooms. On Saturdays, though not on other days, they take showers together. Newly arrived inmates at Lewisburg live together in one cell-block during the so-called quarantine period, though they are subsequently segregated. Thus the segregation policy, if it ever was in a thorough-going sense the policy of the Bureau of Prisons, has -- fortunately, in my opinion -- already been considerably modified. The problem is, therefore, not whether an established policy is for the first time to be broken, but whether a seemingly modest step in the direction of further liberalization can and should be taken. It still seems to me, as I suggested in my letter of September 24, that "at a time when the nation is engaged in war against racism, and when such measures as the President's Proclamation establishing the Fair Employment Practices Committee are advanced," it should be possible to find a "creative solution of this racial problem" in the Federal prisons in the direction indicated.

In the second place, in so far as Jim Crow is the policy of the Federal Bureau of Prisons, I deprecate it and must protest and urge that this un-American policy be abandoned. It is not possible to provide genuine "equality of treatment" in job opportunity, education and in other respects where segregation obtains. Where it does, the minority group in one way or other receives inferior treatment.

The mere fact that individuals are segregated on the basis of race and color means that they are not being dealt with on the basis of individual character and attainment but on the basis of accident of birth. This is utterly repugnant to democratic and Christian principles, and an expression of the racist attitudes against which this nation is supposedly struggling today. I cannot believe that the present national administration will support such a policy.

It is still, unfortunately, the policy of certain organizations and many individuals in this country, but our hopes for the advancement of democracy and brotherhood in our own land, and throughout the world depend on the education of such organizations and persons in a more truly American and Christian attitude as set forth in official pronouncements of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, and other bodies. And I believe we have a right, in view of its declared principles, to look to the Federal government and its various departments to give leadership in this task. Failure to do so can only lead to national catastrophe.

This communication has received the endorsement of the National Executive Committee of the Fellowship of Reconciliation. We are eager to cooperate in every possible way to reach a solution of a problem which we all recognize as a serious and complicated one.

Edith Lovejoy Pierce
845 Chalmers Place
Chicago, Ill.

OUR FATHER

(To Bayard Rustin)

Seeing but soul in the candescent head,
Seeing but unrefracted light, God said:
"There are no shades of race in humankind".
-- The most exalted One is color-blind.

Edith Lovejoy Pierce

October 6, 1942

A STATEMENT REGARDING MR. PALMER'S REPORTS ON STANLEY MURPHY

On two occasions the mimeographed sheet called INFORMATION, sent from the American Friends Service Committee C.P.S., has seen fit to print without comment statements by Charles Palmer relating to the Bureau of Prisons and Stanley Murphy. Mr. Palmer is much impressed with the Bureau of Prisons.

In spite of considerable caution born of experience and an inborn scepticism which wants all the available data before coming to conclusions I, too, was impressed by the Bureau of Prisons. The reforms initiated by Sanford Bates were good. The physical equipment of the Federal Prisons is relatively fine. Within the limitations of its zealously guarded authoritarianism, some genuine efforts have been made to rehabilitate some prisoners. Knowing this I was predisposed in favor of the Federal Bureau of Prisons. If one is ready to take them at their face value, the intentions of the Bureau of Prisons are good and some of their intentions have been carried out. Consequently I can understand that a well disposed individual, accustomed to seeing the best in others and not probing too rigorously beneath the surface, might well be sincerely impressed by the Federal Bureau of Prisons.

If Mr. Palmer had been content with conveying his impressions of the good intentions of the Bureau of Prisons I would not bother to take issue with him. Unfortunately he has gone much farther than this and claims to be a well informed reporter who knows what he is talking about, and in his eagerness to defend the Prison Bureau he has attempted to discredit Stanley Murphy. He does not straightforwardly take issue with Stanley and state an honest disagreement with him nor does he say in so many words that Stanley cannot be trusted. Instead he attacks by innuendo and inference, sugar coating it all with a sanctimonious piety which consciously or unconsciously is intended to injure Murphy far more than any honest straight-from-the-shoulder words. This sort of thing may be due to an innocence which passeth my understanding, but regardless of the conscious motives of Mr. Palmer his latest report must be answered.

From the beginning Murphy and Taylor refused to cooperate in prison because they wished to protest against conscription, believing that other C.O.s should not be in prison. Their hunger strike was directed against many restrictions placed on C.O.s which could be removed under the existing law. They stopped the hunger strike when they were assured that there would be a liberalization of the plans under which C.O.s could be paroled. They continued to refuse to cooperate in prison as a protest against the conscription law itself. Mr. Palmer in statements to Mrs. Murphy and others has declared that this stand by Murphy and Taylor is a mistake which is doing pacifists more harm than good. I disagree with him, but I grant him the right to his opinion and believe that he should be given every opportunity to state the reasons for believing as he does. Here we have an honest difference of opinion.

But Mr. Palmer does not stop there. In order to defend the prison system he feels it necessary to imply that Murphy is untrustworthy and that there is little real foundation for the charges made by Murphy and passed on by me. He infers that Murphy's word is unreliable because in one instance Murphy, who is an honest man, admitted, according to Mr. Palmer, that he did not see a certain man actually beaten. He does not deny the truth of Murphy's charge that an insane prisoner was placed in a strip cell lined with tile walls where he was permitted to injure himself so that his wounds had to be dressed. Instead he seems to accept such treatment as a matter of course. Nor does Mr. Palmer deny or even refer to the fact that a hose was turned on this man before he was taken out to have his wounds dressed. This story as well as the beating of Murphy has been confirmed by a prisoner recently released from Springfield who states that beatings occur in the hospital at Springfield on an average of three or four a week, and that he himself saw Stanley bleeding from the mouth after he had been beaten.

Mr. Palmer carefully refrains from condemning the action of the prison authorities in the hospital at Springfield in placing Murphy and Taylor in the insane section of the hospital before placing Murphy in a strip cell. He tells us nothing as to how frequently the threat of being treated as insane is used as a punitive measure in that hospital. He seems to have no awareness of the fact that being treated as a vicious animal and placed in a cell without clothing is far more demeaning and psychologically diabolical than physical violence. Instead he informs us that Murphy could have written an uncensored letter to the authorities in Washington telling them of his treatment.

This is manifestly absurd. How does a man confined without clothing in a strip cell communicate with anyone? If Mr. Palmer believes that authorities who would inflict this kind of punishment would permit an uncensored communication to be forwarded to Washington, he is indeed innocent; yet his innocence takes on strange wiles and subtlety when it comes to discrediting Murphy. I have had prison wardens admit to me that beatings and other things occur in prison which never come to the attention of the warden. Some wardens will do their best to correct this situation and others will not. Some deliberately wink at it. Anyone acquainted with prisons knows this to be true. Mr. Bennett knows it and I am sure in his more candid moments would unhesitatingly admit it. In the case of Murphy the warden was responsible for everything except the alleged beating.

Mr. Palmer gives us none of this information. For that we must go to Mr. Bennett's released report of the investigation at Springfield which is far franker and more revealing than anything given us by Mr. Palmer.

Mr. Bennett's report admits that Murphy and Taylor were treated as psychotic patients and confined in the insane section of the hospital. It admits that Murphy was placed in a strip cell. It admits that this was bad judgment and does not brush it aside as a mere "mistake" which is the only word Mr. Palmer uses. By using the word mistake

Mr. Palmer implies that mistreatment occurred against the desires of the warden at Springfield and that those who perpetrated the misdeeds would be punished. He offers no proof of this and Mr. Bennett keeps his own counsel. At no time has Mr. Bennett been willing to publish Mr. Austin MacCormick's report in full. Mr. Palmer discloses that Mr. MacCormick's presence in Springfield, after the atrocities charged by Murphy, was complete assurance that all was well. Yet we do not know exactly what Mr. MacCormick reported or recommended, nor have we the slightest assurance from Mr. MacCormick or anyone else that his report was acted upon in a manner which would abolish some of the abuses at the Federal Prison Hospital. There are those who say that Mr. MacCormick's report to Mr. Bennett was as different from Mr. Palmer's as day is from night, but so far all communications with Mr. MacCormick have been confidential.

If Mr. Palmer is able to quote a sentence from one of my letters to Mr. Bennett he must know that Mr. Bennett was warned in advance that Murphy's friends were worried about what might happen to him in Springfield and that I had made inquiries about the use of strip cells, not believing at that time that Mr. Bennett would permit their abuse. Mr. Bennett replied that there were no "padded cells" at Springfield and no solitary confinement cells. I do not believe that he was aware of what was going on at Springfield at that time but he made no effort to find out until it was too late. I am certain he would not have approved of it had he known, but this did not prevent him from resorting to subterfuge in his replies to letters.

Mr. Palmer evidently believes that obedience to a prison law and moral integrity are one and the same thing. He insists that Stanley and his mother gave the prison authorities cause to question Stanley's motives by smuggling out a letter which was against the rules. He says nothing about the fact that Murphy from the beginning frankly told the prison authorities that he would not cooperate with their rules and never signed consent to have his mail censored at Springfield with the result that he was denied letter-writing privileges. Stanley acted honestly in accordance with his own premises.

I have found Stanley Murphy a scrupulously honest person. Unfortunately he is unable to defend himself against Mr. Palmer's inferences, and we all have to depend on second-hand information. I have heard from other sources than Mrs. Murphy of the abuse of strip cells by psychiatrists at Springfield, and I have been told that beatings were common. No one, least of all Mr. Bennett and Mr. MacCormick, questioned Stanley's integrity until Mr. Palmer saw fit to do so by innuendo and implications. All charges in Stanley's letter have been substantiated with the one exception of physical violence. Mr. Palmer claims that in one instance Stanley said that he did not actually see a given person beaten. This does not mean that he did not see anyone beaten. The most Mr. MacCormick would say about the charge that Stanley himself was beaten was that it was the guard's word against Stanley's. When one is as scrupulously honest as Stanley Murphy one lays oneself open to attack because the honest man always

admits given facts with the result that misleading inferences can be drawn from them. Mr. Palmer's point of view is such that he would not be likely to understand Stanley Murphy. But his very innocence, not to use a more incriminating word, has led Mr. Palmer to make reports of the situation at Springfield which are actually misleading.

I base this charge not on opinion but on facts which have already been admitted by the Bureau of Prisons. The admissions in Mr. Bennett's release are of so serious a nature and so contradictory of his assurances that Murphy and Taylor were well treated that an impartial investigation of the Federal Hospital at Springfield, Missouri, is urgently needed, and the findings of that investigation should be published in full. In the meanwhile the only inference that can be drawn from Mr. Bennett's refusal to publish Mr. Austin MacCormick's report in full is that the information is too damaging for publication.

This statement has been prepared by me as an individual, and not as Chairman of the War Resisters League.

Evan W. Thomas
Room 414, 2 Stone Street
New York 4, New York

September 22, 1943

Dear Friend:

Here are some facts as of October 15th concerning the racial ~~feet~~ strike and ~~strike~~ censorship fast at Lewisburg Federal Penitentiary at Lewisburg, Pennsylvania.

The Racial Strike

This work strike originally started May 27, 1943. The demand was for a volunteer interracial dormatory. The strike continues with seven men participating. The present demands include in addition a volunteer interracial meal table. (There are at least three vacant dormatories which might be used.) When the strike started the men were placed in "the hole" for 36 hours. "The hole" is a series of individual cells with a board or just concrete for a bed. A light burns continually. For food there is a dipper of hash (potatoes and liver) three times a day and water from a sink.

The men were then removed to segregation where they are kept from the rest of the inmates. No reading or writing matter is available except one letter in and out per week.

The Fast for abolishing censorship

The official reasons for censorship of prison mail are three: to prevent escape, blackmail, and smuggling of dope. A fourth, censorship of opinion, has been added unofficially. Several men objected to the fourth type and to the fact that men in segregation are not allowed reading material. (Danbury does allow reading material in this case.) The administration was adamant. The hunger strike was called. After the hunger strike was in effect eleven days, October 9, 1943, the warden consented to a conference of the strikers and sympathizers with no results. Later the same day the warden called another conference announcing that Bennett, director of prisons, phoned and had agreed that the censorship of opinion was wrong and would be stopped. The warden asked the men to stop the strike. They replied that they would stop when they saw that statement with Bennett's signature. At this the warden threw up his hand and said there was no hope for the men.

With no settlement, forced feeding ~~probably~~ began on the ~~fourteenth day~~ 24th day for Patton Price & 26th day for others, ~~October 1943~~ Dave Dellenger, Jack Dixon, Patton Price, Bill Kuenning, Tom Woodman, and Bill Lovett are fasting. ~~The racial strike includes all~~ these plus Bill Sutherland and ~~Julius~~ Albert Eichel's brother, Al and Barney Junker.

There are about 1400 men at Lewisburg, including 160 COs. 130 of the COs are Jehovahs Witnesses.

This is some what clear & should be released it but it is still not too clear.

Is this sheet correct in these ways, if it is not, release is not mistaken.

The racial work strike is quite separate from the strike on censorship. It is an issue that must be settled after the other is settled and to mix the two now only confuses the issues. I think Sutherland, Eichel & Junker would agree. For Danbury the strike is still and only on racial issues and thus could be pushed.

C. C. Powell has organized a Peoples' Committee to work on Danbury situation.

Hope you can get back in time to take me to see Paul Robeson in "Othello". Goodness, I'm not nervous! There is so much to do in other fields too. Baby isn't expect until between Dec. 25 – Jan. 8th to give a wide estimate. All are in fine health. Barry is more beautiful daily.

Love to see you — Betty

The Campaigner

WILKINSON *for Governor*

Published by
SOCIALIST PARTY OF NEW JERSEY
34 Park Place, Newark, N. J.
Paid for by William Becker, Campaign Mgr.

Workers of the World Unite;
You Have a World to Gain.

Vote for Socialism, the Only Way to Save Civilization

Vote Socialist for:

1. The socialization of power and transport in New Jersey as the first step towards breaking the power of monopoly and instituting a democratic program for the socialization of industry.
2. A program of land acquisition NOW to ensure the success of post-war housing program and other public enterprises.
3. The socialization of the distribution of milk to provide a fair price for both producer and consumer through the elimination of the gouging middleman.
4. The protection of the right of labor to bargain collectively and to strike where necessary for the redress of legitimate grievances.
5. Constitutional revision along truly democratic lines to ensure the re-birth of democracy in New Jersey.
6. The smashing of Hague corruption and Republican reaction.
7. The building of a democratic Socialist movement in America that will end poverty, war and insecurity.

Our Right to Vote

Every American should value highly the right to vote. It is a right that has been attained only by sacrifice. Although most Americans think that the right to vote was guaranteed by the Constitution, it was not. Not until 1841 was Manhood Suffrage; and Women's Suffrage, not until 1921.

Strangely enough, in some states where there is practically no restriction on the right to vote, the so-called "free-man" still does not vote. In the State of New Jersey only about 60% of the eligible voters exercise their franchise. Why?

Many people say: "We are fed up. All political parties are corrupt; all elections are shot through with graft and the buying of votes."

The capitalist parties ARE corrupt. Capitalism does its best to corrupt every avenue of life—our newspapers, our public schools, even our churches. If we are to remedy these conditions, working people must reorganize society by changing the economic set-up to produce for use and to provide plenty for all on a cooperative basis. Thus can we end exploitation of all kinds and eliminate corruption. And the first step in this job is the use of the ballot to elect men dedicated to such a program.

This is the job Socialists are pledged to do. They need your help. Vote Socialist, and let us all get on with the job!

SOCIALISTS WILL BREAK ELECTRIC AND MILK MONOPOLIES

The greedy tentacles of monopoly encircle most of the industries in New Jersey which are so necessary, that we call them "Public Utilities". Public Service controls transportation, power and light. Service is bad and rates are among the highest in the country.

In cold figures electricity costs an average household in New Jersey $4.35 for 100 kilowatt hours, while publicly-owned plants in Seattle, Tacoma, Memphis, etc., service their customers at $2.97 to $1.70 per 100 kilowatt hours.

"Public Service" is overcharging the public. It's name is a lie!

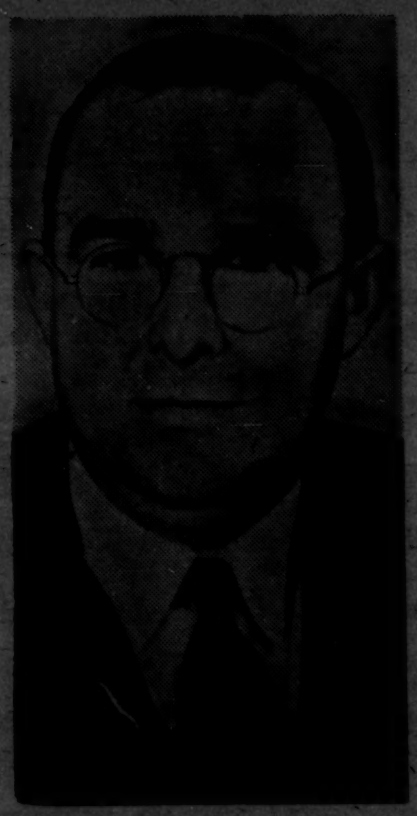
Borden, Sheffield and a few others dominate the milk industry. The price keeps going up. It, too, is amongst the highest in the nation. Milk is now being delivered every other day; yet there has not been any decrease in price. Why? Instead, the price has increased. Why? Because Borden, Sheffield, etc., control the so-called "Milk Control Board" headed by former Senator Toran. The farmer now gets less than half of the retail price of milk and in spite of this there is no benefit to the public.

To break monopoly it is not enough to try to regulate. Monopoly enterprise must be taken out of private hands. It must be made to serve ALL the people by allowing all the people, through our democratic government, to OWN them cooperatively. Then the service the monopolies are supposed to give can be made available at low prices.

Monopolies corrupt politicians and government. Vote Socialist for an end to private monopolies, for an end to private profits and their corrupting influence on government.

Meet · ROY V. WILKINSON

SOCIALIST CANDIDATE FOR GOVERNOR



Roy V. Wilkinson is a 39-year-old native of New Jersey. For most of those years he has lived in Camden, and since graduation from Camden High School he has worked at the RCA plant.

Wilkinson is best known for his militant leadership of the RCA union. One of the original organizers of Local No. 103, U.E.R.M.W.A., C.I.O., he was recently elected to the post of executive secretary. In addition, he is vice-president of the South Jersey Industrial Union Council (C.I.O.). One of his earlier activities in the labor movement was in developing the Unemployed Union, which played so important a role in Camden County during the depression.

The Socialist candidate is married and has one son. Wilkinson has been active in the Socialist Party since 1932 and has served several terms as a member of the party's State Executive Committee.

Who is Labor's Candidate

Vincent Murphy, nominee of Hague Democracy, has been hailed as the leader of labor in New Jersey. Socialists, who sought a really independent Labor Party, reject this claim.

Here are the facts:

1. Murphy was nominated by Hague. By support of Murphy, labor will tar itself with the Hague brush.
2. Murphy, by playing ball with Hague, has temporarily killed the growing demand among unionists for an independent Labor Party.
3. Murphy's campaign has been characterized, in large part, by his public encouragement of the "free enterprise system". You and I know that system as the system of the exploitation of labor, the system of depressions, the system of war, inequitable taxation and public corruption.

Remember, too, what will happen as a result of Murphy's candidacy. If labor, by its own sacrifices, elects Murphy, some labor men will maintain that it proves the necessity of working through the Democratic Party. (Actually, it will only tie labor to Hague's corruption.) If Murphy is not elected, these same laborites will say that if, even with the help of the Democrats, they could not elect their man, a Labor Party is hopeless.

A fine mess, isn't it, brother Trade Unionist!

Actually, both arguments are false. If labor is successful in the coming election, it will be in alliance with the worst elements in New Jersey. Labor cannot afford to make such alliances. If labor is unsuccessful, it will not be because it is not strong enough. It will be because the labor movement in New Jersey is unable to generate the enthusiasm for just another Democratic nominee tied to Hague's chariot wheels.

Vote TRUE labor, brother Trade Unionist—vote for Roy Wilkinson, ACTIVE union official, who speaks in the INTERESTS of the working people, and not in support of a "Free Enterprise System", which is the same old fraud with a new cover-up label.

Can Capitalism Be Reformed?

But, you may ask, can't Capitalism be reformed so that it too will provide peace and plenty?

Humanitarians have been trying to reform Capitalism for years. Plenty of "good men" have been elected to office. But even good men cannot make a bad system work. Grafters have been jailed, but unemployment continues. Good laws have been passed but they have not solved the problem of misery in the midst of plenty.

The New Deal has gone further in its efforts to reform Capitalism than any other administration.

Wagner acts, social security laws, old age pension laws, etc., are good so far as they go. But they do not go far enough to solve our basic problems. Capitalism is running down. It is a menace to life, liberty and happiness. It must be replaced by a new social system—a cooperative commonwealth in which every man and woman will have the right to a job and the right to receive the full value of his or her labor.

Answers to the Most Frequent Objections to Socialism

SOCIALISTS WANT TO DIVIDE UP the farms, houses, money, wealth of the country! This would be impossible and foolish. We stand, not for division of property, but for PUBLIC OWNERSHIP of certain kinds of property. We publicly own streets, highways, schools, postoffices, and some electric light and water systems. We couldn't divide the postoffice if we would! We could not divide the machinery of production and distribution, such as shops, factories, mines, railroads. These industries are owned, not by individuals, but by groups of capitalists, organized in trusts. Socialists would transfer the title of property now owned by trusts to the people of the United States. The only thing we would divide is the chance to work; we would guarantee to EVERYONE a steady job at good pay, so that "he who will not work shall not eat."

SOCIALISTS WILL REDUCE EVERYONE TO A DEAD LEVEL. NOT SO—it is capitalism that is reducing all but the few to the level of the cheapest wage for which workers may be had. At this dead level are all colors, faiths, sexes, races; and there is no escape from it under capitalism. If Socialism establishes a level, it will most certainly be a higher one than is now possible for 80% of the people.

SOCIALISM WILL DESTROY PERSONAL LIBERTY AND FORCE PEOPLE TO DO WHAT THEY DON'T WANT TO DO. Do people, under capitalism, want to work in sweat shops or have their children forced into factories at an early age. Do women want to become prostitutes. Does anyone want to hoe cotton under the burning sun? We do things because it is necessary to do them more often than because we like to. There will be unpleasant tasks under Socialism, but we shall eliminate the degrading ones at least. Our hours will be shorter; our work pleasant and safer, and we shall ensure to every man the right to work at the task for which he is best fitted.

WE CAN'T MAKE THE CAPITALISTS GIVE UP THE MACHINERY OF PRODUCTION AND DISTRIBUTION THAT THEY NOW HOLD. Hokum! Some we can buy. Some we can build ourselves. Some we can get by foreclosure. Some we can get by exercising the right of eminent domain. We can pay for them with bonds and by levying a high income tax. WE CAN MAKE THE LAW DO OUR WORK, NOT THE WORK OF THE CAPITALISTS.

SOCIALISM WILL DO AWAY WITH PRIVATE PROPERTY. Socialists will see that the masses of people possess private property for the first time in their lives! Socialism can create housing for ALL the people, decent wages for ALL who work. Today, the capitalists get the wealth created by labor. When the ownership of industry passes to the people, workers will get, not what they now receive, but the FULL value of what they produce. It will then be possible for the working people to own homes, cars and the decencies of life.

SOCIALISM IS "AGIN' THE GOV'MINT". IT IS—when the government is run in the interest of the wealthy few. Socialists are FOR a government which will plan and run industry in the interests of the many, so as to produce and distribute goods and services for the use and benefit of all the people. What is now devoted to armaments and defrauding of the people will be devoted to education, science and the improvement of industry.

SOCIALISM WON'T WORK. Remember the guy who yelled, "Go Get a Horse"? Remember the wise aleck who claimed that the noise of a railroad engine would dry up the cows and scare the chickens out of the summer crop of eggs? Remember the men and women who derided the first telephone, the first airplane? A group of farmers stood about the first self-binder and, with a knowing look, they said, "Too much machinery, too complex; it'll never work." You don't laugh any more at the railroad engine, the automobile, the telephone, the airplane, the farm machinery. They DO work, but most of them are **made** to work YOU. Socialism is an economic machine through which the people will own the whole process of production and distribution and make the machines work FOR you. Those who understand it know it WILL work. Those who laugh at it are like the guy who yelled, "Go Get a Horse".

THE RIGHT TO VOTE—
Was not given Americans as a gift.
Was won by them through militant struggle.
Must be exercised by them carefully.
Is the key to the preservation and extension of democracy.

THE RIGHT TO VOTE—
Will not automatically usher in Utopia.
Is your own to use or abuse.
Can be thrown away or used wisely as you will.
Is your personal responsibility.

VOTE ON ELECTION DAY.

VOTE SOCIALIST ON ELECTION DAY.

WORK FOR A PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY AND SOCIALISM EVERY DAY.

Clip Here

To Socialist Party Headquarters at—
104 S. Broadway, Camden
34 Park Place, Newark

I want to know more about the Socialist Party.
Enclosed is a contribution toward its campaign.

Name .....

Address .....

NORTHERN NEW JERSEY

Special Thanks to

ALGOT HAGBERG

HELMUTH SUCHOMEL

RUDOLPH BECKER

SIMON BASS

FRED BERTRAM

J. LINDSAY VANNEST

T. & E. CONRAD

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MABEL H. FARR

MRS. E. TIERNEY

MR. & MRS. A. BRIMFIELD

Let's Vote Our Hopes—
Not Our Fears
LILLIAN AND SAM GENESLAW

SOCIALIST VOTERS
IN DISTRICT NO. 4
UERMWA—CIO

SOCIALIST VOTERS
IN DISTRICT NO. 1
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FRANK HARDY
BILL WRAY
ED GRESCH
AL HOFFMAN
ELLA DELANEY
MONTY
H. SAXE
AL KERSHAW
H. CLEVENGER
G. SWEENEY

Special Thanks to
MARION DOUGLAS
W. MOYER

CHATHAM—MADISON
Supporters of
Wilkinson

From the
HUDSON COUNTY
"UNDERGROUND"

A FRIEND

Marconi's Restaurant
Newark

CHAS. ERICSEN
Anchor Restaurant
165 Plane Street
Newark, N. J.

Wilkinson Supporters
in the
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For Socialism
From Friends in
LOCAL NO. 6
IUM&SW—CIO

Friends in the
N. J.—PN&TW—CIO

Greetings from
LOCAL NO. 144
ILGWU

DR. DAVID LOZOWICK

We regret that all greetings are reduced in size and many omitted because of the shortage of space.

CAMDEN BRANCH
SOCIALIST PARTY
For a Socialist Society and Human Brotherhood

HOWARD AYARS
Paperhanger
Mt. Ephraim, N. J.

OAKLYN DELICATESSEN
Beer and Liquors
Oaklyn, N. J.

M. STEMPA
Window Shades
Venetian Blinds
Audubon, N. J.

CALVIN SCHNEEBERG
Men's Furnishings
1112 Broadway, Camden

WEBER'S BAKERY
Runnemede and
Audubon, N. J.

FRANK HURLEY
Wholesale Confectioner
Eleventh & Federal Sts., Camden

HARTMANN
Hand-made Cigars
306 Federal Street, Camden

EDWARD A. BANTOM
Collingswood, N. J.

VINCENT SMITH
Waterford, N. J.

ALFRED BRIMFIELD
Waterford, N. J.

ANDREW S. HALL
Audubon, N. J.

Bayard

10

FLASH NEWS ON C.P.S.

Discussions are under way between NSBRO and the Service Committees on the one hand, and Selective Service on the other, relative to the CPS program for 1944. What the outcome will be remains to be seen; but the pacifist organizations have made some proposals which if adopted would go far to meet the criticisms of the CPS set-up which have been made by FOR members and large numbers of men in CPS.

1. The NSBRO has squarely put itself on record with S.S. in favor of pay for all COs who desire it.

2. Even stronger representations have been made regarding Congressional provision for the dependents of COs. There is reason to believe that S.S. agrees that this issue should be met. It will probably come up in Congress soon.

3. The Mennonite Central Committee feels that it can no longer continue the arrangement by which it carries the maintenance cost of one third of CPS men not affiliated with the Historic Peace Churches. It is willing to accept in its own camps any such men wishing to come; but the new position means that the Committee feels unable to continue making substantial payments toward the maintenance of such men in Friends and Brethren camps. This in turn means that the latter groups feel that they cannot continue to carry the financial load unless the number of men in camp is substantially reduced and at least half of all assignees are on detached service or maintenance projects.

4. The religious agencies wish to take in future only such men as choose to come to one of their camps and are ready to accept the methods and standards according to which these camps are conducted; other assignees would go to government camps. It is assumed that before induction men would be given a clear picture of the set-up in the respective camps and agencies to enable them to choose intelligently. Furthermore, it is desired that a couple of reception centers (camps) be organized where men choosing one of the religious camps would undergo an orientation experience. Thoroughly equipped teachers, psychiatrists, personnel counsellors, etc., would be assigned to such camps. At the close of a one to three months' orientation period, the assignee and the Service Committee involved would reach a mutual understanding as to whether the former should continue in a Friends or Brethren camp or go to a government camp or other government-directed project. One object it is hoped to achieve through the reception camp is to secure the prompt discharge and return to ordinary civilian life of men who for physical or other reasons are not fitted for CPS.

It is also hoped that on the one hand, the standard of work done by men under the religious agencies will under the new conditions be high, and on the other hand that, as was the original idea, management and discipline in their camps and other projects will be definitely in the hands of these agencies and the COs in them, so that they may operate along pacifist lines and not be agencies through which S.S. orders are transmitted.

5. A strong desire has been expressed that men may be directed promptly into projects for which their skill and training fit them, and also that new types of projects in which COs could serve human need directly be opened up. There is reason to think that the American Friends Service Committee may conclude that unless no work can be opened up of such a character and under such conditions as Friends can consider clearly significant witness to a Friendly way of life, it would be preferable that the government take over all responsibility for the administration of alternative service and the religious agencies withdraw from all such responsibility in connection with CPS.

TO F.O.R. COUNCIL AND STAFF MEMBERS:

The above report which I have drawn up for FELLOWSHIP pretty well covers the representations made to General Hershey at the dinner on October 14. On the points set forth in the closing sentences of item 4 and 5, respectively, Clarence Pickett and Harold Evans spoke to General Hershey in very explicit and unequivocal terms.

Hershey indicated that he was ready to agree to a substantial reduction in camps and campers under the religious agencies. Several camps are already being closed. Hershey also indicated he would agree to the reception center plan. He said he would consider opening up projects concerned directly with human needs (social service) if specific plans were presented. He was obviously not enthusiastic, but took in good spirit Pickett's firm but Friendly statement that Friends were not likely to find it possible in good conscience to go on, unless some such advances were made.

P.S. The first part of this memo prepared for FELLOWSHIP may of course be published. The latter part may be used in personal correspondence or in conversation or - with discretion - in making oral reports to groups. It would not be wise to publish these personal comments at this time.

A. J. Muste

October 15, 1943

Fellowship of Reconciliation
2929 Broadway
New York City (25)

Excerpts from letters from Paton Price from Lewisburg Penitentiary

October 10:

I understand that you know that I have refused food since Wednesday morning, September 29. I wrote two other letters explaining my position, but they were not allowed to go out. We have refused food because it is the only way that we have in our present situation of asking for the abolition of censorship, that wall of silence which separates all prisoners from the outside world. We have absolutely no objection to having our mail, or any prisoner's mail, "inspected", which we define as reading what has already been written for the purpose of detecting dope or plots of violence, but we cannot agree to "censorship" which dictates to a person what he can write, what he can read, and ~~to~~ with whom he can communicate. Our condemnation of "censorship" can be summed up in the following points. (1) Places individuals entirely at the mercy of a totalitarian penal system without any method of outside appeal. (2) Encourages prison abuses through secrecy. If there is nothing to hide, then there is no reason for censorship. (3) Allows an outmoded prison system to go on by keeping it out of the public eye. (4) Keeps lawbreakers almost completely isolated from society, thus permitting it to have false ideas about criminals. (5) Raises a cruel and unnatural barrier between prisoners and loved ones. (6) Denies prisoners contact with books, magazines, and ideas except as filtered through a totalitarian system. (7) Denies possibility of creative writing: journals, articles, books, etc. (8) Encourages discrimination against political and religious minorities. For these foregoing reasons, I feel compelled to fight such an evil with the most powerful weapon I have, my life. To my thinking there is no decent human defense why an individual should be denied reading or writing material, yet for four months a group of us have been locked in one room without either except for one letter in and out per week [and during the latter part of the time a Bible to read] and our case is one in many among prisoners.

We have been led to believe that it is only in totalitarian countries where honest differences of opinion are suppressed by harsh retributive punishment. If I were in Germany, I would not submit to fascism. Nor am I able to do so in this community in which I am now living. Millions of men are now giving their lives in the holocaust of war for what they believe is a fight for freedom. I believe differently. I believe that real freedom will come only when men refuse to submit to tyrrany wherever they are and refuse to cooperate, non-violently of course, with those who would enslave them. Believing so, should I be less willing to pay the same price for obtaining it that my military friends are paying and vainly?

There are two things, Mother, that you have always taught me to do. To be sincere, or true to myself, and to be brave, or have the courage of my convictions. If I ran away from this great evil of this tragic community into which I have been catapulted for my refusal to kill, I would be neither sincere nor brave. ...

Pacifism is not "a way out", it is another, a better way of fighting evil. I appreciate your concern, and please believe that I am never unmindful of it, but in spite of my love for you and my extreme reluctance to cause you pain, I feel compelled to follow a path which we hope will release pain ~~for~~ and grief ~~for~~ from thousands. ...

Excerpts from letters of Paton Price

October 10(continued):

We who feel we have such an important message cannot ever allow ourselves to be gagged. When Peter and John were commanded not to speak or teach in the name of Jesus, they replied, "Whether it be right in the sight of God to listen to you or to God, judge ye, for we cannot but speak the things we have seen and heard." Just as freedom of speech was insisted upon at the beginning of the Christian ministry, we who believe in Jesus' way now must insist upon it as we try to prosecute that way.

October 17:

I cannot imagine what real purpose is being served by bringing men to prison because of adjudged sincere conscientious convictions and then placing them in an additional punitive status because they continue to hold them.

October 25: (Note: Forced feeding started October 22)

Negotiations seem to be at a stalemate, and I hope that they can be re-opened with a willingness to recognize the validity of the basic points involved and a real effort made to arrive at a satisfactory conclusion.

October 30:

I still stay in bed all the time, not yet steady enough to do much activity. The doctors and attendants are very kind, and with books, magazines, newspapers, and writing material, it is easy for me to imagine a more difficult situation. However, there seems to be no willingness on the part of the officials to negotiate or to participate in discussion of the issues we have such a conviction about, and until we or you people out there are able to recondition such an attitude, a stalemate will have been reached. It is our earnest desire to remain open, approachable, ~~funny~~ friendly and reasonable, but at the same time firm in our witness to some essential truths, and we are relying upon you and our other friends to impress upon everyone the deep feeling of humility and conviction which underlies our actions. We are doing all that we are able to care for, and what is left to be done, we leave in your hands. I do not either want to belittle or underscore the price we are paying, but I do want to emphasize that "pacifism as usual" seems a little inadequate and ridiculous in a time such as this. I have no idea what your activities are, but "too little and too late" can also apply to pacifists as well as militarists. When pacifists become so callous that such an action as this receives from them only a passing nod, then certainly I am more than ever convinced that what we need is a more revolutionary, dynamic type of non-violent pacifism that initiates attack and does not hurriedly retreat every time a battle is engaged. ... Do what you can and God will do the rest.

Excerpts from a letter from Paton Price (from Lewisburg) dated Nov. 8, 1943:

"We had a very thorough discussion of the purposes and nature of our action with Dr. Frank, Educational Director of Prison Bureau at Washington, and although his visit was only for the purpose of inquiry and clarification, we were somewhat encouraged by his grasp of our requests. We worked out with him the minimum details and requests of our action and indicated our firm adherence to them. They are:

I. If any inmate is placed in punishment status or is subjected to any restriction of privileges, such punishment or restrictions shall not interfere with his full library privileges, full correspondence privileges, or his access to material for writing, except that in extreme cases, any or all of these privileges may be restricted for a period of three days.

II. There shall be no political, religious, or ideological censorship of books, magazines, pamphlets or letters.

A. The following kinds of books, magazines, newspapers and pamphlets may be excluded:

(1) Material giving instructions in counterfeiting, distilling of liquor, and similar non-political criminal activities,
(2) Pornographic material,
(3) Material banned by the U.S. Postal authorities.

B. Letters shall be opened and read by the authorities to check on the inclusion of dope, plans for escape, plots of violence, similar criminal activities, and obscene matter, but no letter may be rejected except for these reasons.

(1) No letter suspected of containing any of the foregoing prohibited matter may be detained for more than 72 hours without notifying the inmate involved.
(2) Each inmate shall be allowed a basic list of seven correspondents.
(3) Persons may be excluded from an inmate's correspondence list if they are suspected of currently engaging in criminal activities. Persons who have been previously convicted of crime or who are ~~currently engaging in~~ presently incarcerated in a penal or correctional institution or who are on parole or probation may be included on an inmate's correspondence list if it appears that such inclusion will be for the best welfare of both parties and will not promote criminal activities.
(4) Where there is no indication that correspondence will be carried on for the purpose of promoting criminal activities, an inmate's correspondence list may be increased from 7 to 14 correspondents by permission of the local authorities.
(5) Outgoing korrespondence shall be limited to 7 letters a week. There shall be no numerical limitation on incoming letters.
(6) Inmates shall be allowed to write freely concerning prison officials and all other public officials. They shall not be allowed to mention the names of other inmates, unless this is specifically allowed by local authorities.

III. Materials written by inmates of Federal institutions shall not be subject to confiscation by the authorities. Books, poems, articles, stories, journals, diaries, and similar manuscripts may be written by inmates, mailed out of the institution, and taken out by the inmate at the time of his release. The following kinds of material are subject to confiscation:

(1) Material giving instructions in counterfeiting, distilling of liquor and similar non-political criminal activities,
(2) Pornographic material,
(3) Material banned by the U.S. postal authorities.

IV. A copy of these fundamental rights shall be prominently displayed on the bulletin board of every housing unit of every Federal institution for at least sixty days after going into effect. A personal copy shall be given to every new inmate during the quarantine period.

The following is a partial list of magazines and newspapers which under Sec. II could not be excluded from the libraries of any Federal prison: Common Sense, The Call, The C.O., Retort, Daily Worker, New Masses, Crisis, In Fact, Protestant, Partisan Review, The New Republic, The Nation, Why, Fellowship, Literature of the J.W's, The People's Voice, Chicago Defender, Peace News, etc."

Excerpts from letters of Paton Price:

November 15:

I hope that you people can clarify with the press the insistent misstatements coming from officials that we object to "inspection" of our mail. ...

I am personally willing for them to "save their face" and for us to "apparently" fail if they will put into practice the reforms that they know as well as we do should have gone into effect long ago for the benefit of both the prisoners and society as a whole.

Dr. Frank showed us a copy of censorship regulations or "policy" adopted by the Prison Bureau in 1938. It surprisingly resembled many of our suggested requests. But it apparently had been completely forgotten and its existence unknown as far as actual practice was concerned.

From Charles Butcher — October 13th, 1943

2432

To Mr. Bayard Rustin — 2929 Broadway, New York, N.Y.

Dear Bayard,

Although you have been approved as one of my correspondents for several months, the approval which was granted was of a special nature. The prison authorities did not recognize you as one of my personal friends and preferred to take the attitude that my interest in writing to you was to conduct "business" connected with the F.O.R. The Same assumption is made concerning your writing to me. While this situation is not all that could be desired, it represents a departure from customary procedure which, if taken at its face value, may prove to be valuable to both of us.

According to reports I have received from various sources, the National Council of the F.O.R. was to vote on the question of continuing as a member of the N.S.B.R.O. at its meeting in Chicago, Sept.25th. Although I have not heard directly concerning the outcome of this meeting, I assume that the council decided to reamin in the N.S.B.R.O., since, had there been a change in policy, Agnes certainly would have told me about it. I don't have to tell you that I am disappointed with this decision, but now that it has been made there is no value in criticizing it. The thing for us to do is to determine how the F.O.R. representation on the N.S.B.R.O. can be used to best advantage.

The charge is often heard that the so-called "social actionists" in C.P.S. and elsewhere are jeopardizing the operation of C.P.S. for those who are willing to accept it as it is. At least to the extent that this is true, the counter charge that the C.P.S. system is jeopardizing the attainment of greater opportunity for those who desire it is also true. The existence of the C.P.S. system and its acceptance by a large number of C.O.'s makes those who cannot accept it appear insincere. The main reason for the half-truths expressed in these arguments and counter-arguments is due to a lack of honesty on both sides.

Those charged with the administration of C.P.S. and those who actively support it are unwilling to admit openly the extent of the compromise they have accepted. They know that they are accepting conscription but they stress the "voluntary service" aspect of the program. It is much easier on the conscience to think that somehow one is demonstrating a "voluntary service of love in wartime" than to admit honestly that one is acceptong the best of a bad bargain. To the extent that this argument gains currency outside pacifist circles it becomes a lever against the non-registrant. For he too believes in a "voluntary service of love" and so to an "outsider" his refusal to accept C.P.S. as such a service is insincere. How, for example, is he to answer the argument of the government that his brother C.O.'s (who, like himself, are assumed to be honest) are rendering voluntary service in C.P.S. while he, who says he wishes just such service, is not willing to go to C.P.S. where, presumably, he could accomplish his goal? Thus he is confronted by people who do not agree with him with arguments present by groups who profess to share his concern. He seems to be opposing the good judgement of his won groups.

A more telling misrepresentation, and one which has clouded our whole testimony, is the widely held belief that the existence of alternative types of service in some way reduces or nullifies the conscriptive nature of the work done under one or another of them. The fact that C.P.S. now "offers" service in some fifteen different fields, and even "offers" a government operated camp to those who wish it, is accepted as positive proff that the system is somehow voluntary. It should be obvious to anyone who is willing to look at the picture as a whole, that such an argument is basically fallacious. All fifteen alternatives are identical in one basic aspect, they are all established, controlled and disciplined by the Selective Service System. These fifteen alternatives may represent an encouraging set of privileges, but they do not represent a change in the policy of military conscription. To look upon the established altern-

atives as anything other then "enlightened" coercion is unthinkable. One might as well say that the Bureau of Prison's policy of assigning inmates to different types of prisons and jobs is proof that the inmates are volunteers.

Again, for those of us who object to the military character of the control of C.P.S.; the NSBRO's policy of stating that they are not controlled by Col.Kasch, Gen. Hershey, etc., but are "cooperating" with them is very damaging. As the prosecuting attorney argued in his final speech to the jury in my case: It is obvious that this defendent is simply an anarchist and is not sincere in his objection to military control, because if that control actually existed, the members of the NSBRO, an organization of and for C.O.'s, would be the first to realize it, and would then support this defendent instead of continuing their relations with Selective Service! Paul French and Bob Ziegler have admitted privately that Gen. Hershey is the boss of everything and that they are not on equal terms with him, and yet neither their admission nor the scope and extent of their control by Selective Service has ever been published publicly. Why can't those who are willing to accept the facts of this control be expected to reveal what they are accepting. Secrecy is not a policy of pacifists!

In other words, I think the least that the F.O.R. can do, in honesty to its own membership and the country as a whole, is to state clearly and definitely who decides what C.P.S. men do, and who controls them in this work. A frank admission of the nature and extent of the compromise represented by C.P.S. does not weaken the position of those who accept it. It simply forces pacifists to think clearly about the truth of their wartime position, a position which, apparently, many people would rather not recognize.

All pacifists agree that their aim is to seek the Truth and to follow it fearlessly wherever it may lead them. How we can expect to accomplish such a goal without personal and group honesty, without clearly stating all the facts upon which our judgement must be based, is the eighth wonder of the world! In the case of C.P.S., we see a great many different "truths" from the very fact that none of us know all the facts. No member of the F.O.R. could object to an honest statement of the relationship between the NSBRO and Selective Service.

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Two weeks ago, a "committee", composed of James Bennett, Cal Shadduct, Capt. Padgett, and Paul French, visited this prison. The apparent intention of the committee was to discuss parole plans with a representative group of inmates. Naturally, the committee confined themselves primarily to paroles under Ex.Ord. 8641. Several inmates were interviewed -- one by one -- and the results of these discussions seem to be briefly these:

1) Non-registrants will not be granted any parole except Plan 3 (C.P.S.) Thus, the men who logically would be least willing to accept Selective Service control are asked to accept it completely. Such an "offer" is an insult to the integrity of these men, and I, for one, hope that none of them accept it.

2) "Political Objectors" will not be granted any parole except parole to the army. It is apparent that the committee does not accept a prison sentence as proff of "religious" sincerity. They stick to Hershey's narrow deistic interpretation of "religious training and belief" and indicate a reluctance to change the opinions handed down by local and appeal boards.

3) A few men may be granted plan 4 paroles, but the conditions of these paroles will be determined by Selective Service and limited by what C.P.S. men are able to get on "detached service."

4) J.W.'s may be "forced" to go to government C.P.S. camps. Although this is far from a genuine solution to their problem, it may represent an advance for them. They do not make any distinctions between one type of prison and the other, and they go only under compulsion. The fact that they might receive the privilege of 30 days furlough would be a gain over conditions here. Thus they might benefit slightly without making what, to them, would otherwise be a moral compromise.

A few general observations might be added: 1. Almost all the men brought before the committee were asked to accept something which they did not want. Thus, men

desiring C.P.S. were urged to take 1-AO, men desiring Plan 4, P lan 3, men desiring general parole (1/3 time), Plan 4; and in each case an effort was made to establish the idea that it was "take this or nothing." 2. Everything offered was limited by the conditions ixisting in the C.P.S. system. In this connection, one revealing question was put to me by Cal Shadduct of Selective Service after I refused Plan 4. He said, "You don't expect us to offer you something which Gen. Hershey is unwilling to grant men in C.P.S. who are cooperating with him, do you?" Of course, I replied that I did not. I don't expect anything from Selective Service. But the interesting thing is how revealing this question is in terms of the whole situation. Note that he said it was a question of what Gen. Hershey was willing to grant. If Paul French (who was present when this was said) had been an"equal"partner" with Hershey in the granting of privileges to C.P.S. men, Cal.Shadduct would have said: "You don't expect us to grant you more than the NSBRO and S.S. are willing to grant C.P.S.men." Can there actually be two-way cooperation between the NSBRO and SS if Gen. Hershey makes the decisions and grants the privileges? Obviously, no true cooperation exists or could exist between S.S. and the NSBRO; the whole idea is fantastic! Gen. Hershey grants and Gen. Hershey takes away. If you don't like what Gen. Hershey offers, you will stay in prison. That was Col. Shadduct's attitude and that has been the attitude of S.S. for a long time. 3. The statistics on parole seem to be something like this: Plan 3 - 100 granted, Plan 4 - 3 or 4 granted, 1/3 time 32 granted. 4. Considerable pressure is being exerted -- not only by Selective Service and this 8641 committee, but by our own parole officer -- to get men to accept 1-AO or some other compromise with their principles. This pressure may be due to a desire on the part of the Bureau of Prisons to get paroles for the men. Thus our parole officer says that he is doubtful of our chances to get, say, Plan 4 or 1/3 time parole, and therefore he hopes we will take 1-AO which he is pretty sure he can get for us. Regardless, however, of the motives for this pressure, it is a tough thing to face particularly when 5 years in prison seems to be the only alternative, with a new sentence awaiting anyone who gets out. Furthermore, it has been intimated that refusal to give in to this pressure may be held against a man when he is considered for some other parole plan which he desires.

In all, there are four types of parole: Plan 2 (1-AO), Plan 3 (C.P.S.), Plan 4 (similar to C.P.S. detached service) and 1/3 time (or general) parole. There are men here who will not accept one or another of these possibilities. If the F.O.R. is going to continue to deal with Selective Service through the NSBRO, they can do the men who are willing to accept 8641 parole a great service by demanding that their cases be considered on the basis of what they want and can conscientiously accept, and not on the basis of what further compromise they are willing to make. Pacifists are not horse traders; they don't say they want one thing hoping they may get something else less desirable. The NSBRO and SS are not giving honest service to these men if they approach the problem in that way. Furthermore, such arbitrary punitive measures as restricting non-registrants to C.P.S. parole and "political objectors" to virtually no parole are obviously unfair. Freedom of conscience is not the exclusive rights of established churches, and if the NSBRO helps to maintain this fallacious doctrine they are certainly not worthy of our support.

In regard to general parole, the situation is quite clear. If the Bureau of Prisons and their parole judges believe in freedom of conscience they will do everything within the limits of the laws and regulations which bind them to help the C.O.'s in their prisons. They are not responsible for the sentences the C.O.'s have been given, but if they are sincerely working for the C.O.'s, as they claim to be, they will see that C.O.'s are granted a legitimate opportunity to serve their country in their own way. They have the power to do this after a C.O. serves 1/3 of his time in prison, if they don't do it we can be sure that they are not sincere in their desire to help us. The F.O.R. should continue to do all they can to keep this position clearly before the Bureau of Prisons and their judges.

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But of all the problems and difficulties which confront the pacifist prisoner, what I am about to say is most important and the one which the F.O.R. can do most to solve. That is the question of morale.

Few of us have the spiritual resources to accept our lot without the help and fellowship of others. Her in prison, a type of thinking is growing, which, if allowed to proceed unchecked, will do untold damage to the future of the Fellowship. Some of us are beginning to say, "If our fellow pacifists on the 'outside' do not show more concern for the things we believe, and which brought us here, why should we continue to punish ourselves? Why should we bear the brunt of a testimony which means so little that our friends can not give a few hours a week to our cause?"

People outside prison are apt to feel that our testimony is finished on the day we break the law. No thought is farther from the truth. Many of us are offered chance after chance to change our stand after the initial breach of the law. The temptations of the government begin before the trial and continue almost weekly as long as we remain in prison. A man who refuses to go to C.P.S. is not forgotten, he is pushed, prodded and urged to join C.P.S. all the time. Every day he remains in prison he must reaffirm his original decision. This pressure, day after, week after week, month after month, has a cumulative effect which must be met by an equal and opposite accumulation of inner resources. The effectiveness of this pressure may be seen by a glance at the record. It is a potent force, and it must be met.

Of course, it is an admission of weakness and selfishness to say that some of us haven't the resources to cope with these temptations, nor have we the power to suffer indefinitely for our fellow pacifists and the rest of humanity. But it is better to be honestly weak than superficially bold. Besides how many on the "outside" can claim such strength and courage that they can condemn us for our weakness? It is unfortunate, but true, that the current generation of pacifists, while numerically stronger, are spiritually weaker than those in the last war. We have lost absolute faith in our testimony, perhaps because we see reflected in others our own weakness.

We have all experienced the unfortunate spectacle of a group meeting where a resolution was passed on the basis of high principle, but when the members of the group were faced individually with acting upon their resolution, few responded. Even as we supported the passage of the resolution we knew that we would never do anything about it. Such dishonesty -- I think it is that -- has given us a superficial appearance of unity and noble purpose, but it has not given us the depth of fellowship which alone has the power to give us strength to maintain our goal under extreme difficulties.

Perhaps too, some of our weakness has developed from the same trend which has weakened the whole Christian World. Some of us have lost our faith in immortality and a personal God, and have not replaced this faith with anything equally strong. We have a vague sense of the innate goodness of mankind, but it is not sufficiently developed to drive us to great personal sacrifice. We are not sure that our years in prison will awaken this slumbering goodness in men, and therefore we wonder if our years here are in vain. We may be sacrificing for a hopeless cause.

Some of us, having lost our feeling of group fellowship and our faith in mankind, are becoming cynical. This whole process is like inflation, it feeds itself, and finally produces a man with no principles which he is willing to suffer for, and a man who looks at everything in terms of what good it will do him.

Perhaps I have overdrawn this picture; I have tried not to; I have tried to report honestly what I see and feel around me. However, even if I have painted the present picture with too broad a stroke, I have certainly indicated a trend which alarming.

The only thing that I know of that can counteract this trend is recreating a sense of fellowship and oneness between those on the outside and ourselves. What we really want to know is: "Are you carrying on the struggle where we left off?" If you are, and if we see that you are, we can endure almost anything, but without this we most certainly shall fail. We can only feel a part of the Fellowship if we feel that our being here is awakening and crystalizing a greater and greater effort toward our common goal.

Bayard, I have not intended to give the impression that all of us feel this way, or that this is particularly my own feeling. Personally, I am fortunate in having spent a long time making my decision to come here, and therefore I feel quite happy about what I'm doing, but some of the fellows here don't, and few of us will be able to go on

indefinitely without feeling that perhaps those on the "outside" are not holding up their end.....Of course, this is not directed at you; but you know what I'm driving at. My best to everyone of course.

Sincerely,

Charlie Butcher 2432

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WESTERN UNION

1230

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NA669 NL=NK NEWARK NJ 21 1943 OCT 21 PM 5 19

BAYARD RUSTIN, AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE =
1830 SUTTER ST SFRAN=

=BOYS ON 23RD DAY OF FAST DIXON PRICE WOODMAN KEUNNING DAVE LOVETT WANT YOU TO GET MANY WRITE BENNETT ASKING NUMBER ONE BOOKS MAGAZINES WRITING ALLOWED ALL PRISONERS REGARDLESS OF STATUS NUMBER TWO FREE FLOW OF CORRESPONDENCE WITH INSPECTION BY OFFICIALS TO DETECT DOPE OR CRIMINAL ACTS FOR ALL PRISONERS REGARDLESS OF STATUS. EMPHASIS ON OFFICIAL RULING FOR ALL PRISONS. BOYS FEEL ONLY OUTSIDE PRESSURE WILL BRING CHANGES. CONSTANT APPEALS BY BOYS FOR CONFERENCE WITH BENNETT REFUSED=
BETTY.

23 KEUNNING LOVETT.

22

JGI/gmo

WAR DEPARTMENT

THE ADJUTANT GENERAL'S OFFICE

WASHINGTON

IN REPLY REFER TO

AG 201 Levy, Alton I.
(20 Oct 43) PE-A.

28 October 1943.

Mr. Hansel Harter,
1084 Portola Drive,
San Francisco, California.

Dear Mr. Harter:

Your communication of recent date addressed to the President has been referred to the War Department for consideration relative to the case of Sergeant Alton I. Levy, 32,333,639, AAFWTTC, Lincoln, Nebraska.

A review of the record of trial and of a special investigation conducted in the matter reveals that Sergeant Levy was tried and convicted of three offenses charged against him under the 96th Article of War. It is apparent that he was not charged with or convicted of intervening in behalf of what he considered mistreatment of colored soldiers and the prosecution offered no evidence whatsoever in this regard. He was convicted of wilfully and maliciously making false and highly derogatory statements to other members of the service relative to the Commanding General of the post and his immediate family. The only reference to Negroes in this case was a statement made by Levy to the effect that due to the racial prejudices of the wife of the Commanding General, only 40 out of 290 of the colored soldiers on the base were allowed to go into town at night because the wife of the Commanding General did not want her friends shocked by the sight of a drunken Negro on the streets of Lincoln.

Levy was charged with making false remarks relative to the racial attitude of the wife of the Commanding General of the post and it is clearly apparent that there was no effort whatsoever to prosecute him because of his statements relative to Negroes or their treatment on the post.

Levy took the stand voluntarily in his own defense during the course of the trial, and the question of mistreatment of Negro soldiers on the base was brought up at that time. His opinions and observations were the subject of direct testimony and cross-examination.

Levy had full opportunity to introduce such evidence as he chose with regard to the treatment of Negro soldiers at the base. No Negroes were called as witnesses, either by Levy or the prosecution.

After consideration of the case, the court-martial found Levy guilty and sentenced him to reduction to grade of Private, confinement at hard labor for four months and forfeiture of $18.00 of his pay per month for a like period. After review by the convening authority, the sentence was approved and published.

Subsequent to the trial, a thorough investigation was ordered by the War Department and Levy was given an additional opportunity to offer evidence in his own behalf. Under oath, he was unable to present any specific instances of what he felt to be mistreatment of individual Negro soldiers by white officers or non-commissioned officers and diligent examination of conditions at the post revealed no evidence of such mistreatment.

Levy's own testimony presents the most convincing answer to the charge that his court-martial was ordered primarily because of protests he had made at a staff conference over the mistreatment of Negro soldiers. Levy stated to the investigating officer that he had at no time made such a protest to any officer on the base and had not, in fact, spoken to any officer or non-commissioned officer on the subject at all previous to being questioned on the charges which formed the basis of his trial.

A complete review by the War Department substantiates the fact that Levy had a fair trial, and that the evidence submitted is legally sufficient to support both the finding of guilty and the sentence.

Very truly yours,

J. A. ULIO,
Major General,
The Adjutant General.

[redacted] Hosp Sqdn Phib (Sep)
Camp Stoneman, California
31 October 1943

Dear Rudy,

I am wondering if something more might add to my life this morning, and I want your candid opinion.

For a while I am reading Goodspeed's translation of Matthew — in some parts of the Sermon on the Mount that you [illegible] me. As I read it it indicates that Jesus was driving at an enemy, seeking, searching within, praying in public, fasting, and showing two matters I seemed that he was trying to explain these things. (1) That the most important factor in what we do or do is his inner intention, that direction determines the quality of our spirit, (2) that good actions lacking this hidden motivation are valueless, (3) that "everything that goes beyond that [illegible] intention] comes from the evil one," meaning that whatever we do that is not the natural expression the voice within is positively harmful.

Shortly afterwards I met and passed several officers, and for the first time that I can remember as I saluted them I felt [illegible] Now that puzzles me, because I have always felt [illegible] that it was [illegible] I have always felt [illegible] a plan to [illegible] [illegible] it

A: That's what it's like to know. All I have to go by is a tiny inside that says "no."

Q: Let's analyze this matter from another angle: What is the purpose of this conditioning?

A: For efficiency.

Q: What is efficiency good for?

A: When we get to know the many, many things we need to know and we'll be using them — the field, the — the medicine and the surgery we get of every time.

Q: Now one thing at a time. Is a good, efficient organization in itself a good thing?

A: I don't get you.

Q: Is an organization, a system, good or bad — itself, or is it good or bad depending on what it is used for?

A: I see. The value of the instrument depends — what it is used for.

Q: Then what is the purpose of this conditioning?

A: [illegible]

Q: [illegible]

A: [illegible] — the [illegible] — itself, since I'm [illegible]

[illegible]

394 Glenmont Ave.
Columbus, Ohio
Nov. 5, 1943

Mr. Bayard Rustin,
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Rustin,

Last week I received a letter from John asking me to write you again about your visiting him. He said to tell you how sorry he was not to be allowed to see you in September after being told the opposite. But now John says he has a statement in writing concerning his visiting privilege which says, "Eligible for ½ hour starting Saturday Nov. 6, 1943." So he is positive now that you could visit him on any Saturday between 1 and 4 or Sunday between 9 to 12 and 1 to 4. He also said to send you his best wishes for a lot of success on your western tour for the F. O. R.

We appreciate so much your making the effort to see John in September and we hope and pray you may be permitted to see him soon for he is so desirous of seeing you. Oh, how he does admire you!

The strike continues at Glenburn. I did hope something would be done about it before this. I received a letter this week from Lawrence Templin's mother at Suffern, N. Y. and she said that her son and another boy had come out of the strike at Glenburn. The Templins thought the other boy might have been John but they went to see this son recently and found it was not John. I will quote from Mrs. Templin's: "The warden wrote that Lawrence and another boy

came out of the strike. Then we went to see Lawrence last week and he said it wasn't John. Lawrence says it is very complicated and he has little hope that things will clear up easily. We feel since the boys have made their protest they should now allow the Warden to act. I feel worried because they won't send boys there as long as there is at strike and at least Danbury has a better reputation than most of them. Two boys were here Sunday. Both are parolees on ⅓ of their time in a New York City Hospital. One is greatly disturbed and dejected. He lost 50 lbs. in prison. He struggled with every official. It was a sin for such a man to be so punished. He is fine and sincere. The other boy takes what comes - puts on weight, sees the wrongs, speaks out but holds no deep resentment.

We had a good visit with Lawrence. He withdrew from the strike about 3 weeks ago. He says John is fine. There are boys in the prison who help to keep the issue alive between the Warden and the strikers. Lawrence says they are cemented into a real group and he yet doubts if he did right to withdraw but on the other hand he sees reasons for it all. Bob Luitwieler was sentenced to 3 yrs. He is still in Jersey City.

And so ends Mrs. Templin's letter.

I wonder sometimes if all the boys would withdraw from the strike if the Warden would not be more apt to do something about the racial discrimination, but I fear nothing will be done as long as they refuse to cooperate. At least, nothing seem to be accomplished so far.

What do you think about that phase of it?

I do hope you will be able to help John and the others clear up this unfortunate situation. I know you will do all you can and may God abundantly bless and use you in His service. Sincerely,

Mrs Frank Mecartney.

November 12, 1943

For your own information, but to be used with the utmost discretion, I pass along the information that, in a letter to Clarence E. Pickett, Austin H. MacCormick, the executive director of the Osborne Association, Inc., who was one of the persons making the investigation of the Murphy-Taylor situation at Springfield, Mo., stated with reference to the charges of beating that "we came to the conclusion that the charges must be considered as not proved, although I personally felt that the occurrences Murphy told about had happened and that the officers and attendants were covering up." He goes on to say, referring to Mr. Palmer, the friend who has been visiting federal prisons, and who, with Dr. King and Mr. MacCormick, participated in investigating conditions at Springfield: "Mr. Palmer was not present, however, when Dr. King and I interviewed Taylor. At that time he was finishing up the appointments he had with other individuals, and he apparently wrote his report and left the institution before we had finished talking to Taylor. He therefore had no opportunity to learn how serious the charges were that Taylor had made and did not know when he left that both Dr. King and I felt that a long and careful investigation would have to be made before the institution could be given a clean bill of health.

"It was probably not very good judgment to write and file a report while two other people were still engaged in questioning one of the complainants, but I am quite certain he had no idea how much more serious Taylor's allegations would prove to be than Murphy's and probably assumed that if we could not prove the charges one made we would not be able to prove the other's charges."

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As indicated in the Executive Committee minutes for October 26, the question of F.O.R. policy with regard to attitudes and activities of C.O.s in prison, is to come up for thorough discussion at an Executive Committee meeting in the near future. The attached is a personal contribution to the discussion.

Enclosed also is the memorandum on the Moscow Conference requested by the E.C. at the meeting on November 9.

A. J. MUSTE

11/10/43

-2-

MEMORANDUM ON C.O.s IN PRISON
(Tentative Draft by A.J.Muste)

The suggestion that F.O.R. and other pacifist organizations should give counsel and leadership with regard to the conduct of C.O.s in prison has come recently both from such C.O.s, and from pacifists outside prisons: both from those who approved of certain recent work and/or hunger strikes, and felt that they could be made more effective if given corporate leadership, and from those who questioned or disapproved such actions.

While pacifism and individualism are not synonymous, because fellowship is of the essence of the religious way of life, nevertheless respect for personality and for the conscience of the individual, the recognition that in the final analysis each must obey the Inner Light, the voice of the Spirit as it comes to him, are fundamental in pacifism.

On the one hand, this means that uniform organized action by pacifists on a given issue or method is difficult to get. The kind of concerted action that results from externally imposed discipline is foreign to the genius of pacifism. It is better to accept the limitation which this involves so far as immediate success goes, than to go counter to a fundamental insight.

On the other hand, it seems clear that respect for personality and conscience, and the oft-repeated lesson of history that services of the greatest importance may be rendered by individuals who to their contemporaries seem extreme or even mad, make it necessary that organizations and individuals should be loath to risk "quenching the Spirit" in other individuals or groups within the Fellowship or the larger pacifist movement. It is true that conscientious individuals may be mistaken; also that men may think conscience speaks to them when this is not the case. Some responsibility rests upon an organization or individual, therefore, to determine whether in a given situation where an unconventional course is being pursued, it is confronted with persons or groups following conscience or the Inner Light, or whether there is no substantial basis for such a claim. Nevertheless, cases where equally conscientious people feel called to diverse courses of action do occur.

Such considerations have led the Fellowship, as e.g. in the case of the registrants vs. non-registrants, to hold that we cannot sit as judges over conscience, and that the Fellowship should a) make available to the membership information and arguments bearing on the different positions; and b) give all possible support to individuals and groups in acting according to conscience.

We believe that in the case of C.O.s in prison, who claim that conscience compels them to follow a policy of non-cooperation with the prison regime, or to protest against a particular evil such as segregation on racial grounds--unless there is clear evidence that the claim to be acting according to conscience is without foundation--we cannot any more than in other instances set ourselves up as judges over conscience. We should provide them with counsel as opportunity is given, urge them to remain objective and always open to further leadings of the Spirit, warn them of the danger that they may develop an attitude of antagonism rather than love toward some who are involved in the situation with which they are seeking to deal, as e.g. the prison authorities. We should also bring their concern to the attention of the authorities and the public, seek to prevent or correct misinterpretation of their spirit or their objectives, and in such ways as are open to each of us or to the Fellowship as a body, seek to help in achieving removal of evil conditions.

We are, however, to some extent in all instances, and to a large extent in many, dealing not with clear cases of inner leading, but with problems of pacifist strategy and tactics. While, as already indicated, it is seldom possible to devise a course on which all will agree, it is possible and necessary to make our best thought on issues as they arise available to each other, and especially to the young men of draft age who constitute in a sense--if a military metaphor be in order--the shock troops of pacifism. It is in this spirit that the following reflections relative to the problems of conscientious objectors in prison are made.

Three attitudes are found among C.O.s who, either because they were "absolutists" or because they were refused IV-E classification and would not submit to induction into the armed forces, have been sentenced to Federal prisons.

1) So far, the great majority have submitted to prison regulations and have been "cooperative" in their attitude toward prison officials. There have been instances where they were called upon to do work which seemed to them to contribute directly to the war effort. They have quietly protested in such ways as were available in prison, and so far as we know they have always quite promptly been put on other work. C.O.s in this group have worked also, with satisfaction to themselves and often to the prison officials, for correction of other conditions in prison. They have found opportunities to help fellow-prisoners in various ways and to exemplify, so they felt, the spirit and the methods of brotherhood and reconciliation. There have been many cases where authorities have spoken enthusiastically of the influence exerted by such men over other prisoners; and similar testimony has come from non-C.O. fellow-prisoners.

2) There is a small, but apparently growing groups of C.O.s who feel that they must take what might be termed an "absolutist" position over against the whole Federal prison regime, and that they cannot submit to or cooperate with that regime in any respect. With some the main consideration seems to be that they are in prison because of their opposition to war and conscription. Since they have been impelled by conscience to refuse cooperation with these, how, when a conscription regime perpetrates the further evil of throwing them into prison, can they then--they ask--change to an attitude of cooperation? They feel that the only consistent and right course, at least for them is to continue to refuse cooperation and take the consequences.

There is also the feeling that the Federal prison regime--any modern prison regime--is in itself a major evil, corrupt and corrupting, an embodiment of the authoritarian attitude as truly as war itself or conscription. In some of the non-cooperating C.O.s, this feeling exists alongside the former; in others it is perhaps the dominant one.

3) There are a few C.O.s whose attitude has in general been a cooperative, non-absolutist one, but who have been led to engage in work and/or hunger strikes over specific issues, such as the refusal of the Danbury and the Lewisburg authorities to permit Negroes and whites who desired to do so, to sit at an interracial table in the dining room, or over the censorship of prison mail, and the refusal to allow prisoners books and writing material.

We believe that the following points deserve the careful consideration of all pacifists, and in particular those C.O.s in prison who feel called upon to follow a course of protest and non-cooperation.

a. It can be argued that the whole modern system of statism, regimentation, etc., is a <u>growing</u> evil; it is not a regime which is being reformed and improved or which is on the way out. Against it many feel, therefore, that total opposition must be offered. The prison system, on the other hand, was here before modern totalitarianism. It is not accurate to say that it is simply and completely a part of conscription. In reforming it there has been progress

during the last century; all who are competent to judge seem to agree that there have been quite notable improvements in the Federal prison system within the past decade. Great as are the abuses which still prevail, it may well be valid for a pacifist to say: "My fight is against war and conscription. I will carry that fight on so far as I am left in freedom, no matter what the consequences. Once the State shows its hand and reveals that it has no place for the free man except prison, I have made my point. I will submit to the ordinary prison regime, trying to improve it in such ways as are open to me, using my opportunities to interpret pacifism to my fellow-inmates, etc., and working to regain my freedom and that of other pacifists in order to resume our work against war and conscription."

The fact that this is the attitude which has been taken by a considerable number of the most deeply spiritual and courageous C.O.s certainly should give pause to those who are inclined to follow an opposite course. Similarly, Gandhi's life is devoted to Satyagraha, a witness for the way of truth and non-violence, and to the achievement of independence for India by non-violent means. As a result of his work and life, he has often been imprisoned. He has also during imprisonment engaged in a fast--but not "unto death". For the most part, however, he seems to have been a submissive prisoner. This in spite of the fact that it could be argued that British jails in India are an integral part of British domination--i.e., of the system against which Gandhi is contending--and the well-known fact that there are grave abuses in the prison system in India--just as in a sense prison for a C.O., it is argued, is a part of the regime of regimentation against which the C.O. is fighting, and there are terrible abuses in our prison system. By and large, virtually all prophets and revolutionists in history, secular and religious, have pursued the same policy as Gandhi in prison. This is an impressive fact which we have to try to understand when we consider what our present course should be.

b. No human being can take upon himself the righting of all the wrongs in the world. To some extent we must, and we all do, choose the objectives we emphasize. If, because we carry on a radical struggle against war and conscription, it is argued that we must also carry on an equally radical one against the prison system, we can also argue the same for the economic order, for example, or any one of at least a dozen causes. It is true that they are all inter-related; yet it seems equally true that we have each to set some limit to our objectives; and that we may get ourselves into a completely unreal situation if e.g. we adopt what amounts to the position that the existing prison system, the economic order, etc., must all be abolished before we can "submit" or "cooperate" in any respect.

c. Complete "non-cooperation" such as some urge, seems to mean eventually "the fast unto death"; for one who is willing to eat off the system he is fighting is not completely divorcing himself from it, and certainly serious ethical questions can be raised about what would seem to come close to "parasitism". But from the ethical and religious point of view, the fast unto death is obviously a very serious step, and regarded by such unquestioned authorities as Gandhi as a last resort. One must be very clear that it is a true sacrifice one is making and not suicide one is committing. Also, Gandhi fasts not as a non-violent means to effect a change in the policy of the British officials, for example, but for self-purification.

If one considers the matter from the standpoint of tactics, it seems clear that <u>again</u> "total non-cooperation" and/or the fast unto death are steps at of a process that a movement might work up to, but certainly would not begin with.

A minor consideration: the fast unto death is a very hard thing to carry through; and to begin one and not carry it through is not good for the cause, and possibly not either for the individual involved.

d. Prophets and revolutionists who submitted to prison regimes were first of all concerned about some social objective--as independence for India, abolition of untouchability, etc., in Gandhi's case. What they want is to work in freedom for that objective. When they are deprived of that freedome, they want to get out, and their comrades want them to get out to continue that work. There is a danger that in submission to ordinary prison regulations they are compromising with evil, and they certainly must not become insensitive to that danger; but adopting an over-all policy of non-submission has also its dangers, as has been pointed out. The pacifist movement today has a tremendous job on its hand, including getting C.O.s out of jail, stopping the war, etc. We ought to consider pretty carefully how that may most effectively be done, and that no moral dereliction is involved in such consideration. It is legitimate that especially those who propose to undertake an unconventional course, should consider very carefully whether they may be diverting a movement from its main course, and are, in effect, coercing it into devoting undue attention to a "concern" of a small minority.

Two final considerations need to be stated:

1) From the first, F.O.R. has had in its statement of purpose the paragraph: "They (i.e. F.O.R. members) advocate such ways of dealing with offenders against society as shall transform the wrongdoers rather than inflict retributive punishment." We have, that is to say, recognized that "prison reform" was one of the fields in which we should be most active, that "offenders against society" should have our special concern. We cannot claim to have done much to meet this challenge. Our chief consideration should now be fixed not upon the pros and cons of the various attitudes taken by our C.O.s in prison, but upon how we may act most effectively to right those wrongs to which all of them are calling our attention. The issues, as such, of Jim Crow in prison, of brutal treatment which still occurs, of censorship, etc., are real and grave issues of which we do not wish to lose sight.

2) While we have placed the stress in this memo upon considerations which we believe actual or prospective "non-cooperators" should have in mind, we recognize that such men as these have in the past often proved to be pioneers, and that men of other dispositions, and who follow other paths are also subject to peculiar temptations against which they need to guard. The "non-cooperators" have already brought certain serious abuses to public attention--indeed even to the attention of prison officials, who were not aware of the existence of these abuses. As the National Council at its annual meeting stated, on the basis of reports which have come to us, we have confidence in the honesty and integrity of our C.O.s in prison. We are clear that we must continue to follow the policy which we feel has stood the test of experience, viz. of making available to F.O.R. members information and other material relating to prison problems, and the varying points of view which are held about them; and giving all possible support to individuals and groups in acting according to conscience.

(not proof read--dg)

2929 Broadway
New York City 25

November 9, 1943

FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION, 2929 Broadway, New York City (25)

FOOTNOTE ON MOSCOW

A. J. MUSTE

The NEW YORK TIMES said of the Conference of the Foreign Ministers of the United States, Great Britain and Russia (Hull, Eden and Molotoff, respectively) held in Moscow October 19-30, 1943: "The results of the Moscow Conference exceed the most optimistic hopes, and must be hailed as a great victory for the United Nations, matching any victory yet achieved on the battle fronts." There is no question that this Conference will go down in history as an event of the utmost significance. Herewith we furnish a brief summary of the five documents produced by or in connection with the Conference, followed by an attempt to estimate the meaning of the decisions that were made and of those which were not made, or if made were not published.

I. Joint Communique of Tripartite Conference.

This was issued on November 1 by the Foreign Secretaries. It states that "the agenda included all questions submitted for discussion by the three Governments," but does not list the agenda or indicate whether there was a preliminary understanding to leave out certain questions, such as those relating to the Baltic States, which are no mentioned in any of the documents. On some matters final decisions were taken; on others "decisions of principle" which "were referred for detailed considerations to commissions "or were "reserved for treatment through diplomatic channels."

Foremost "were frank and exhaustive discussions of the measures to be taken to shorten the war against Germany." Presumably Stalin was satisfied that the "second front" in western Europe will soon be established. A basis has been laid "for the closest military cooperation in the future between the three countries."

It is recognized that "the present close collaboration and cooperation in the conduct of the war" must be continued "into the period following the end of hostilities."

Reference is then made to the Joint Four-Nation Declaration in which China joined through its Ambassador in Moscow, which is summarized below.

This is followed by the important announcement of the decision "to establish in London a European advisory commission" to ensure "the closest cooperation between the three Governments in the examination of European questions arising as the war develop" Thus it is recognized that the political questions arising as the fighting progresses must be tackled forthwith, and it is presumably hoped that the differences which obviously existed about policy in North Africa and, at least for a time, in Italy, will not be permitted to recur.

Provision has also been made for "an advisory council for matters relating to Italy" to be composed of representatives of the three Governments plus, be it noted, the French Committee of National Liberation dominated by De Gaulle. (This represents a victory for Stalin. It may also indicate that Britain has in mind balancing France against Italy in the Mediteranean after the war. It is indicated that the Italian and the European advisory councils will take over the functions of the former Mediterranean Commission, which will go out of the picture.)

The Joint Communique next mentions the Declaration Regarding Italy; that relating to the independence of Austria; and the Roosevelt-Churchill-Stalin Statement on Atrocities, all summarized below.

The concluding paragraph indicates that the Moscow discussions touched upon many matters not mentioned in the Conference documents, including "questions concerning treatment of Hitlerite Germany and its satellites, economic cooperation and assurance of general peace "-all"in an atmosphere of mutual confidence and understanding."

II. Joint Four Nation Declaration.

The four governments agree "to continue hostilities against those Axis powers with which they respectively are at war until such powers have laid down their arms on the basis of unconditional surrender". (Stalin thus accepts the Roosevelt-Churchill "unconditional surrender" formula. The fact that he is willing to join with China in making this declaration, though Russia remains at peace with Japan, may indicate that he is no longer seriously worried about an attack by Japan in the East.)

The four governments declare further:

1) "Their united action pledged for the prosecution of the war --- will be continued for the organization and maintenance of peace and security."

2) Those "at war with a common enemy will act together in all matters relating to the surrender and disarmament of that enemy."

3) Take measures "to provide against any violation of the terms imposed upon the enemy."

4) Recognize the necessity of establishing at the earliest practicable date a general international organization based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all peace-loving States, and open to membership by all such States, large and small, for the maintenance of international peace and security."

5) "Pending the re-establishment of law and order --- they will consult with one another --- with a view to joint action on behalf of the community of nations."

6) "After the termination of hostilities they will not employ their military forces within the territories of other States except for the purposes envisaged in this declaration and after joint consultation."

7) They will seek "with one another and with other members of the United Nations to bring about a practicable general agreement with respect to the regulation of armament in the post-war period."

III. Declaration Regarding Italy.

The foreign secretaries of the three Governments declare themselves in complete agreement "that Allied policy toward Italy must be based upon the fundamental principle that fascism --- shall be completely destroyed." The Italian people must be "given every opportunity to establish governmental and other institutions upon democratic principles." It is asserted by Mr. Hull and Mr. Eden that, in so far as "paramount military requirements have permitted," the action of their governments has always "been based upon this policy." (One may surmise that here each was given a certain latitude in defining terms, as some latitude in the definition of "democratic principles" by Mr. Meleteff may have been assumed.)

The three Secretaries are therefore agreed on the following:

1) "Representatives of those sections of the Italian people who have always opposed Fascism" should be included in the government.

2) Freedom of speech etc., including the right "to form anti-Fascist political groups" is to be restored.

3) "All institutions and organizations instituted by the Fascist regime shall be suppressed."

4) All Fascist and pro-Fascist elements removed from public office.

5) Political prisoners to be released

6) Democratic organs of local government erected.

7) "Fascist chiefs and army generals known or suspected to be war-criminals shall be arrested and handed over to justice."

(One might conclude from all this that an immediate revolution was to happen in Italy. However, it is provided that "so long as active military operations continue in Italy, the time at which it is possible to give full effect to the principles stated above will be determined by the Commander-in-Chief." The insistence that Fascism must be rooted out in Italy represents another triumph for Stalin. It will be very effective in winning liberals in Britain and the United States to enthusiastic support of war to the finish against Germany and Japan; and probably indicates that the Allies will insist on a pretty complete clean-up of elements in Germany which have been Nazi or strongly pro-Nazi.)

IV. Declaration on Austria.

"Austria, the first free country to fall a victim to Hitlerite aggression, shall be liberated from German domination." The annexation of March 15, 1938, is declared "null and void". A free and independent Austria is to be re-established, thereby to open the way for "those neighboring states which will be faced with similar problems" also to find security and peace. "Austria is reminded — that in the final settlement, account will inevitably be taken of her own contribution to her liberation."

V. Statement on Atrocities.

This statement is signed by Roosevelt, Churchill, and Stalin. Their governments, "speaking in the interests of the United Nations", declare that Germans "responsible for or having taken a consenting part" in war atrocities "will be sent back to the countries in which their abominable deeds were done in order that they may be judged and punished according to the laws of these liberated countries." Those who have not yet joined in perpetrating atrocities are warned not to "join the ranks of the guilty, for most assuredly the three Allied powers will pursue them to the uttermost ends of the earth." "whose offenses have no particular geographical localization" will be "punished by joint decision of the governments of the Allies."

The Meaning of Moscow.

At first glance, many of the above pronouncements seem highly promising. It is not cynicism but sober realism that prompts the reminder that Wilson's Fourteen Points and the Covenant of the League of Nations did too. Lacking much essential information any one who attempts to assay the real meaning of the Moscow Conference may err either on the side of optimism or of pessimism.

What can be stated with most assurance, it seems to me, is that the present regime in the United States, Britain, Russia and China, have demonstrated that they are exceedingly anxious to bring the war to an early close, and to have a substantial breathing space after the war. The chances that this objective will be achieved have been considerably enhanced by the fact that the Conference was finally held, and by the nature of the actions taken in Moscow. For example, the likelihood that there will be a separate peace with any German regime on the part of the United States and Great Britain against Russia, or on the part of Russia against the former, is almost completely removed. It seems therefore probable that the war against Germany will be vigorously pushed on all sides. The fact that Stalin has joined in a statement that Great Britain, the United States and China must bring Japan also to "unconditional surrender", indi-

cates that the way is probably clear for these three powers — perhaps without much help, but also without interference from Russia — to drive through to victory against Japan.

The likelihood of a break-up among the three major powers at the peace conference or conferences has also been reduced. This does not mean that all will be smooth going any more than at Versailles. As indicated below, there will be many matters over which verbal battles will be fought; there may even be troop movements to back up arguments, but there will be no break-up leading to immediate resumption of hostilities among the major powers. The basis for this attitude is chiefly in the fact that Great Britain and Russia, and of course China, have suffered tremendously, cannot go on fighting indefinitely, nor contemplate resuming large scale warfare once hostilities have been suspended; and on the other hand have by the war improved their position at least, as against their major enemies, and have now more to gain from peace or a long armistice, whichever it proves to be. Russia presumably feels that her role in Europe will have been greatly strengthened, and that it is wiser to come to some sort of terms with the United States and Britain rather than by pushing too far to risk having to fight them at a time when American armed forces and war production will be at a very high point. Presumably Stalin had learned from Churchill's talk about an Anglo-American alliance, for example, and certain of Roosevelt's moves, that it was possible to push Britain and the United States too far, and that in that case Russia would have to face united opposition from these two, possible reduction of lend-lease and ultimately the old nightmare of a separate Anglo-American alignment with Germany at the expense of Russia. Roosevelt, for his part, probably senses that there is a powerful desire throughout this country to "get it over with", and that, in spite of all the anti-Soviet feeling in many sections, people would greatly prefer a "sensible" compromise with Russia to a war over control of Europe. Another factor that we may surmise greatly influenced the Moscow conferees, is the recognition that at best the situation in Europe on the cessation of hostilities will be frightfully chaotic and difficult to control, and would be utterly unmanageable if the three powers were at complete loggerheads among themselves.

If considerations such as these are in a measure encouraging, there are other aspects of the situation of which this is definitely not true. If the policy indicated by the Moscow Conference is carried out, the war will end in overwhelming military victory by one group of nations, and a peace dictated by them and imposed upon the vanquished. That will be a bad beginning for the building of a durable peace.

Assuming that Germany and Japan are at least temporarily eliminated from the roll of first-rate powers, there will be only three such left after this war — the United States, Russia and Great Britain. The latter will be in so precarious a position without the support of either of the former, and China's immediate position so weak and her power so largely potential, that it is with some reservation that one speaks of even three first-rate powers. All other nations, despite what is said about their "sovereign equality," will be satellites to these. Do we have evidence that they will use their preponderant power for the welfare of all peoples any more than the victors of Versailles did?

One evidence would be an attitude of true humility and repentance, a confession of a share in the guilt of the war. No such note is to be detected in the Moscow pronouncements. The Big Three think of themselves and the little nations on their side as the "peace-loving nations", and of the enemies as law-breakers and perpetrators of atrocities. Until an attitude at once more balanced and less self-righteous is manifested, we have no real assurance of lasting peace.

Another way in which evidence that a better day was coming might be given, would be by plain, specific talk about difficult situations in which the Allies are involved. There was plain talk from Moscow about Italy, Austria and other nations occupied by Germany. What did Molotoff tell Hull and Eden Russia was going to do about Finland,

the Baltic states, Bessarabia, Dobrudja, Poland? What did Eden tell Molotoff and Hull Britain was going to do about India, Burma, and other such cases? What did Hull tell Eden and Molotoff about U. S. bases in the Philippines after all not-peace-loving nations have been subdued? Everybody knows that multitudes all over the world would have greeted with indescribable relief and joy the announcement that the victor nations were going to give liberty to these peoples and absolutely no strings attached. The failure to make the announcement can only mean that there was nothing of the sort to announce.

There is further ground for questioning in the fact that no light was shed from Moscow on what the economic and political organization of Europe is to be after the war. The nullification of the unification of Austria and Germany, and the implied promise of "independence" to other nations under German occupation or influence, will by themselves certainly solve nothing. Indeed to say this much, and then not to speak of the necessity of a unified economy for Europe, suggests all too strongly a program of keeping Germany down and keeping Europe divided with "spheres of influence" for this or that major power. It leaves the way open also for a series of clerical-fascist (under another name) states under Roman Catholic influence, which seems to be one of the objects of the Vatican.

There is no hint as to what may have been said about Russian ambitions in the Balkans, the Mediterranean, the Near East, Iran, and in Mongolia. The same is true of British plans in the Near East, for the Arabs and the Jews; and of the disposition to be made of the Italian and French empires. Until we know something of what is to happen in these "hot spots" of the earth, we have no sure foundation on which to build hopes of peace, no spell with which to exorcise the ghost of World War III.

There are two references to armament in the Joint Four-Nation Declaration, and neither one so much as hints at disarmament, nor even at turning military forces over to an international agency. The reference to the immediate post-war situation states that the four powers will try to "bring about a practicable general agreement with respect to the regulation of armaments in the post-war period." For the longer future, according to the other reference, they recognize the necessity of "establishing and maintaining international peace and security with the least diversion of the world's human and economic resources for armaments!" I regret to say that these broad statements, taken in the context of current developments, hold out no more effective hope for ridding the world of the menace of competitive armament than the statements of the 1914-19 were proved to contain.

Finally, and most important of all, in all the voluminous output of Moscow, there is not one clear word of hope for the German people, not one clear indication of a determination to deal with "the enemy" in an intelligent and humane fashion. I use the adjective "clear" advisedly, because it may be thought that the Declaration Regarding Italy in its insistence that Fascism must be suppressed and civil liberties guaranteed, has a bearing on the German situation. But in view of the repeated statements that the German and the Italian problems are two quite distinct matters, it can be supposed to have only an exceedingly indirect and limited bearing. For the rest, there is not a single assurance that Germany will not again be saddled with "sole guilt" for the war. The assumption back of the Statement on Atrocities is that the German people themselves cannot be trusted to mete out justice to war-criminals, unless indeed it is simply to gratify a thirst for revenge in the families of murdered people that German war-criminals are to be taken back to the places where their crimes were committed. Thus a brand of infamy is placed on the Germans. Was the term "Huns", in addition to Hitlerites, which has hitherto in this war been so seldom used, introduced into this Statement for that express purpose? There is no word of assurance against dismemberment; against deprivation of territory; against indemnities; against forced draft of German labor to rebuild other countries; against a long-time military occupation; against being kept indefinitely like last time out of the "general international

organizations;" against the destruction of German industry or the crippling of German trade. It is explicitly stated in the Joint Communique that "questions concerning treatment of Hitlerite Germany and its satellites" were discussed. It seems inconceivable that if there was agreement among the Foreign Secretaries, that the mistakes and crimes of the victors of World War I must be avoided and that there are such beings as non-Hitlerite Germans, something about that matter should not have been said to the latter and to the world. Alongside a pronouncement about peoples who are held in subjection or think they are by the Allies, this would have brought the greatest relief and joy to the war-weary world.

What is the situation then? Is there agreement on a course that would follow essentially the pattern of 1919-33? Or is there disagreement? In that case who is standing for a new deal this time? Or is there simply confusion in the minds of Allied statesmen over what is to be done with Germany other than preventing her by force from ever waging war again?

All this has a crucial bearing on the question of bringing the war to an end speedily on the basis of peace by consultation rather than by dictation. If Four Powers -- the United States, Britain, Russia and China - having sixty per cent of the world's land area and the same percentage of the earth's population, genuinely agreed among themselves and were genuinely determined upon a peace no longer based precariousl on power politics and armed might, they could have sent out from Moscow a call for "peace without victory" which no one could have regarded as a sign of weakness; which would have caused the power both of the Nazis and the German Army to crumble because of withdrawal of all support from the German people who would have known that at last the nations were prepared to break the vicious and tragic circle of war followed by a dictated peace, followed by a bigger war. Such a proclamation would have been such a mighty blast for peace and world-democracy that failure to sound it can only mean that no such agreement exists. The Allies do not know what to do about the cultural problem of the peace -- the enemy peoples and their place in that peace. Or rather, their policy with regard to these peoples is that they must be subjected to defeat and humiliation, and thereafter they must be policed for a considerable period and forever prevented by force from effectively waging war again.

This still needs to be pointed out by pacifists and non-pacifists alike who cannot believe in the effectiveness of a dictated peace imposed upon a vanquished foe, though undoubtedly propaganda for "peace by agreement" has been made more difficult by the hopes of speedy victory which Moscow has aroused, and by the fact that the Conference has given a more progressive, anti-Fascist, appearance, and perhaps to some extent character to the war.

The idea that the problem of peace is how nations can be kept from attacking each other -- a police problem -- was aptly described recently by Samuel Grafton, the New York Post columnist as "very thin", with "more vinegar than blood in it." He continued: "That is the wisdom of twenty years ago. Our real problem is broader, deeper; it is how to live, how to eat, how to find work. --Moral preachments about world-order buzz about our ears, but it is thin stuff. How does one enforce a friendship? --The price of peace may once have been a police force; but in the incredibly changed world of today, the price of peace is peace itself; it includes the humility that will seek out friends and be friends." There is no convincing evidence provided by the Moscow Conference that the statesmen of the world have attained this wisdom. At the most, on the basis of present evidence, Moscow promises an Armistice not Peace; an end of World War II, not a sure bulwark against World War III.

ajn:herd

Form O. C. No. 1—Goldsmith Bros., Stationers, 77 Nassau St., New York 8, N. Y.

Inter-Office Correspondence

USE THIS FORM FOR ALL OFFICE CORRESPONDENCE—WRITE ON ONE SIDE OF PAPER ONLY

Date 11/16/43

To Bayard *From* A. J.

Subject:

I do not know whether you want this letter of Charles Butcher's back or not. If you have another copy I shall be glad to keep this one.

The questions Charles raises will many of them be discussed at that meeting at 2 Stone St. on Monday evening, November 22, about which I told you the other day. Be sure to be there. Be sure to read also my memo on FOR and the men in prison. This subject is a special item on the agenda of the FOR E.C. meeting on November 23, which you ought to attend without fail. Dont forget either the NVDA Committee meeting at the Ashram on November 23 at 8 P.M.

Our friends like Charlie Butcher ought to keep in mind that we have about as much difficulty in communicating with them as they have with us, and that there is a great deal more activity than the fellows behind prison walls are aware of.

PUT IT IN WRITING WRITTEN MESSAGES SAVE TIME AND AVOID ERRORS

From Charles Butcher

2432

To Mr. Bayard Rustin

October 13th, 1943

2929 Broadway, New York, N.Y.

Bayard

Dear Bayard,

Although you have been approved as one of my correspondents for several months, the approval which was granted was of a special nature. The prison authorities did not recognize you as one of my personal friends and preferred to take the attitude that my interest in writing to you was to conduct "business" connected with the F.O.R. The Same assumption is made concerning your writing to me. While this situation is not all that could be desired, it represents a departure from customary procedure which, if taken at its face value, may prove to be valuable to both of us.

According to reports I have received from various sources, the National Council of the F.O.R. was to vote on the question of continuing as a member of the N.S.B.R.O. at its meeting in Chicago, Sept.25th. Although I have not heard directly concerning the outcome of this meeting, I assume that the council decided to reamin in the N.S.B.R.O., since, had there been a change in policy, Agnes certainly would have told me about it. I don't have to tell you that I am disappointed with this decision, but now that it has been made there is no value in criticising it. The thing for us to do is to determine how the F.O.R. representation on the N.S.B.R.O. can be used to best advantage.

The charge is often heard that the so-called "social actionists" in C.P.S. and elsewhere are jeopardizing the operation of C.P.S. for those who are willing to accept it as it is. At least to the extent that this is true, the counter charge that the C.P.S. system is jeopardizing the attainment of greater opportunity for those who desire it is also true. The existence of the C.P.S. system and its acceptance by a large number of C.O.'s makes those who cannot accept it appear insincere. The main reason for the half-truths expressed in these arguments and counter-arguments is due to a lack of honesty on both sides.

Those charged with the administration of C.P.S. and those who actively support it are unwilling to admit openly the extent of the compromise they have accepted. They know that they are accepting conscription but they stress the "voluntary service" aspect of the program. It is much easier on the conscience to think that somehow one is demonstrating a "voluntary service of love in wartime" than to admit honestly that one is acceptong the best of a bad bargain. To the extent that this argument gains currency outside pacifist circles it becomes a lever against the non-registrant. For he too believes in a "voluntary service of love" and so to an "outsider" his refusal to accept C.P.S. as such a service is insincere. How, for example, is he to answer the argument of the government that his brother C.O.'s (who, like himself, are assumed to be honest) are rendering voluntary service in C.P.S. while he, who says he wishes just such service, is not willing to go to C.P.S. where, presumably, he could accomplish his goal? Thus he is confronted by people who do not agree with him with arguments present by groups who profess to share his concern. He seems to be opposing the good judgement of his won groups.

A more telling misrepresentation, and one which has clouded our whole testimony, is the widely held belief that the existence of alternative types of service in some way reduces or nullifies the conscriptive nature of the work done under one or another of them. The fact that C.P.S. now "offers" service in some fifteen different fields, and even "offers" a government operated camp to those who wish it, is accepted as positive proff that the system is somehow voluntary. It should be obvious to anyone who is willing to look at the picture as a whole, that such an argument is basically fallacious. All fifteen alternatives are identical in one basic aspect, they are all established, controlled and disciplined by the Selective Service System. These fifteen alternatives may represent an encouraging set of privileges, but they do not represent a change in the policy of military conscription. To look upon the established altern-

Had CPS been our enemy?

atives as anything other then "enlightened" coercion is unthinkable. One might as well say that the Bureau of Prison's policy of assigning inmates to different types of prisons and jobs is proof that the inmates are volunteers.

Again, for those of us who object to the military character of the control of C.P.S.; the NSBRO's policy of stating that they are not controlled by Col.Kasch, Gen. Hershey, etc., but are "cooperating" with them is very damaging. As the prosecuting attorney argued in his final speech to the jury in my case: It is obvious that this defendent is simply an anarchist and is not sincere in his objection to military control, because if that control actually existed, the members of the NSBRO, an organization of and for C.O.'s, would be the first to realize it, and would then support this defendent instead of continuing their relations with Selective Service! Paul French and Bob Ziegler have admitted privately that Gen. Hershey is the boss of everything and that they are not on equal terms with him, and yet neither their admission nor the scope and extent of their control by Selective Service has ever been published publicly. Why can't those who are willing to accept the facts of this control be expected to reveal what they are accepting. Secrecy is not a policy of pacifists!

In other words, I think the least that the F.O.R. can do, in honesty to its own membership and the country as a whole, is to state clearly and definitely who decides what C.P.S. men do, and who controls them in this work. A frank admission of the nature and extent of the compromise represented by C.P.S. does not weaken the position of those who accept it. It simply forces pacifists to think clearly about the truth of their wartime position, a position which, apparently, many people would rather not recognize.

All pacifists agree that their aim is to seek the truth and to follow it fearlessly wherever it may lead them. How we can expect to accomplish such a goal without personal and group honesty, without clearly stating all the facts upon which our judgement must be Based, is the eighth wonder of the world! In the case of C.P.S., we see a great many different "truths" from the very fact that none of us know all the facts. No member of the F.O.R. could object to an honest statement of the relationship between the NSBRO and Selective Service.

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Two weeks ago, a "committee", composed of James Bennett, Cal Shadduct, Capt. Padgett, and Paul French, visited this prison. The apparent intention of the committee was to discuss parole plans with a representative group of inmates. Naturally, the committee confined themselves primarily to paroles under Ex.Ord. 8641. Several inmates were interviewed -- one by one -- and the results of these discussions seem to be briefly these:

1) Non-registrants will not be granted any parole except Plan 3 (C.P.S.) Thus, the men who logically would be least willing to accept Selective Service control are asked to accept it completely. Such an "offer" is an insult to the integrity of these men, and I, for one, hope that none of them accept it.

2) "Political Objectors" will not be granted any parole except parole to the army. It is apparent that the committee does not accept a prison sentence as proff of "religious" sincerity. They stick to Hershey's narrow deistic interpretation of "religious training and belief" and indicate a reluctance to change the opinions handed down by local and appeal boards.

3) A few men may be granted plan 4 paroles, but the conditions of these paroles will be determined by Selective Service and limited by what C.P.S. men are able to get on "detached service."

4) J.W.'s may be "forced" to go to government C.P.S. camps. Although this is far from a genuine solution to their problem, it may represent an advance for them. They do not make any distinctions between one type of prison and the other, and they go only under compulsion. The fact that they might receive the privilege of 30 days furlough would be a gain over conditions here. Thus they might benefit slightly without making what, to them, would otherwise be a moral compromise.

A few general observations might be added: 1. Almost all the men brought before the committee were asked to accept something which they did not want. Thus, men

desiring C.P.S. were urged to take 1-AO, men desiring Plan 4, P lan 3, men desiring general parole (1/3 time), Plan 4; and in each case an effort was made to establish the idea that it was "take this or nothing." 2. Everything offered was limited by the conditions ixisting in the C.P.S. system. In this connection, one revealing question was put to me by Cal Shadduct of Selective Service after I refused Plan 4. He said, "You don't expect us to offer you something which Gen. Hershey is unwilling to grant men in C.P.S. who are cooperating with him, do you?" Of course, I replied that I did not. I don't expect anything from Selective Service. But the interesting thing is how revealing this question is in terms of the whole situation. Note that he said it was a question of what Gen. Hershey was willing to grant. If Paul French (who was present when this was said) had been an"equal partner" with Hershey in the granting of privileges to C.P.S. men, Cal. Shadduct would have said: "You don't expect us to grant you more than the NSBRO and S.S. are willing to grant C.P.S.men." Can there actually be two-way cooperation between the NSBRO and SS if Gen. Hershey makes the decisions and grants the privileges? Obviously, no true cooperation exists or could exist between S.S. and the NSBRO; the whole idea is fantastic! Gen. Hershey grants and Gen. Hershey takes away. If you don't like what Gen. Hershey offers, you will stay in prison. That was Col. Shadduct's attitude and that has been the attitude of S.S. for a long time. 3. The statistics on parole seem to be something like this: Plan 3 - 100 granted, Plan 4 - 3 or 4 granted, 1/3 time 32 granted. 4. Considerable pressure is being exerted — not only by Selective Service and this 8641 committee, but by our own parole officer — to get men to accept 1-AO or some other compromise with their principles. This pressure may be due to a desire on the part of the Bureau of Prisons to get paroles for the men. Thus our parole officer says that he is doubtful of our chances to get, say, Plan 4 or 1/3 time parole, and therefore he hopes we will take 1-AO which he is pretty sure he can get for us. Regardless, however, of the motives for this pressure, it is a tough thing to face particularly when 5 years in prison seems to be the only alternative, with a new sentence awaiting anyone who gets out. Furthermore, it has been intimated that refusal to give in to this pressure may be held against a man when he is considered for some other parole plan which he desires.

In all, there are four types of parole: Plan 2 (1-AO), Plan 3 (C.P.S.), Plan 4 (similar to C.P.S. detached service) and 1/3 time (or general) parole. There are men here who will not accept one or another of these possibilities. If the F.O.R. is going to continue to deal with Selective Service through the NSBRO, they can do the men who are willing to accept 8641 parole a great service by demanding that their cases be considered on the basis of what they want and can conscientiously accept, and not on the basis of what further compromise they are willing to make. Pacifists are not horse traders; they don't say they want one thing hoping they may get something else less desirable. The NSBRO and SS are not giving honest service to these men if they approach the problem in that way. Furthermore, such arbitrary punitive measures as restricting non-registrants to C.P.S. parole and "political objectors" to virtually no parole are obviously unfair. Freedom of conscience is not the exclusive rights of established churches, and if the NSBRO helps to maintain this fallacious doctrine they are certainly not worthy of our support.

In regard to general parole, the situation is quite clear. If the Bureau of Prisons and their parole judges believe in freedom of conscience they will do everything within the limits of the laws and regulations which bind them to help the C.O.'s in their prisons. They are not responsible for the sentences the C.O.'s have been given, but if they are sincerely working for the C.O.'s, as they claim to be, they will see that C.O.'s are granted a legitimate opportunity to serve their country in their own way. They have the power to do this after a C.O. serves 1/3 of his time in prison, if they don't do it we can be sure that they are not sincere in their desire to help us. The F.O.R. should continue to do all they can to keep this position clearly before the Buream of Prisons and their judges.

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But of all the problems and difficulties which confront the pacifist prisoner, what I am about to say is most important and the one which the F.O.R. can do most to solve. That is the question of morale.

Few of us have the spiritual resources to accept our lot without the help and fellowship of others. Her in prison, a type of thinking is growing, which, if allowed to proceed unchecked, will do untold damage to the future of the Fellowship. Some of us are beginning to say, "If our fellow pacifists on the 'outside' do not show more concern for the things we believe, and which brought us here, why should we continue to punish ourselves? Why should we bear the brunt of a testimony which means so little that our friends can not give a few hours a week to our cause?"

People outside prison are apt to feel that our testimony is finished on the day we break the law. No thought is farther from the truth. Many of us are offered chance after chance to change our stand after the initial breach of the law. The temptations of the government begin before the trial and continue almost weekly as long as we remain in prison. A man who refuses to go to C.P.S. is not forgotten, he is pushed, prodded and urged to join C.P.S. all the time. Every day he remains in prison he must reaffirm his original decision. This pressure, day after, week after week, month after month, has a cumulative effect which must be met by an equal and opposite accumulation of inner resources. The effectiveness of this pressure may be seen by a glance at the record. It is a potent force, and it must be met.

Of course, it is an admission of weakness and selfishness to say that some of us haven't the resources to cope with these temptations, nor have we the power to suffer indefinitely for our fellow pacifists and the rest of humanity. But it is better to be honestly weak than superficially bold. Besides how many on the "outside" can claim such strength and courage that they can condemn us for our weakness? It is unfortunate, but true, that the current generation of pacifists, while numerically stronger, are spiritually weaker than those in the last war. We have lost absolute faith in our testimony, perhaps because we see reflected in others our own weakness.

We have all experienced the unfortunate spectacle of a group meeting where a resolution was passed on the basis of high principle, but when the members of the group were faced individually with acting upon their resolution, few responded. Even as we supported the passage of the resolution we knew that we would never do anything about it. Such dishonesty — I think it is that — has given us a superficial appearance of unity and noble purpose, but it has not given us the depth of fellowship which alone has the power to give us strength to maintain our goal under extreme difficulties.

Perhaps too, some of our weakness has developed from the same trend which has weakened the whole Christian World. Some of us have lost our faith in immortality and a personal God, and have not replaced this faith with anything equally strong. We have a vague sense of the innate goodness of mankind, but it is not sufficiently developed to drive us to great personal sacrifice. We are not sure that our years in prison will awaken this slumbering goodness in men, and therefore we wonder if our years here are in vain. We may be sacrificing for a hopeless cause.

Some of us, having lost our feeling of group fellowship and our faith in mankind, are becoming cynical. This whole process is like inflation, it feeds itself, and finally produces a man with no principles which he is willing to suffer for, and a man who looks at everything in terms of what good it will do him.

Perhaps I have overdrawn this picture; I have tried not to; I have tried to report honestly what I see and feel around me. However, even if I have painted the present picture with too broad a stroke, I have certainly indicated a trend which alarming.

The only thing that I know of that can counteract this trend is recreating a sense of fellowship and oneness between those on the outside and ourselves. What we really want to know is: "Are you carrying on the struggle where we left off?" If you are, and if we see that you are, we can endure almost anything, but without this we most certainly shall fail. We can only feel a part of the Fellowship if we feel that our being here is awakening and crystalizing a greater and greater effort toward our common goal.

Bayard, I have not intended to give the impression that all of us feel this way, or that this is particularly my own feeling. Personally, I am fortunate in having spent a long time making my decision to come here, and therefore I feel quite happy about what I'm doing, but some of the fellows here don't, and few of us will be able to go on

indefinitely without feeling that perhaps those on the "outside" are not holding up their end.....Of course, this is not directed at you; but you know what I'm driving at. My best to everyone of course.

Sincerely,

Charlie Butcher 2432

From John M. McCartney — November 17, 1943 (Date)

Box No. PMB 1931, Danbury, Conn.

To Mr. Bayard Rustin (Name) — 2929 Broadway, New York City, 25, N. Y. (Address)

Dear Rusty,

I was going to ask you last Sunday if you had time to correspond with me. But in the excitement of so many other things it completely slipped my mind. For a long time I have wanted to correspond with you but just didn't have the nerve to cut any of my friends off my list. However after the visit Sunday I felt it was important to have you on my list. Anyhow one of my correspondents hasn't written since Aug 7. And talk, did you see Mrs ED. on Jim Crow in Aug. New Threshold. She's strong on this cause. P.S. There are so many things to write about I'll just hit a lot of things briefly. Well first, what I've got of being in jail a year. When I look back over the year I think that this has been the greatest and most worthwhile year of my life so far. I was taken out of a mad whirl of college work and activities where I was trying to learn a lot and do a lot. But I didn't have time to think for myself and integrate all the various phases of life. Here I've had some liesure to do some thinking about ideals, goals and ways of living. Also it is very broadening to meet people who range from religious fanatic to militant atheist, from social radical to reactionary, from saint to hardened criminal. The company I chose was that of the social radicals — some religious, some agnostic. Probably one of the most significant things I have become interested in here is Cooperative Communities. For three or four months we had a sociology class which met several times a week for discussion + study of this. Combined with bull sessions on the subject I am seriously thinking of joining such a group experiment after I finish college. I don't need to go into the philosophy of Coop. Communities as I'm sure Bronson has thoroughly acquainted you with it. Other subjects which we have taken up in soc. class were Recent social movements, WDH, and we were going strong on Race Relations when we were interrupted. Incidentally you heard that around thirty of us refused to give our blood to the Red Cross in July because it segregated. So it was arranged for us to be donors to the local non-segregated community blood bank. I've worked for awhile in the kitchen and then on a construction crew but my job from January to August was secretary to the chief engineer — commonly known as power house clerk. I got some good typing experience and had a lot of free time to do what I wanted. Now but now I seem to be having more free time than ever. The Jewish Rabbi here is extremely socially conscious and I never missed an opportunity to go to his services when I was able. The Protestant Chaplain is average. The Protestant Worship Committee composed of several inmates (including yours truly) had charge

of planning and participating in the services which added something. Quaker services were a new experience for me. They were becoming more and more meaningful as I caught the spirit of Quaker worship. Other experiences in meditation came when our Protestant Worship Committee used to meet for vespers every night for about a month before. Up here I set aside a daily period before breakfast for morning watch. ¶ Most pacifists are prejudiced against Reinhold Niebuhr but a couple of my friends are very enthusiastic about him so I'm wading thru his Nature + Destiny of Man. I'll let you know what conclusions I reach after I finish the two volumes. The visit Sunday bang the first from you rather excited me as you probably noticed. I tend to be somewhat of a nervous individual anyhow. We certainly were greatly relieved to know to know that our story was told and would clear up popular misconceptions of the outside:- Negotiations compromise - difficulties etc. We have been surprised how people have not trusted our common sense and fell for those statements. We were very encouraged by the news you brought. And now we hear about P.M. - Hooray! ¶ Oh yes I ought to tell you of the magazines I get to read in order to give you a more complete picture of life here. There is Nation and New Republic, okay but not as good as Common Sense + Christian Century. The Progressive has some good things and Time is strong on India. In the religious view there is motive and sometimes we get to see the Friend's Intelligencer, Friend, + American Friend from the library. Frankly we haven't seen as much about race in them as we'd like. Need I speak of the disappointment in Fellowship. ¶ We haven't heard anything of the M.O.W.'s N.Y.D.H. training program for months. Here they started classes at Howard University yet. Negroes driven chauvenistic, bitter, and resentful by segregation and discrimination will be the instigators of tomorrow's race riots you will agree. Of course there are a great number of other factors of importance and ultimately the blame rests with the whites very much. But when you see people change it can't help but be a challenge. How is Evan Thomas coming along on his political prison plan. There is only a little sentiment here for it if for all C.O.'s, but to my knowledge even less if they are just for non-cooperators. In the past I have been mildly for political prisons for C.O.'s because of the opportunity to train intensively a pacifist movement. But this may fall as flat as C.P.S. educational programs and even worse it may be an easy way to shelve C.O.'s in wars to come when I believe there is a chance for complete exemption. ¶ Being for complete exemption I told the parole board that I would accept parole only to something which I might be doing if free. My three plans submitted were to O.S.V., Antioch, or Macedonia Cooperative Community. The latter had a good chance since C.O.'s are being paroled to farms now. My case had been "continued" in July but I was informed Monday I have been denied. I was told that the board gave no reason but that I could easily guess that no one would be given parole while they were "up here". Is Pearl Christ working with the Free India Movement now and living at the Harlem Ashram? Give her my regards if you see her. I'm afraid I didn't get a clear picture of what Bill and the students at Berea and Bucknell are doing in NYC. Perhaps if you haven't gone on your vacation in Dec. I shall see you again. By the way while you are in town seeing James you might also drop in at the W.I.L. and the N.C.P.W. Well this has been a very pleasant morning writing to you. I know you're busy so please put your activities before writing to me. Sincerely yours, John M. Mecaughey — 1931

From Norman B. Gesner — Sept. 26, 1943 (Date)
Box No. PMB 2663, Danbury, Conn.
To Mr. Bayard Rustin (Name) — 2929 Broadway, New York, N.Y. (Address)

Dear Bayard,

Your Detroit letter came a couple of days ago. It was grand to get some news on your activities.

The Christian Century used to be given the Library by a fellow who was since paroled, so I probably won't see those articles on C.P.S. I hope the Conference sees fit to withdraw from the N.S.B.R.O.

The discussion on Detroit was most welcome. By all means, write more about it, next letter. Are you doing anything with the M.O.W. now?

Prof. Reynolds has written a couple of times. He says the Faculty voted a recommendation that servicemen + c.o.'s be granted credit for work done with Corr. Schools, so it looks pretty good.

When mother visits it October, she is going to bring Russell. Do you know it will be nearly three months since I have seen him! I wonder when I will see Ann again.

I read Hardy's Return of the Native recently and am now working on Nietzsche's Zarathustra (English) and Galsworthy's Flowering Wilderness,

in a German translation!

Did I tell you we had Music Appreciation every Sat. afternoon? Yesterday we heard Sgostakovich's First Symphony, selections from the Götterdämmerung, and a composition by Strawinsky.

I just came from the Friends' Meeting. John Eubank and Goldsmith Conant were the outside visiters this week. I believe Goldsmith Conant is going to be up regularly for the present. After the worship we talked a while about the A.F.S.C.'s activities and also the matter of the Friends being in the N.S.B.R.O. I think such a meeting helps a great deal in keeping us aware of events in certain significant aspects of outside life.

Everything is going along very smoothly with me and I hope with you as well.

Remember me to Dal.

Your friend,
Norman

P.S. You should use the same form to your letters as I do — one side tho, of course.

Norman B. Gesner No. 2663

G2

X From Norman B. Gesner — Sept. 16, 1943 (Date)
Box No. PMB 2663, Danbury, Ct.
To Mr. Bayard Rustin (Name) — 2929 Broadway, New York, N.Y. (Address)

C-1

Dear Bayard,

What are you doing these days? I hope your health is alright now.

I have been getting along fine as Mother, no doubt, has let you know.

Since I am not applying for 8641 parole and will, therefore, be around for a year at least, I am going to continue my college studies. The educational dept. is writing Wesleyan to send my records to the U. of Chicago and is writing there about my doing third year work for a psychology major. In their catalog they list Abnormal, ~~and~~ Applied Psych., the Hist. of Psych. and Psych. Tests. There are also good courses in Sociology, Government, and German Literature. All ad semester courses, twenty dollars tuition + about $4 or 5 for rental of books (that includes shipping + insurance). The number I take will depend on the time I find to study and the family pocketbook! I think I'll try Abnormal Psych. as a starter.

I like the Farm Detail and am trying to combine a little study with practice —

I have been reading Pfeiffer's Biodynamic Farming and Gardening, given us by the Young Friend's Fellowship of New York. It's a very interesting and instructive book. I have also read two of Borsodi's books on Homesteading Economics.

And Say, I have certainly enjoyed those New Republic's — they're popular, also; the last two are lent out now. We all appreciate them!

A fellow read the whole of Gibran's Prophet to me last night. It contains a lot of truth.

Mother recieved a letter from Peggy the other day. Tell Carolyn, if you see her, that I am going to the Univ. of Chicago, too.

It looks as though the Potters have really taken over Old Emmon's Farm, doesn't it? I wonder where I would be if I weren't here; I doubt if I would have stayed there — not after the crops were in anyway.

[Model letter: Heading: Name, adress, "Friend", date, my name + complete adress; put your complete name and adress at the end.]

Norman

Norman B. Jesse No. 2663

From John Dixon
12612

To Bayard Rustin
(Name)

Nov. 3, 1943
(Date)
Fellowship of Reconciliation
2929 Broadway, N.Y. 25, N.Y.
(Address)

Dear Bayard, Your letter arrived yesterday along with one from my sister, Betty. They were the first letters I had received since Oct. 12th and what a pleasure! I read your letter to the rest of the fellows. It said so much to us because we know so well you who wrote it. All your friends here want to be remembered to you. It is periods such as these that make us feel so close. It seems impossible that I haven't seen you since last March. You have been with us many times in so many little ways in our struggles here.

Please excuse my writing & rambling style. I am sitting up in bed & using an open book to write on. Also today has been an exciting day with 2 feedings, a visit from Mr. Hiatt, & a long conference with a Dr. Frank who is head of education & censorship in the Bureau of Prisons. All in all it has been a very constructive day. Our conference was held among the 6 of us, with Dr Frank; & Dr. Train, the prison head psychiatrist, sat in. The conference was on such a level that I believe much can be accomplished. We shall continue tomorrow.

You notice I mentioned book. We are now in the hospital in separate, open rooms next each other & tomorrow we shall be moved to a separate ward in the hospital. All patients are under the Public Health jurisdiction & so we are not on punishment status. What a pleasure to read a paper only 1 day old & sometimes even the same day and to read a good book. I have just finished "Bread & Wine" & am now on "The Seed Beneath the Snow" both by Ignazio Silone. They are marvelous. Next on the list is Anna

Karenina. When someday this is all over I plan to buy quite a lot of them books + I hope to have something accomplished when I get out of here. I have been notified that your Fortune papers to me were put in the library so I shall attempt to get them this week to read. I also have a long list of novels to read plus some philosophy + biography. Here are some of the authors: Dostojevsky, Melville, Tolstoy, Bernanos, George Orwell, Zola, William James, Rolland, Mahrer, Plato, + Lao Tse. That is just to mention a few of the men I want to know.

Here's a thought that has just occurred to me in connection with our action: Generalities are very useful but in the light of what has happened in the past, we should remember that due to difficulties in interpretation of words, we must strive to be as specific as possible. Of course there is always the danger of being over-stubborn but I think we can avoid that. The danger is far more in the other direction + this is especially true in the case of the nice old F. O. R. ladies. The Four Freedoms sound very nice but be specific, that is the point now. Gandhi can not stop when Churchill points out the Atlantic Charter + if U.C. proclaimed it for all India, the U.S. would be surprised in general if Gandhi did think it worthwhile to stop action, say a hunger strike. Ours is very analogous. What a muddle.

Betty's letter was very good. She has talked to Evan, A.J., + the W.R.L. I had to go without food 30 days to get her to do it but it worked. She is right behind me but unfortunately very busy at the hospital. Mother was told last wk about the fast + has taken it very well.

Write me soon now that I may receive 7 letters per wk. I'll try to get another off to you soon. Did you get my answer to yours of the 26th aug.? "Be of good cheer." We are all in good (thin) health but we should like to taste the food again sometime! What a pleasure that will be!

Love, Jack.

John Dixon 12612

From William Sutherland 8/28/43
(Date)

To Bayard Rustin (Name) 2929 Broadway N.Y.C. c/o Fellowship of Reconciliation (Address)

Dear Bayard:

I understand that you wrote a letter to me which was returned. That was a damned shame because I wanted very much to hear from you. You probably know, however, that I am now "under restrictions", as they say, and am allowed but one letter per week - perhaps your letter was sent back to you for that reason. Why don't you write my family immediately upon receipt of this? Tell them that I have asked you to write the week beginning Sept. 5th and then I would hear from you directly. I'd like that very much.

Have heard that the M.O.W. has accepted non-violent direct action as the major strategy in the struggle for racial justice. Congratulations!!!! I know that you and Jim Farmer (also?) must have worked tirelessly in order to put that move across. When one of the fellows read us the news from his letter, we all cheered spontaneously.

From this point on, I'll just ramble - since the most exciting uncensored news I could give you in detail would be a description of last night's dinner.... My sister Muriel has won an Urban League Fellowship to study at the N.Y. School of Social Work and may decide to live at International House. Isn't that fine? I expect big things of Sis - she gets more social consciousness every day..... Incidentally, I have the opportunity of getting a "Fellowship" out of this ©!?x-!!! place in November - when I shall have completed 1/3 of my sentence. it all depends, however, upon the moral cost parole. it may be too high for me to pay. When you write, I would like you to tell me what the Nat'l Comm. for Con. Obj. has done along the lines of the 1910 parole

Spare me not, Friend - I would hear the worst! (and the best!) ... they tell me Frannie and Wah were hair conditioning a while back. Has the event occurred? Tell them an architect and an artist should beget a truly wonderful creation ..... How are all the folks at the Worcester St. Coop? My best to them all .... A letter from Muriel indicates the folding of the Y.C.F.D. in Pittsburgh, but definite advancement in Phila. where it is acquiring a closer contact with unions and other non-pacifist groups. this is as it should be, because the Pittsburgh group was mainly F.O.R. Y.P.S.L. and our efforts to reach other groups there apparently failed ..... Wish I could write more, but nothing seems to come, so goodbye for now. Do let me hear from you.

Bill

William Sutherland 12063

P.S. What are the latest developments on Hall, Bellinger & Co.?

W. S. 12063

From Benson P. Clark
2428

To Bayard Rustin
(Name)

Sept. 5 - 1943
(Date)
Fellowship of Reconciliation
2929 Broadway, NY, NY
(Address)

SEP 5 1943

Number 2

My dear Friend Bayard: It has just become possible for you and I to correspond - so I, a "prisoner of war" send you on the "fighting front" greetings! Tomorrow marks the beginning of my sixth month of captivity and much has happened in my thinking in this time. My convictions remain strong and firm - the greatest shift in my thinking being found in the general area of "Pacifist Strategy" as a demand for our actions to display a "realistic" approach to the age in which we live. I know this is vague & general and in future letters I shall enlarge on this thesis. I am quite well here and happy as one might expect under these circumstances. My job is teaching the 3rd & 4th grade - a position which leaves time to do a quantity of reading and some writing - although my efforts on the latter has been somewhat feeble. There are many friends here & a spirit of Fellowship is a-building. I see Fellowship, The New Republic, Common Sense, New York Times et al so I'm not out of the "swing" of things. Receiving Fellowship each month is a real treat & someone deserves thanks on that score. Eleanor has visited me every month and that helps. Perhaps you already know, but I am to be a proud father sometime in December. We are both over-joyed that our having a family is not to be interrupted by my present status. Is it not good? It has brought me a happiness stone & steel cannot reduce - as one fellow here said, "Let's all have babies, it's good for morale!". And so it is! My reading & study here has been somewhat varied. I'm catching up on some of the classics & also studying some deep on Political Science.

un4-8254

using for a text on the latter a book Eleanor sent, called "Business as a System of Power" by Brady - a study of the effect of organized business on the many political states. (i.e. USA, Germany, Vichy, Japan et al) Soon I shall take A.E. Morgan's community course direct from him a la mails. I'm also enjoying a share of "escapist" literature, (i.e. "We Took to the Woods" - type) You might be interested to know I've applied for a plan 4 parole although chances of getting it are slight indeed. In fact one of the main concerns around here is the bottleneck of regular third-time parole for CO's. It seems non-existant. But I guess you are well posted on this situation. Although one likes to gripe about things of this nature - I still keep in mind how fortunate we are in many ways. The course of the war (which will no doubt be a long one) plus the wave of reaction here in the U.S.A. make one aware of the limitations that face those of us who differ in philosophy from the current program. Even so one wishes for a chance to find a method of working at what one believes is contributing something constructive in this mad world. Not that my present position is not "constructive" but I tell you it leaves one with a feeling. that ~~adds~~ while it may be the only course - its far from satisfying one. How did we allow a situation to develop that left only jail as a possible road? Surely, if Pacifists use their brains & add some courage, alternative courses could be devised. Present laws & public opinion notwithstanding - is there not a better way to use hundreds of smart, idealistic, young men? Is our present policy adequate for the world of 1943. Or, are we back in 1918? Best luck in your work, Bronson P. Clark 2428

From John Dixon — September 4, 1943 (Date)

Box No. PMB, 12612

To Bayard Rustin (Name) — 2929 Broadway, N.Y.C., (Address)

Dear Bayard, Well I am certainly glad that you received one of my letters and it sure felt good to hear from you. Your perseverance reminded me of Alfred the Great of England who won back his country after watching a spider build its web. I can not understand why your letters have not reached me as the prison bureau on the whole has cooperated very sensibly with the Society of Friends. However my family has had similar difficulties.

And now for comments on your letter. Dick's position is unfortunate. I am thankfull that I shall be able to avoid his troubles. I can fully understand his feelings also. How is he doing on the organ and piano? Ask him if he has heard from Stoel & also if it was Bob Birdsey, I know him, & I am right with him. Remember me to Reynolds - he did a good job getting Bish through college. I am sorry you haven't reached Norm. Keep trying, please! Try about 10 or 11 A.M. on the phone.

Mother wrote me Aug. 10th. She has been very understanding of my action I believe. Of course she feels bad about the terrible waste of time spent doing nothing but she has not asked me to do anything just for the sake of doing. Also she has had experience in trying to get everyone in our family to change his mind. Mr. Pettingill of the Peace Team has called her twice & she always relays that news along. You might have phoned her while she was over at Dick's house. Weekends are bad times to call.

Did you know that Fran & Wally have a baby boy! All their friends here send their best wishes & congratulations. That is one worry out of the way. It's one good way to spread optimism anyway. Have you heard from Betty lately? I have heard that her husband really "hit the jackpot" and he expects quite a bonus next christmas. That is making the most of a war situation. Speaking of finances, I feel that either the F.O.R. or

N.R.L. should allocate some money - say $5 - to be sent to the Treasurer of the April 6th action group. These organizations should back their sentiments with cash. Why not take it up with A.J. or Abe Kaufmann. I know there are tremendous drains on their resources but I feel & I know you would too that this is an important undertaking.

Bayard, I wish to write about religion & its practical aspects. I had been interested in the Friends because of their ideal of following the truth - "the Inner Light." However more & more do I see the impracticality of any standardized or organized religion. Fox, Penn, & Woolman I feel had something but so many of their present day adherents have missed the point completely. It is quite evident that one who follows his "Inner Light" is no clearer thinker nor better endowed to obey his conscience than any other ordinary human being. Compare the present day leaders of any of the large organized religions besides the founders & the past comes out on top easily. It seems that anyone can form an organization so we must examine a man for what he is rather than to what organizations he belongs. We know it is true of business and even government but pacifists should (and naturally are) realize(ing) it about their own groups, the F.O.R. - N.R.L. & the Quakers. Bayard would you say that Caspar Milquetoast would make a good detective - no - an investigator needs to have special capabilities. Also the fact that one is a Quaker does not endow one with special powers with which to divine falsehoods - especially so, if he is not objective but comes "bringing a message," Quaker meetings will be disappointed at the paucity of devotional literature etc. What a shame!

If the news is short - there's always R. Browning's "Last Duchess" & Pippa to fill in. But please no Port. Romants. Incidentally I only write in answer to letters received and I get only one per wk!

Please remember me to the gang & lets hear from you soon.

Love, Jack.

John Dixon
12612

From Norman B. Jesner — Oct. 13, 1943 (Date)
Box No. PMB 2663
To Mr. Bayard Rustin (Name) — 2929 Broadway, New York, N.Y. (Address)

Dear Bayard,

Your San Francisco letter is here and has caused me to do some thinking. It certainly is disappointing to hear that the F.O.R. is going to remain with the N.S.B.R.O. The decision seems to confirm Thoreau's individualistic life. I used to read Civil Disobedience several times a year and just this past weekend I read The Flowering of New Eng. which has two chapters on him. About three years ago I last read Tolstoi's essays on religion, economics, and government. Their teaching is a teaching for the individual. The noblest organizations, it would seem, are a compromise for the noblest men. You imply that we in prison are not guilty of supporting the government: I have ceased to recognize the Selective Service Act; but I go out to support the gov. every weekday morning when the whistle blows; why, I even administer totalitarianism by my memberships in the F.O.R. and W.R.L.! If I were on the outside I think that, with

the W.R.L. back in the N.S.B.R.O. and the F.O.R. refusing to change its evil position, I should feel forced to resign. Unhappily I can't very well write them. You see, I am an anarchist, (after the manner of Tolstoi) for I do not believe in governments, i.e. organizations maintained by force. When the state is organized to help men rather than rule men, then will I support the state.

Well, we are still having Indian Summer. The mornings are cool (we have had killing frosts already) but the midday is warm. The trees are beautiful, as only a Conn. October can make them.

Saturday Mother and Russell came up and we had a good visit, but Mom looked tired — its a hard trip by bus; I wish there were some easier way for her to get here.

Mother told me how busy you have been. Try to take care of yourself.

Your friend,
Norman

Norman B. Jesner No. 2663

C-2

From John Dixon
12612

Nov. 19, 1943
(Date)

To Bayard Rustin
(Name)

2929 Broadway, N.Y.C.
(Address)

Dear Bayard, although I have not heard from you yet in answer to my last letter of a week + a half ago, I thought I'd take this opportunity to send another. Everyone gives me a letter so I can take my pick in writing. I have just finished a letter to Bish. Last week's quota went to Mother + Pearl. Next week I should receive quite a few replies. I see that you are now in N.Y. so I hope you get a chance to call the folks. We all enjoyed your last letter from Col. very much. We are all particularly anxious here that all of you outside spend your energy upon the the problem which is before us all, censorship, + not upon the matter of our health etc. No matter what our position is the hostile censorship + cloak of secrecy is still hanging over 20-some-odd thousand federal prisoners - not to mention state prisoners! I remember in the Murphy-Taylor meetings at Labor Temple how much time we all spent talking about the health of the men when we could have been ironing out the problems that the 2 had brought to our attention. This must be continually emphasized in my opinion + I know you agree!

I have not as yet had an opportunity to see the Fortune Post War reports as they are in the binding but I hope to see them soon. Thanks I have just finished Dostoyevsky's "Crime + Punishment" which I consider excellent. His description of the Russian prison at the end was very enlightening. The fact that Sonia could visit him so often in jail + that the general supervision was so lax is such a contrast with conditions here. On this Russia comes out ahead. On the other hand, the physical living conditions contrasted very poorly. It is interesting the extent to which our progress is measured by purely physical concepts. We improve the food + the living quarters + also make our modern jails really escape-proof. The machines that detect smuggling + codes in letters

make inspection easier. Photostating is even possible + with very little trouble but actually where is there real progress. To write "Toward Freedom," I should have to be in India - that backward country; To edit "The Examiner" I should have to be in England then a century ago as in the time of Leigh Hunt. Progress seems to be measured by man's increasing control over nature + some men's increasing ability to control all other men.

NOV 17 1948
LEWISBURG, PA

We read the daily papers whenever we get a hold of them. P.M. is a good combination with the N.Y. Times. From our discussions I am getting a good idea of what is happening in politics + government. More + more I think we should worry less about who is elected to congress, or as president or to city council, etc, + more about working with people + in organizations + movements. I hope I can always hold down at least a part-time job in a factory or shop while doing other things too! You can see I am being influenced. This is not only from my friends but also the books I am reading. Silone in the 2 books I mentioned really brings out this idea which I haven't time to do here. The idea in general is to get away from the "pure intellectual" which is so prevalent in college among teachers + students. Of course this alone is nothing new. But it is important to work mainly through organizations that really represent you to obtain the real "heaven on earth." At present I do not think that congress for example does that. As a side light, I am interested in the current proposals for the future of Willow Run - a 3 way setup with Ford, the gov., + the C.I.O. running the plant.

Please excuse all the incomplete ideas I am not bothering to round off. Do your best with them. Tell A.J. not to worry about our attitude. We are always open to mediation. We must also try to safeguard the interests of our fellow human beings. It all calls for tact + diplomacy, understanding + thoroughness.

As ever, Jack.

John Dixon 12612

From Norman B. Jesner — Nov. 15, 1943 (Date)

Box No. PMB 2663, Danbury, Conn.

To Mr. Bayard Rustin (Name) — 2929 Broadway, N.Y.C. (Address)

Dear Bayard,

I was wonderful to see you again and to be inspired by your discussion. Everyone at the Meeting knew they had had a rare experience. I certainly hope you can come to another Meeting before you go away again.

It was certainly good and thoughtful of you to write so often from Cal. I did not write to San Francisco because I thought it wouldn't get there in time.

Your stories on the army camps and race workshop experiences were especially interesting. I had heard about Dave before.

Lin Yu Tang's book hasn't come in yet, but I got a textbook on Navigation last week. It's a very interesting subject. Sat. and Sun. I read Stefanson's Greenland. The material on the pre-Columbian explorations and colonization was especially informative. I was surprised to learn that there was general knowledge of the existence of the Christian Communities in Greenland amongst the learned and the traders long before Columbus time.

I still keep up with outside affairs

thru the N.Y. Times, New Republic, and occasional issues of Common Sense, and the Christian Century. I saw the articles on C.P.S. and the Peace Churches in the Sept. issue a couple of weeks ago, incidentally.

The Nov. Fellowship came. Fran Hall's article wasn't very favorably recieved, tho, because of its neglect of spiritual values in the discussion.

I hope you can manage to remain free in spite of the M.P. you told us about at the Meeting.

Remember me to Betty and Willa if you see them.

Sincerely
Norman

Norman B Jesner #2663

November 17, 1943

STATEMENT REGARDING THE PROTEST STRIKE
AGAINST RACIAL SEGREGATION IN THE
FEDERAL CORRECTIONAL INSTITUTION AT DANBURY, CONN.

1. Nineteen prisoners have been locked in cells for more than three months, and until such time as they will have become "disciplined to accept the Department of Justice's policy of segregation of Negroes and the inequality implied by it.

2. The Director of the Federal Bureau of Prisons (James V. Bennett) insists that the Institution must follow "the generally accepted practice of the community at large." The men challenge that the Department of Justice is not a reflection of imperfect society, but the guide for our civilization's conduct.

3. Fifty percent of the prison population is composed of Jehowah's Witnesses, Conscientious Objectors to war and Negroes. The nineteen represent almost one-half of the prisoners who tried for six weeks to bring to the Warden's attention the problem of compulsory segregation imposed upon individuals free of race prejudice by an Institution of the Federal Government.

4. The prisoners originally asked that their personal concepts of racial equality be respected and some adjustment be made to abolish the violation of conscience to which they were forcibly subjected. Despite the several solutions available, the prison authorities' attitude has been the determination to retain segregation, not merely as a convenience, but as a principle necessary to maintain the "status quo."

5. The prisoners therefore insist that the Department of Justice should be as helpless to impose racial segregation as it is to deny Freedom of Religion or of Speech. That the Federal Government must be blind to the limitations of men and regard all who come before it as absolute equals. That in an Institution devoted to the development of positive social behavior, it is the offender against the principle of equality who needs segregation (?) and enlightenment, not those whose rights he has violated.

6. The prison authorities will not acknowledge that the segregation itself has become a problem. The protesting reason behind the refusal to work is ignored. Negligence in facing the problem has resulted in the abuse of the principles which govern the Institution, namely:

"The period of imprisonment should be used to prepare the individual vocationally, physically, mentally, and spiritually for return to society . . . . . ."

VIOLATIONS OF GOOD PRISON ADMINISTRATION

The men were placed under a form of discipline regarded chiefly as a deterrent and designed for only short periods of time. Prolonged recalcitrance is investigated and treated.

The indeterminate period (which so far has been 3 months) will terminate only when the wills of the men are destroyed by inertia and spiritual disillusionment and they return to work in abject defeat. This is the socially-desirable end.

It is obvious that the treatment makes no attempt to promote a desire to return to work, or to allow for vocational training.

Three months of this kennel life with 40 minutes a day for exercise is not likely to develop a man physically, mentally or spiritually.

In an Institution of more than 500 men, the food for nineteen of them must be daily altered to the point of unpalatability.

The Institution denies the men are being punished, yet the one hour a month visiting time was reduced to half, with a prison guard supervising the visit. It was originally intended to be but 15 minutes twice a month!

At least one of the men, Mathias Kauten, was eligible for parole upon one-third of his term. His application was denied because "he refused to work." Thru negligence and reluctance to face the problem, the Institution has not distinguished between social and anti-social conduct. This extended imprisonment is a contradiction to the principles of an Institution devoted to social development. It is more than an abuse to the spirit of the Parole System.

The degradation of the men is a poor example to set before other inmates who may find in it confirmation of the futility of good social conduct.

CONCLUSION

It cannot be doubted that the Institution intends to maintain its segregation at all costs.

Last July, a Negro inmate, George Albin Mathurin, was transferred (punitively) to the Federal Penitentiary at Lewisburg, Pa. for his protest against segregation.

Because of the serious principle involved, it is feared the Warden will choose the "transfer" method of breaking the strike, thus avoiding the issue completely.

It is ironic that the social ideals of so many taxpayers are repudiated in the Prisons they maintain.

Marie D. Nelson
38 Locust Avenue
New Rochelle, N. Y.

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Bayard — Will you take care of it? M.C.

Nov.19,1943

Dear Doris,

Could we have ten copies of Bayard's statement? Everybody round here feels that it is the best, most definite, most beautifully expressed statement to be issued. We want everybody to see it.

If Bayard is round ask him whether he has warned Walter Longstreth that he may not be able to keep the Frankford Forum date? We pray that he will be there, however, and glad of the meetings here next week.

Faithfully,

Marion Code

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November 20, 1943.

Mr. Bayard Rustin
2929 Broadway
New York, New York

Dear Rusty:

Sorry to hear that they're catching up with you....and I'll be very glad to get a copy of your statement.

I think Charlie's letter is excellent, and both Denny Wilcher and I would like to mimeograph it and send it out personally to our correspondents list. Do you have any objections, and is anyone in New York planning such action? We want it sent out early in the week, so I'd appreciate a prompt reply.

Sincerely,

Agnes

Agnes Young

THE Fellowship of Reconciliation is a group of men and women of many nations and races who recognize the unity of the world-wide human family and wish to explore the possibilities of love for discovering truth, dispelling antagonisms, and reconciling people, despite all differences, in a friendly society.

—from the Statement of Purpose, Fellowship of Reconciliation.

The Fellowship of Reconciliation

2929 Broadway, New York, N. Y.

Nov. 24, 1943

G 5585

Dear Fellowship Friend:

Thank you for your remittance of $ 112 | 75

By this coöperation you enter into the Fellowship's work, helping to make possible its plans and achievements.

From
J. Passmore Elkinton, Treas.

To— Bayard Rustin

By pwp m&c
For Ref. Trav. 29.00
lit oa cons 83.75

Travel refunds:

~~John Swomley 25.16~~
Rustin 29.00 Trav
~~54.16~~
83.75 lit oa
112.75
Tfd.

I expect to leave Nashville Friday, June 25th at 1 p.m. at the latest. It would be grand to get the July check before then! I'll be in Texas two weeks. I haven't made a trip to that state for two years, nearly, so really should go in spite of travel complications.

If you should need to consult with anybody else in the office, please do so. I thought that I would write Irene Ford, but decided that you could show her this letter if necessary.

Sincerely,

Constance Rumbough

Constance Rumbough.

280 75
Sent to Sue 6/22/43
to send direct to CR.
"Good

SOUTHERN COUNCIL

Albert E. Barnett, *Nashville, Tenn.*
A. D. Beittel, *Guilford, N. C.*
B. R. Brazeal, *Atlanta, Ga.*
Walter R. Chivers, *Atlanta, Ga.*
R. B. Eleazer, *Atlanta, Ga.*
Charles A. Ellwood, *Durham, N. C.*
W. J. Faulkner, *Nashville, Tenn.*
Buel G. Gallagher, *Talladega, Ala.*
C. H. Hamlin, *Wilson, N. C.*
Charles S. H. Houk, *Nashville, Tenn.*
Charles S. Johnson, *Nashville, Tenn.*
Mrs. Thomas Elsa Jones, *Nashville, Tenn.*
Willis J. King, *Atlanta, Ga.*
Louise Long, *Mobile, Ala.*
Margaret McCulloch, *Nashville, Tenn.*
Mrs. J. N. McEachern, *Atlanta, Ga.*
D. P. McGeachy, *Decatur, Ga.*
N. C. McPherson, Jr., *Macon, Ga.*
Arthur F. Raper, *Greensboro, Ga.*
Elbert Russell, *Durham, N. C.*
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Marshall T. Steel, *Dallas, Texas*
Howard Thurman, *Washington, D. C.*
John L. Wilson, *Little Rock, Ark.*
James W. Workman, *Chicago, Ill.*
Louise Young, *Nashville, Tenn.*

1830

November 16, 1943 No. 1830

Mr. Bayard Rustin, c/o Race Relations Institute, (Mr. Richard H. McCoy), 311 Morewood Avenue, Pittsburgh 13, Pennsylvania

To Fellowship of Reconciliation, 2929 Broadway, New York 25, N.Y. Dr.

Terms: Consignment Via

35	How Jesus Faced Totalitarianism	@ .15	5.25
40	Selections from War Without Violence	@ .15	6.00
500	What the Bible Teaches about Freedom	@ .05	25.00
200	Interracial Primer	@ .15	30.00
100	True or False?	free	
100	Outcasts!	@ .15	15.00
10	Heroes of Good Will	@ .25	2.50
			$83.75

John Swomley Done lit some money th

Check Sold

No. 65½ sold by Goldsmith Bros., Stationers, 77 Nassau St., N. Y.

Rustin

REPORT ON RESPONSES FROM F.O.R. MEMBERSHIP
TO LEAFLET ON "SHALL WE REMAIN IN N.S.B.R.O.?"

This report is sent to all members of the National Council, and Staff. Will those who plan to attend the Council meeting December 6 please bring their copies with them? Mail comments either on this factual report or on the question of policy with regard to F.O.R.-N.S.B.R.O. relationship by members unable to attend, will be greatly appreciated.

Tabulation of Replies from Individuals Expressing Definite Preference for One Position

I	II	III	IV	V	VI
34	14	45	145	52	6

Individual Expression (Summary)

For remaining (I-IV) - 179
For withdrawal, in varying degrees (II, III, V, VI) - 117

Group Expression - where count is reported

I	II	III	IV	V	VI
2	4	210	112	80	-

Group Expression (Summary)

For remaining: 114 plus considerable number uncounted
For withdrawing: 292 plus considerable number uncounted

C.P.S. Expression: (Includes individual C.P.S. men and group expression where exact numbers were reported. Not in addition to general count.)

I	II	III	IV	V	VI
5	7	20	19	36	-

C.P.S. Expression (Summary)

For remaining: 24 plus considerable number uncounted
For withdrawing: 63 plus considerable number uncounted

Group Expression Without Numbers Being Given

Syracuse, New York: "At a very representative meeting last week (9/14/43), Syracuse F.O.R. discussed the 'Six Positions' in relation to C.P.S. policy. We were fortunate in having with us Frank Olmsted and Winston Dancis of W.R.L. and Elizabeth Hazard of the A.F.S.C. Board, thus assuring full expression of widely varying points of view.

"The consensus of opinion was that the F.O.R. should continue its relation to the program with preferences distributed between positions I, IV, and V."

Denver, Colorado: "At Denver F.O.R. Conference there was more opinion for getting out of N.S.B. than for staying in, but most people didn't have any judgment about it at all."

Seattle, Washington: F.O.R. Seattle--30 reported for "imposing conditions".

Ohio Group Ministry Project favors IV.
Cincinnati F.O.R. group favors IV.

Placerville C.P.S. Camp "for imposing conditions".
Elkton, Oregon, C.P.S. Camp--majority "for staying in".
Flint, Michigan, F.O.R. Group--favors IV.
Rhode Island F.O.R. Group--favors IV.
Modesto, California--some for withdrawal, most for "imposing conditions before any withdrawal".
Waldport, Oregon, C.P.S. Camp--four for "imposing conditions".
Gatlinburg C.P.S. Camp--for remaining in.
Toledo, Ohio: "At our last local meeting (written 11/15/43) we discussed the problem of the F.O.R. dropping out of the N.S.B.R.O. The majority of the people seemed to think the F.O.R. should try to get better projects, like they expected at the beginning. If that failed they should then use more drastic measures."

Kansas City, Missouri: "None of the six positions exactly represents the viewpoint of the East Side Branch of the K.C. F.O.R. We do agree with position IV in that we are opposed to conscription as a part of the evil war system. But while we desire the F.O.R. to continue its support of N.S.B.R.O. there is one condition which we think should be met, if we do so.

"This is the control of the camp projects. The N.S.B.R.O. should not only be able to choose the projects but should have control over the local director. Local political control over a civilian government employee seems to make some situations intolerable."

Phoenix, Arizona: "The Phoenix F.O.R. discussed at length during the course of their last meeting the question as to whether or not the F.O.R. should continue in N.S.B.R.O.

"The consensus of opinion was that position IV was about the best expression of the way we feel about the situation."

Richmond, Virginia, (fourteen present at F.O.R. meeting): "The discussion was very frank and brought out almost every angle conceivable. In the end, however, there was a decision, made unanimous by a show of hands, to go on record as a group in support of position IV."

Brief Quotations from Letters. (One or more in support of each position except IV is given, the quotation being selected because it is typical or because it seems to present a distinctive consideration or point of view."

Position I

Edgar S. Brightman (Associate Member): "The chief problem of conscience in which the thoughtful pacifist is involved seems to me to center about the relation between the individual and the social aspects of conscience. Is conscience essentially anarchistic? Or is conscience essentially social? The critics of pacifism tend to center on the idea that the pacifist conscience is so individualistic and anarchical as to be selfish. In providing C.P.S., the government has admitted in principle that this charge of anti-social selfishness is not taken seriously in a democracy; but rather that democracy needs free consciences. Granted that the C.P.S. arrangement is far from perfect, it must be admitted that it represents progress over the treatment of pacifists in War I. . . .

"Furthermore, I think that the testimony of pacifists under the difficult conditions of C.P.S. is worth more to the cause than it would be under the more lenient conditions that are sought by many. I also believe that a C.P.S. camp is an important laboratory for a socialized democracy. If those camps were to fail, their failure could easily be exploited by Fascist-minded people against all democracy."

Elmer W. Galt: "In the last few years I have come to view the results of our Civil War in quite a different light from what I used to. I believe that, previous to that war, sentiment against human slavery was making very good gains both

in the north and the south--so much so that if there had been enough patience and moderation to avoid war we might have more nearly followed England's pattern within perhaps a decade or so. And, if that could have been done, maybe there could have been a far greater freeing of the Negroes than has now been true, even up to the present. As events happened the question of right of secession was the one shoved to the fore, and agitated with red hot heat. And the heat over slavery was heightened by this other heat, and emotions aroused over all the south that still do not die out.

"In spite of all that can be criticized in the present conscription law and in the administration of its provisions for C.O.s, I think there has been significant gain since the time of World War I, and that the hopes for the future are brighter. I believe all C.O.s should school themselves in patience, so as to cooperate just as far as possible with our institutions of democracy, rather than to lean towards protest and challenge that can but irritate the authorities."

Elmer J. Porter: "I do not feel the war will last much longer and for that reason I feel it would be unwise to change positions."

Joshua L. Bailey, Jr.: "In response to the question of withdrawal from the N.S.B.R.O., my personal feeling is that we should not. . .The big thing that has been accomplished by this war so far has been the N.S.B.R.O. The three historic peace churches have cooperated before in various ways but this is the first time they have united in an organization, and the inclusion of representatives of those churches, such as the Methodists, who are not Pacifists but who wish to protect their members who are, is a very definite advance over the situation that prevailed during the first world war, when a condition resembling civil war existed within the non-pacifist churches, the church government not only refusing to protect its own members, but uniting in the persecution of them. I feel that the N.S.B.R.O. should be preserved."

Position II

Richard Lazarus (C.P.S.): "The place where position IV falls down is that it pleads for unity regardless of whether that unity is for the better or worse. Unity is not our end but rather the removal of war and the building of a better world. This may be achieved by unity, but the unity must be along good lines. Pacifists are experimenters. They are seeking truth. However, experimenters must have the courage when they see their experiment getting out of hand to change their course and try a new experiment."

Position III

Alfred G. Fisk: "My own position is probably most nearly that of position III as outlined in the leaflet sent to members. I feel that our relation to C.P.S. (and that of the Friends even more than the F.O.R.) has been indefensible. We never should have found ourselves in a position of doing the 'dirty work' for the government."

Robert H. Hamill: "I believe that F.O.R. after making further effort to effect changes in C.P.S. should withdraw from N.S.B.R.O., but not urge the churches to do so.

"The distinction is this: F.O.R. is the only organization in N.S.B.R.O. which is committed primarily to pacifism; the others are churches, and not even an historic peace church is a pacifist agency primarily. In principle, those churches are committed to a Faith larger than pacifism; they are obliged therefore to recognize some non-pacifist values, to deal with some non-pacifist policies. As a matter of fact, however, they are committed to something smaller than pacifism in some areas, for some of their program is not a total pacifism so much as a refusal-to-fight-in-war policy.

"F.O.R. is not so restricted; in principle we are professedly narrower, in behavior we are intentionally more consistent. We are organized for just one purpose: to bear witness to the pacifist way of life. We may see the need for some one or some agency to protect the middle positions, but that is not our task. We are committed to pacifism without qualification; on that and on that alone the course of history will support us or shame us. We had better give undivided loyalty to pure pacifism in so far as that is humanly possible.

"Pure pacifism seems to require that we withdraw from N.S.B.R.O. Cooperation there with conscription and the military regime is too dangerous and too tempting: it confuses our testimony in the public eyes, and it threatens our own consistency in our own eyes.

"Yet C.P.S. ought to go on, as the best solution yet achieved. Rather than forsake it, the churches ought to support it; this may be the best possible from an evil situation."

Leon D. Sanborne: "As I have gone over it very carefully I feel very strongly that I take position III, such as I respect and understand those who take one of the other positions. I realize the gravity of the possible results of this position, but I do feel that it is the most effective witness we can make."

Position IV

Mrs. Howard Alexander: "Deciding to withdraw from the N.S.B.R.O., it seems to me, would be no more representative of the membership as a whole than ceasing to support and be interested in non-registrants and those who refuse to go to C.P.S. would be. The value of F.O.R. lies in its capacity of including people whose consciences may lead them along different paths to the same goal and whatever support we can give to any of these groups it is important to continue to give."

Milton Gordon (C.P.S.): "For the first time in the history of this country, the right of conscience with regard to participation in war has been legally recognized. C.P.S. is the embodiment of this recognition of the right of non-participation in war, and the opportunity to do alternative service. I am sure that a not inconsiderable number of men in C.P.S. feel that this is such a great step forward, that were nothing else accomplished during this war, and regardless of the merits of the particular kind of alternative service offered (as long as the work were not war work), their cooperation with C.P.S. was significant and worthwhile.

"Some of the C.P.S. and detached service projects are important and significant from almost any point of view, and probably each one is significant from some one's point of view. . . .

"C.P.S. does provide the opportunity to live and work together for men who, whatever the different roads by which they arrived at it, share the same basic belief: that men must not kill their fellow human beings and must not fight in wars. The fruits of this community life are varied, and oftimes rich and valuable. . . .

"Church-administered C.P.S. camps, as opposed to government camps, allow a great many problems of interaction and questions of discipline to be dealt with in terms of traditional pacifist principles, affording those individuals who were unfamiliar with those principles an opportunity to become acquainted with them, not by reading, but by seeing them in action, and allowing all men in the camps an opportunity to witness and participate in pacifist methods of thinking and acting."

Kenneth W. Morgan: "It seems to me that we pacifists fall into two main categories: those who wish to witness by work, and those who witness by protest. It is my hope that F.O.R. will be broad enough to include both types. It should not imply that C.P.S. is the exclusive or the best way for pacifists, nor that the absolutist and the man in prison have chosen the better or nobler way. Our goals are the same, our methods differ, but there should be room for both of us within the Fellowship of Reconciliation.

"I should like to see F.O.R. continue its educational and organizational work with the great body of pacifists who are not in C.P.S. or in prison; I should like to see it more actively engaged in prison visitation, and I should like to see it cooperating more closely with the educational and religious program in the C.P.S. camps and units. There is still a great opportunity to develop a disciplined pacifist corps in the C.P.S. camps, and after the war F.O.R. could be the organization which brings together all C.O.s regardless of their differences. If the F.O.R. withdraws, it will be an admission that we cannot have a unified pacifist program, that our methods rather than our goals divide us."

Rev. Foster M. Bittinger: "I feel F.O.R. should not withdraw from N.S.B.R.O. or C.P.S. for I believe their help and guidance is much needed. I am not speaking as a minister of the Church of the Brethren. I feel that our church leadership tends too much to escapism and protectivism. I think it is true of N.S.B.R.O. also. Therefore I feel that the positive, self-giving, constructive, pioneering guidance and help of men like you and the F.O.R. staff is much needed. I believe you can render a great service to the pacifism of the Historic Peace Churches and future pacifism by remaining in. I am a full believer and supporter of the F.O.R. policies in all areas, but seeing it both from the angle of the Historic Peace Churches, or rather the Church of the Brethren, and an enthusiastic member of the F.O.R. I believe they should walk together. I believe they need each other. I am sure the Brethren need the F.O.R."

Harold E. Fey: "If the peace churches do not see their way clear--or if a majority of them do not, to take this step, i.e., withdrawal from C.P.S., I believe that the F.O.R. should stay with them and refuse to withdraw until they do so. It has been a very difficult thing for some of them to believe that other pacifists would stand by. In this war they have learned through cooperation with the Methodist Peace Commission and the F.O.R. that they can withstand stress, and the heat and burden of the day. If we pull out and leave them to carry on under the added burden of reproach that our action would provide, it would be impossible to hope for unity within the pacifist movement for a long time to come. I think there will be other wars and that a sound procedure now is to act in such a way that the unity and cohesion of the movement will be strengthened for the other tests of greater character that will come ten, thirty, and probably a hundred years from now. I doubt if this policy of maintaining unity should be carried to the point where all refuse to act because one group, for example, the Mennonites, are satisfied to go along on the present arrangements, although I can see the arguments for being patient even then. But I certainly do not believe that the F.O.R. should attempt to save its own soul by wrapping its skirts around it and retiring into an ideologically impeccable position which leaves to others responsibilities which we have helped, by our actions to date, to create."

Elizabeth Brown: "As a research worker I have come to expect that my first experiment will be a muddle; I will not have thought all the way through or I may do a particular step in very clumsy fashion or in the middle of the process I may think of some entirely new plan that it would be much better to try when I repeat the experiment. But never has it been true that it wasn't worth my while to carry the experiment through to the end, making notes of all the changes I think of, all the mistakes I have made and of all the suggestions that have come to me from fellow workers. An experiment with human beings is so much more involved than one with rats that I don't see how anything like C.P.S. could possibly be perfectly planned and perfectly executed in the first experience. To throw up our hands and say that we will not go on, especially to say that even if the peace groups go on the F.O.R. won't, seems to be would be a terrible mistake."

Ferner Nuhn: "Strategically--and I would say essentially also--it seems to me the method of F.O.R. is to win people to the peaceful-cooperative-non-violent way of thinking and acting. We are in no position to use 'pressure-politics'

on the state in any large way, hoping to actually control or direct its policies at this time. Our only way of progress is to increase our numbers. Both among secular idealists, and among church people, I feel we can make most progress at the present phase of things by non-aggressive adherence to our position: showing that we have stood by our beliefs, done what we promised to do, suffered what we could not order better. After a time, in the longer perspective, this will work to our good. I feel that the time just coming up is the dull, dry period for pacifists in this way --boys in the C.P.S. camps, many on detached service, and many in civilian life. Our main job for this phase is to stick it out. That is the real form and nature of our test at present. I can understand that some or many of the C.P.S. boys are restless and weary at this stage of the game, and want something new and striking. No doubt new channels for their energy may be found, and all suggestions should be heard. Those who conscientiously change their minds about the original program, or want to protest specific things, should be backed. But such a change of mind would be a mistake for the pacifist movement as a whole, or for F.O.R. as an organization. Our influence in the long run will flow from our character, and to my mind, the real test of character at present--and really the harder and truer task--is to keep our hand to the plow to the end of this row. We will win many more people that way, in my opinion."

Position V

Lee Lynne: "As to F.O.R.'s relation to the N.S.B.R.O., I have already written that I hold substantially position V. I realize the values of C.P.S. The boys there are going through the same weeding out and developing process as they would in college, but because they are of higher caliber on the average than college students, the meaning of their training is more intense, and the fire they generate together more luminous. This would still be true if the pacifists withdrew as underwriters of the program, which is machined to gear with military conscription. Peace groups will never shed a pure light through C.P.S. I do think, however, that the N.S.B.R.O. as a unit disassociated from its position as underwriter should be maintained as a clearing head for effecting the purposes of pacifists; in caring for those under duress, and in widening their scope of endeavor."

Roy C. Kepler: "The prevalent attitude that it would be an admission of failure if the F.O.R. and/or the Service Committee were to withdraw from the administration of C.P.S. seems to me to be mainly a manifestation of unnecessary pride. Rather such withdrawal would be a sign of strength and growth."

"... Of the conscientious objectors and pacifists in this country, the men in C.P.S. have sacrificed as much as most. Yet, the fact remains that C.P.S. men as a group aren't aware that there is a war on. They have been protected on every side by kindly, conservative, middle-aged groups who wanted to save the 'boys' all the hard knocks possible."

David S. Richie: "Friends should not continue to administer C.P.S. . . . I believe that C.P.S. does not represent a program prompted purely by the spirit of universal love. If so, there would be much more consequential work being done. The reason it is not being done is because we are not allowed to do so by Selective Service. In other words, we have assented to the right of the state to determine to a very large degree the work that shall be done.

"... All the rest of the A.F.S.C. program apart from C.P.S. is an effort to incarnate this third alternative, to offer opportunities for individuals to serve God through serving our fellow men. Our projects of child feeding, Japanese relocation, work camps, etc., have all been undertaken out of the prompting of the Spirit of Universal Love, out of our dedication to the purposes of God, as best we have been able to understand them.

"I believe that we should tell our government that in 1944 we will maintain or set up and finance only those projects which we feel led to do out of our devotion to God, that we will welcome to those projects all those who want to participate in them, and that we will be glad if the government feels able to release on furlough any such individuals now conscripted. This is a policy in short contrast to our

present policy of administering a compulsory labor program under the restrictive supervision of Selective Service."

Leon Thomson: "... The values of C.P.S. are not going to be lost if the F.O.R. terminated its relationship with the N.S.B.R.O. The administrative reason for this is that the program will continue anyhow, on two accounts: (1) the Mennonites, Brethren and conservative wing in C.O. circles undoubtedly will carry on as before in their supervisory and occasionally commanding mode; (2) the number of C.O.s is high enough and C.P.S. satisfactory enough that the government will see to it that the camp program continues even if religious sponsorship is withdrawn, for the government is not expecting to tolerate the change of C.O.s from a nuisance to an influence. The religious reason why C.P.S. values will not be lost if F.O.R. quits N.S.B.R.O. is because pacifism does not require government approval or ecclesiastical endorsement to be vigorous and meaningful. . . .

"There are 2000 C.O.s with prison experience and 6500 with C.P.S. experience. Shall we say that the testimony and strength of the 2000 is exceeded by the 6500 because the 6500 had the N.S.B.R.O. administering them, standing between them and the government? Surely that is not a specious or unfair question."

November 26, 1943.

Material not proof-read.

Conscience in Prison

AN APPEAL FROM COs

A conscientious objector is a person who refuses to cooperate with the social evil of war. It is not surprising that of approximately 2,500 COs who have been imprisoned in America during the present war, some have found within the prison system social evils with which they can no more cooperate than with the military program.

A Witness for Interracial Brotherhood

"There is going to be no successful world order, no democratic international organization that will endure, no peace that will last, until men of all colors and nationalities are willing to sit down and break bread together," says Lillian E. Smith, editor of "The South Today."

In the Federal Correctional Institution at Danbury, Conn., 21 men are participating in a work strike which began on August 11 over the issue of racial segregation in the dining hall. They made the simple request that Negro and white prisoners who wanted to do so be permitted to eat at the same table. As a result they have been confined in isolation for 108 days.

In the Penitentiary at Lewisburg, Pa., COs attempted to break down similar segregation of whites and Negroes at meals. They were placed in isolation as punishment for their acts of protest.

A Wall of Silence

Punishment for refusal to work differed somewhat between Danbury and Lewisburg. In general it consisted, as prison punishments usually do, of the restriction or removal of "privileges." Among the "privileges" of a Federal prisoner are not only such things as attending movies and buying candy from the commissary, but also the more vital matters of correspondence and visits with his family, and access to books and study materials. Both correspondence and visits are very limited even for a prisoner not on punishment status. And study materials become intensely significant to men shut off for months at a time from human contacts and from normal work.

The strikers at Lewisburg for over six weeks were not even permitted to have a Bible. For the duration of their punishment they were allowed no other reading matter. Their correspondence was

limited to one letter in and one out each week, and these were strictly censored. The men from the beginning had found it next to impossible to communicate with outside friends about issues which were of significance to themselves and other prisoners. They became convinced that censorship is a "wall of silence which separates all prisoners from the outside world" and that it is a totalitarian method of control which permits the continuation of evils within the prison system.

Their petitions to the authorities and their conferences with the warden failed to bring adequate assurances that the Bureau of Prisons was willing to abandon the practice of complete authoritarian censorship in favor of inspection of mail (the need for which they readily admitted) and to recognize their right to reading and study materials. Thereupon, five of them began a hunger strike on September 29 and were joined by a sixth on October 10.

That there are no insuperable obstacles in the way of substantial alteration in the present censorship is indicated by the fact that these men are now allowed to correspond more freely than in the beginning of the protest. They are not seeking exemptions or privileges for themselves, however, and their proposal that the two rights mentioned in their letter, which we quote, be extended to all Federal prison inmates seems eminently reasonable.

Their fast still continues, although the painful process of tube-feeding was begun in the prison hospital on October 22.

Their Own Words

The following letter from the men in Lewisburg to James V. Bennett, Director of the Federal Bureau of Prisons, tells the purpose of their fast and expresses their willingness to negotiate over details:

> We have always regretted the fact that our deep interest in the abolition of censorship has forced us to adopt the method of an indefinite fast. We are very anxious to maintain friendly mutually respectful relations with you and other officials, despite the fact that we have felt compelled to adopt this method which may seem extreme to you. We are afraid that the Administration's memorandum of our conference of Oct. 19 may not give an entirely accurate picture of the spirit and attitude we are trying to express. Perhaps there are other misunderstandings as well, resulting from the fact that we have not had direct contact with you.
>
> From the first we have felt that there are two basic human rights that have not always been recognized in modern penology but are indispensable to the welfare of prisoners as human beings. Our fast is intended to bring these rights to the thoughtful attention of officials, prisoners, and outsiders. We feel that almost all persons will agree to these rights and will recognize their crucial importance, once they have given them serious, objective attention.
>
> The first is the right of every prisoner to free correspondence with the outside world, at all times, regardless of his prison status.
>
> The second is the right of every prisoner to access to uncensored materials for reading and writing, at all times, regardless of his prison status.
>
> We believe that under the present set-up, authorities are justified in opening, inspecting, and reading mail in order to detect dope and plans of violence. But we feel that these precautions can be taken without interfering with the two foregoing rights. Similarly, we see no reason why special problems, such as that presented by pornographic materials, cannot be worked out without denying these rights.
>
> In the last few years, the Federal Prison System has gone a long way toward recognizing these rights, and we feel that the logical next step is for it to give them complete and unequivocal recognition. Because these principles are so fundamental and because their denial causes such terrible suffering and embitterment to prisoners, their friends and families, we feel that we cannot stop our fast until they are clearly established. In this sense we have been accurately represented as being adamant. We cannot stop our fast or carry on successful negotiations as to details until these two rights have been recognized and until it is clear that there will be a basic policy change incorporating them into the Federal Prison System.
>
> At the same time, it would be presumptuous of us to suggest that we know all the answers. We feel certain of the fundamental principles and we have some valuable experience, as inmates, concerning details. But it is clear that you and other administrative officials have other experience that must inevitably modify our suggestions. Therefore we are anxious to listen to reason on details and are ready to stop our fast without 100% incorporation of our own ideas—provided of course the modifications do not take the heart out of the two cardinal principles.
>
> We feel that you agree with us that the proper place for such a policy to be established is in official regulations that come from Washington. This would not prevent local prisons from varying details in accord with local situations, provided again that the two basic rights are clearly maintained. But until such a change comes from Washington, local liberalization in one of 26 closely knit institutions is of little significance.
>
> We entered this fast because of the tremendous need of the prisoners and because of our overwhelming conviction of the truth of these two simple principles. We are sorry for the obvious inconvenience it is causing quite a few people. We do not want to be rude or inflexible. Nor do we want to force you to act contrary to your judgment. But we have observed the sufferings of the prisoners, first hand, and we see no alternative but to go on fasting indefinitely, in as friendly and humble a spirit as we can, so as to bring the seriousness of the situation to your attention.
>
> Meanwhile, we shall make every effort to be receptive to new insights through meditation, prayer, and open-minded discussion.
>
> Signed: Paton Price, Dave Duellinger, Bill Kuenning, Jack Dixon, Tom Woodman, Bill Lovett

Take Immediate Action

All freedom-loving Americans have a responsibility to support the purposes of the COs now on strike in the Federal prisons. Letters should be sent *week after week and month after month* to the authorities in Washington *on behalf of their aims. Such letters will count* because our government officials are still sensitive to public opinion.

WRITE urging that arbitrary censorship be abolished in favor of mail inspection. WRITE urging that prisoners at all times be allowed Bibles and study materials. WRITE urging the application of democratic American principles of brotherhood in our public institutions, that those of different color, who so desire, may break bread together.

WRITE TO:

President Franklin D. Roosevelt, White House, Washington, D. C.

Attorney-General Francis Biddle, Department of Justice, Washington, D. C. (Mr. Biddle is known to be genuinely concerned about the application of democracy in America. The Bureau of Prisons is in his Department, so it is especially important to let him know your concern about prison problems.)

James V. Bennett, Director, Federal Bureau of Prisons, Department of Justice, Washington, D. C. (Mr. Bennett is in a position to determine prison policies.)

Your Senators and your Congressmen. (Their job is to represent you in the national government. They can take action only if these issues are brought to their attention.)

Don't delay! *WRITE AT ONCE!* And then *WRITE AGAIN* every week!

November 26, 1943.

This appeal is issued jointly by:

FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION
2929 Broadway
New York 25, N. Y.

WAR RESISTERS LEAGUE
2 Stone Street, Room 414
New York 4, N. Y.

Following is copy of the letter sent to Mr. Bennett by the six fasters at Lewisburg as quoted by one of them in a letter dated October 27, 1943:
((Bill Lowe#))

We have always regretted the fact that our deep interest in the abolition of censorship has forced us to adopt the method of an indefinite fast. We are very anxious to maintain friendly mutually respectful relations with you and other officials, despite the fact that we have felt compelled to adopt this method which may seem extreme to you. We are afraid that the Administration's memorandum of our conference of Oct. 19 may not give an entirely accurate picture of the spirit and attitude we are trying to express. Perhaps there are other misunderstandings as well, resulting from the fact that we have not had direct contact with you.

From the first we have felt that there are two basic human rights that have not always been recognized in modern penology but are indispensable to the welfare of prisoners as human beings. Our fast is intended to bring these rights to the thoughtful attention of officials, prisoners, and outsiders. We feel that almost all persons will agree to these rights and will recognize their crucial importance, once they have given them serious, objective attention.

The first is the right of every prisoner to free correspondence with the outside world, at all times, regardless of his prison status.

The second is the right of every prisoner to access to uncensored materials for reading and writing, at all times, regardless of his prison status.

We believe that under the present set-up, authorities are justified in opening, inspecting, and reading mail in order to detect dope and plans of violence. But we feel that these precautions can be taken without interfering with the two foregoing rights. Similarly, we see no reason why special problems, such as that presented by pornographic materials, cannot be worked out without denying these rights.

In the last few years, the Federal Prison System has gone a long way toward recognizing these rights, and we feel that the logical next step is for it to give them complete and unequivocal recognition. Because these principles are so fundamental and because their denial causes such terrible suffering and embitterment to prisoners, their friends and families, we feel that we cannot stop our fast until they are clearly established. In this sense we have been accurately represented as being adamant. We cannot stop our fast or carry on successful negotiations as to details until these two rights have been recognized and until it is clear that there will be a basic policy change incorporating them into the Federal Prison System.

At the same time, it would be presumptuous of us to suggest that we know all the answers. We feel certain of the fundamental principles and we have some valuable experience, as inmates, concerning details. But it is clear that you and other administrative officials have other experience that must inevitably modify our suggestions. Therefore we are anxious to listen to reason on details and are ready to stop our fast without 100% incorporation of our own ideas - provided of course the modifications do not take the heart out of the two cardinal principles.

We feel that you agree with us that the proper place for such a policy to be established is in official regulations that come from Washington. This would not prevent local prisons from varying details in accord with local situations, provided again that the two basic rights are clearly maintained. But until such a change comes from Washington local liberalization in one of 26 closely knit institutions is of little significance.

We entered this fast because of the tremendous need of the prisoners and because of our overwhelming conviction of the truth of these two simple principles. We are sorry for the obvious inconvenience it is causing quite a few people. We do not want to be rude or inflexible. Nor do we want to force you to act contrary to your judgment. But we have observed the sufferings of the prisoners, first hand, and we see no alternative but to go on ~~fasting~~ fasting indefinitely, in as friendly and humble a spirit as we can, so as to bring the seriousness of the situation to your attention.

Meanwhile, we shall make every effort to be receptive to new insights through meditation, prayer, and open-minded discussion.

This letter was signed by the following:

Paton Price
Dave Dellinger
Bill Kuenning
Jack Dixon
Tom Woodman
Bill Lovett

Excerpts from a letter from Paton Price (from Lewisburg) dated Nov. 8, 1943:

"We had a very thorough discussion of the purposes and nature of our action with Dr. Frank, Educational Director of Prison Bureau at Washington, and although his visit was only for the purpose of inquiry and clarification, we were somewhat encouraged by his grasp of our requests. We worked out with him the minimum details and requests of our action and indicated our firm adherence to them. They are:

I. If any inmate is placed in punishment status or is subjected to any restriction of privileges, such punishment or restrictions shall not interfere with his full library privileges, full correspondence privileges, or his access to material for writing, except that in extreme cases, any or all of these privileges may be restricted for a period of three days.

II. There shall be no political, religious, or ideological censorship of books, magazines, pamphlets or letters.

A. The following kinds of books, magazines, newspapers and pamphlets may be excluded:

(1) Material giving instructions in counterfeiting, distilling of liquor, and similar non-political criminal activities,
(2) Pornographic material,
(3) Material banned by the U.S. Postal authorities.

B. Letters shall be opened and read by the authorities to check on the inclusion of dope, plans for escape, plots of violence, similar criminal activities, and obscene matter, but no letter may be rejected except for these reasons.

(1) No letter suspected of containing any of the foregoing prohibited matter may be detained for more than 72 hours without notifying the inmate involved.
(2) Each inmate shall be allowed a basic list of seven correspondents.
(3) Persons may be excluded from an inmate's correspondence list if they are suspected of currently engaging in criminal activities. Persons who have been previously convicted of crime or who are ~~currently engaging in~~ presently incarcerated in a penal or correctional institution or who are on parole or probation may be included on an inmate's correspondence list if it appears that such inclusion will be for the best welfare of both parties and will not promote criminal activities.
(4) Where there is no indication that correspondence will be carried on for the purpose of promoting criminal activities, an inmate's correspondence list may be increased from 7 to 14 correspondents by permission of the local authorities.
(5) Outgoing correspondence shall be limited to 7 letters a week. There shall be no numerical limitation on incoming letters.
(6) Inmates shall be allowed to write freely concerning prison officials and all other public officials. They shall not be allowed to mention the names of other inmates, unless this is specifically allowed by local authorities.

2)

III. Materials written by inmates of x Federal institutions shall not be subject to confiscation by the authorities. Books, ~~poems~~ poems, articles, stories, journals, diaries, and similar manuscripts may be written by inmates, mailed out of the institution, and taken out by the inmate at the time of his release. The following kinds of material are subject to confiscation:

(1) Material giving instructions in counterfeiting, distilling of liquor and similar non-political criminal activities,
(2) Pornographic material,
(3) Material banned by the U.S. postal authorities.

IV. A copy of these fundamental rights shall be prominently displayed on the bulletin board of every housing unit of every Federal institution for at least sixty days after going into effect. A personal copy shall be given to every new inmate during the quarantine period.

The following is a partial list of magazines and newspapers which under Sec. II could not be excluded from the libraries of any Federal prison: Common Sense, The Call, The C.O., Retort, Daily Worker, New Masses, Crisis, In Fact, Protestant, Partisan Review, The New Republic, The Nation, Why, Fellowship, Literature of the J.W's, The People's Voice, Chicago Defender, Peace News, etc."

November 30, 1943

Mr. B. M. Philips, City Editor
Afro-American Newspaper
628 N. Eutaw Street
Baltimore, Maryland

Dear B. M. Philips:

I believe that since November 3rd I have written you stating that I would be very happy to come down to Baltimore at your convenience to talk over the matter of my coming into that area for a considerable time in order to get a program of non-violence going in regard to the race relations situation in Baltimore. I will await an answer from you in this matter. If you would give me several dates within the next ten days when it would be possible for you to receive me, I could select one of them and let you know. I feel it would be very necessary for us to have this preliminary talk, as a good understanding of what the problems are ought to precede any decisions as to how we are going to work.

In your last letter you mentioned financial arrangements and we can take that matter up at that time. I do feel, however, that the Fellowship of Reconciliation would be unable to cover the expenses for the preliminary trip to Baltimore, therefore, I would suppose that the group which is sponsoring the over-all activity would feel that they could cover the expenses for this trip.

I am anxiously awaiting your reply.

Sincerely,

BR:NB

Bayard Rustin

From John Dixon
12612

Dec. 6, 1943
(Date)

To Bayard Rustin
(Name)

2929 Broadway, New York 25, N.Y.
(Address)

No. 9
DEC
LEWISBURG, PA.

Dear Bayard, I have been going to write you for nearly a week now but it has been hard to get down to even letter writing. We were able to reach a final decision with the Bureau through Warden Hiatt on Wed. afternoon, Dec. 1st. Our first meal eaten normally in 63 days was bread & milk & a little fruit juice. That was the start & the end of our controlled diet. The next morning we had fried potatoes & bacon; lunch was spiced meat; for dinner, chili con carne. We have no kick coming since none of us are sick from the fast but I think it is only dumb luck. We are all gaining a lb. or two per day which should mean two weeks to a month before we are back to normal weight; our strength should take longer, I suppose.

By this time you should be acquainted with all the data on our negotiations. It was interesting to read some of the letters we received the day after our decision in light of what did happen. I feel that we were very fortunate in timing so appropriately. The telegrams from Julius & A.J. were much appreciated. I know you agree with me in the feeling that the most important result of this action is in the abstract or educational (perhaps spiritual - although I detest also of this word) as contrasted to the specific concrete or material field. Whatever the new regulations will be in the manual, their effect will lie entirely upon the interpretations of the individual administrators. I feel that the whole area of correspondence in prison has received far too little thought & attention in the past. The individual prisons vary greatly in the freedom (or lack of it) of correspondence & study. I know I am more fortunate than Dick in this connection. In my opinion a minimum custodial place such as Mill Point should need to exercise only the slightest or minimum restrictions on things of this sort. Inspection should be the most that is necessary. Here the situation is much different. Also war conditions modify things slightly. Guards are not draft deferred so that the turnover is rather high. Thus we did not press our point of an unlimited correspondence

However we all feel that there are many particulars that can be cleared up without any drastic changes. It just means a little use of the imagination or perhaps just getting used to a new idea. The most serious criticism I have of prison is of course that it is authoritarian and the weakness of the authoritarian bureau is brought out clearly in situations such as the one that just came to a head here + the present crisis at Danbury. Theoretically this type of government is supposed to be for the benefit of the governed but the gulf that separates the subjects from the rulers is so great that only the most strenuous effort can bridge the distance. Thus few of the conflicts that arise can ever be solved satisfactorily. They are solved, yes; the machinery of the institution roll on as smoothly as ever. The worn part is simply replaced with a fresher one, seldom is it oiled in time to prevent the damage. You will learn much in the next few years. If you have questions about our recent action let me have them otherwise A.F. should be able to supply you with all the facts.

We are glad to hear about the action in C.P.A. + especially Big Flats, all of us should like to be remembered to the boys on their celebration — we express our solidarity with you + hope that this marks the beginning of close cooperation in an unyielding fight for a workers world. Despite the dim light of a cessation of fighting in Europe we all know that for real peace, the fight has only begun. We are all thinking of what we shall do when the war is over — to bring peace. Have you ever talked to Thelma about this? Incidentally, who will you be writing to in the future? You should be able to write to Dick. Who in your family will you write to? I should know in a few weeks at the most about writing to Charlotte. Remember wherever you go you will have friends. Maybe I'll see you here.

I am going to close now. There is lots of news to write but it can keep. A.F. will be disheartened — just as we are — to hear that one of our friends just lost all his good time today. We were all surprised and believe that something should be done but what, remains to be seen.

My love to the gang. Jack.

John Dixon
12612.

U. S. PENITENTIARY
LEWISBURG, PENNA.

11/15/43

The men of this Institution may receive one package only for the Christmas Season provided that:

1. Comes from an approved correspondent
2. Is of reasonable size and weighs not more than 2 pounds (Including weight of any book sent seperately)
3. Contains only candy, shelled nuts, glaze fruits.
4. Is received not earlier than Dec. 15th, nor later than Dec. 30th.

In addition each man may receive not more than one book provided that it:

1. Comes direct from a Publisher or Store.
2. Is suitable for our Inmate Library
3. Becomes the property of the Library when the recepient has finished with it.

It is suggested that you contact all known correspondents and determine just who will send the package and thereby avoid any confusion in delivery.

W. H. HIATT
WARDEN

BAYARD RUSTIN - CORRESPONDENCE 1944

28

THE FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION

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A Fellowship that refuses to participate in any war and seeks to demonstrate that love is the effective force for overcoming evil and transforming society into a creative fellowship.

2929 BROADWAY, NEW YORK CITY

Telephone: UNiversity 4-2670

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February 29, 1944

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Carl J. Landes ..... *Rural*
Box 516, Merom, Indiana

Bayard Rustin
Federal Detention Headquarters
427 West Street
New York City

MAR 1 1944

Dear Bayard:

The place is somber--and quiet!--now that you've gone. We do miss you so.

I have just called Federal Headquarters at West Street to find out whether I might visit you this Thursday morning. I explained to the attendant that while I was no "blood relative", I should like very much to see you as your close friend and business associate. Since I am to be on your correspondence list I think it may be possible, especially in view of the fact that you have no family here. Anyway, I am hoping--and shall try to see you this coming Thursday.

A.J. finally got away to the South yesterday morning shortly after you left. This exodus of males is most unpleasant. Al Hassler passed his final-type physical today with flying colors. Still undecided I guess about what course to take. Nevin leaves for Mexico on the 11th. He laughed heartily when I told him that I understand there's one thing you can get in Mexico which you can't get here--Nylon stockings! He told me not to publicize that or he'd be loaded with orders. If they weren't about $9 a pair there I'm sure he would be!

Mrs. Gesner called yesterday after you had left for the Court. She wishes you well as you know--and still loves you! She always identifies herself to me on the telephone as "Mother Gesner"--as though she's looking for a daughter, too!

One thing I want to clear with you when I see you Thursday is what to do about personal mail that may still come for you here. Remind me of that.

'bye,

Love,

Doris

Doris Grotewohl

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Dan L. West.....*Goshen, Ind.*
Norman J. Whitney.....*Syracuse, N. Y.*
Dan Wilson.....*Whittier, Calif.*

MAR 4 1944

Dear Bayard:

I hope you are still in West Va. when this gets to W.G. so that you may get it before your transfer. I just want you to know that I am thinking of you. It is hard to think of you in prison — and pretty painful. Yet I know that your spirit is not bound by the outward circumstances. May it lay hold on the divine resources that are available to break also any fetters that may in any way bind it, so that it becomes ever more free, a more sure resource for your many, many friends and for the cause of brotherhood and peace. I need not tell you that you have my love, my faith, my daily prayer. Let all you do come from deep within — let it be what in your inmost being you want to do — and not determined by outer conditions or by other men. Those who truly bow the knee of the soul to God need never bow to men, whether they be friend or foe.

Yours in fellowship,

A.J.

Greensboro, N.C.
March 1, 1944

2929 Broadway
New York 25, N.Y.
March 2, 1944

Bayard Rustin
Federal Detention Hdqtrs.
427 West Street
New York City

Dearest Bayard:

MAR 3 1944

I've had a day full of frustrations. It began this morning when I phoned West Street on my way to see you - phoned to make sure you were still there. The attendant asked me why, and all the rest - and I soon learned that I wasn't to be allowed to see you. I had forgotten about your sister who lives on St. Nicholas Ave whom they said you had listed. Non-blood relatives can't visit unless there's no relative nearby. I knew she wouldn't be going to see you, which means that you will have no relative to visit you. I tried to explain this but failed. I am so dreadfully sorry. I received your message today from Davis, hoping that you hoped I might get down to see you. I gathered Davis wasn't get to see you either. I trust you are sent somewhere not too far away so I might see you ere too long.

I was ~~terribly~~ disappointed about my failure because I've been so ~~irked~~ by the dithers I was in Monday morning - thought I could make it up partially now. Monday was awful. One thinks one has very good control of one's own action and thinking - then a crisis comes along and all consciousness seems to leave - the only words that come are "Take it Easy" - ! Dictation which follows from the base seems miles away, unreal. Then he leaves, and the self comes back. Kinda deadened, ~~But~~ but avail that I hadn't lived earlier moments that morning very understandingly - and without selfishness.

I'll take care of sendering word to Mrs. Strachan. Don't quite understand the message to Marion, but shall carry it through.

Frank wants to know the date of your grandmother's birthday.

Mrs. Kesner called yesterday. Wanted to know if you were still around and if I saw you to give you her love. Perhaps she'll send a message to you through Arnold.

Al, Katty and I had dinner together tonight in the

the Old Salt. Scallops and that wonderful lemon chiffon pie. We were to have had dinner with a bunch from the office as a sort of farewell to Herb who joins other good men on Monday. But it was too much of a surprise – he already had an engagement! At sixty + I stopped in afterward to see Deanna Durbin in "His Butler's Sister". Her voice, which I've always liked, is really lovely, and shows a great deal of maturation over past performances. We were duly impressed.

11:30 p.ms. now, but I did want to get this off. Good night –

Love,

Doris

Doris Gotwald
2929 Broadway
New York 25.

Doris Grotewohl
2929 Broadway
New York 25, N.Y.

March 6, 1949

Dear Bazard —

9:30 pm — Just got home from a planning committee meeting for my Berea College Assn. alumni dinner. Why I'm on it, I don't know. But I's pose it's a good? replacement for my former Monday night diversion — which crotchet cancelled.

Didn't have a chance to talk with John after seeing you today, so I

still don't know the particulars that you gave him. You're right, of course, about it being difficult for us on the outside to realize what necessity there is for action on the inside. Yet, we all have enough confidence in your judgment and faith in you to back you to the limit, knowing that if we understood all that's involved we would share your course.

I personally hope very much there will be times when, hectic though the external situation is, you may find it possible to cooperate fully. Even in NYOA one needs experimentation with methods - and perhaps allowing the external to go on, cooperating but studying the evil from administrative as well as inmate view, perfecting timing of action, and personal and group preparation for it. I may be all wet, but I could imagine myself in a conflict situation such as you are in, - and will be - getting lost within four walls. The ~~small~~ particular ~~petty~~ seems paramount.

Roberta Boodler 310 W. Huyette Ave Youngstown 3308952

An analogy is that of our protest again area bombing.

Rouge Lepse Bne 110-53 Remington St. Jersey

I think it's important and right that we should do so, but only as long as we keep our protest against this particular aspect of war in the context of total war. We must at every point say – This is part of the atrocity of war itself. "War is the enemy." And so it is with the prison system. It's very difficult I know to chart the best course for bringing about primary change, rather than secondary reform. I think your influence on the lives and thinking of persons will mean a lot in getting those primary changes.

I wanted to leave the rose with you – but I left my good wishes and love. Perhaps the spiritual will outline the material anyway! Yours

Doris

MAR - 9 1944
Number 1

cc: John Swomley & A. J. Muste
Doris - for Bayard

1944

SPL

March 9, 1944

Julia Davis Rustin
117 E. Bernard St.
West Chester, Pa.

Dear Mrs. Rustin:

Your grandson, Bayard, has told me that your birthday would be coming along soon. Although you do not know me and I have never seen you, I want to send you my heartiest birthday congratulations and to say how much I esteem the Grandmother of my dear friend, Bayard Rustin.

From the things that have come out about you in conversations which I have had with Bayard, I know that you must be a rare woman, and I sense it even more in the personality and life of Bayard himself. I am sure that he owes a great deal to your influence.

As a Secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation who has worked in it for more than 20 years, I have been proud to have Bayard as one of my colleagues. All of us in the Fellowship office here, and many F.O.R. members throughout the country, admire and love Bayard very much. On various occasions Bayard and I have spoken at meetings of the Fellowship out across the country, as far as the Pacific Coast. Every time Bayard made a deep impression on the audience. He has a combination of gifts in singing voice, dramatic recital of experiences, and personality inspired by loving non-violence. I believe that these gifts will take him very far, as they have done Roland Hayes and others, if he can maintain his inner sweetness and humility of spirit, on the one hand in the face of the bitter sufferings of the Negro race and himself at the hands of White prejudice, and on the other hand against the adulation which will come his way because of his talents and personality.

The ordeal of prison which he must now go through will be a hard one. Like all suffering, the effect is to make a man either better or worse. In Bayard's case I believe it will be better, but the severity of temptation is such that I think we must continually pray for him, as Christ prayed for Peter.

It is almost impertinent of me to be telling you these things which I am sure you already know so well. However, I want you to know that I feel them, too, so that if any need should arise at any time when I might be able to do anything for you or Bayard, you would write me about it. The Fellowship here will certainly stand by Bayard to the limit, and that means standing by you, too. For I judge that you are the closest one in spirit to Bayard of any of his family.

I hope you will have a happy birthday and not be cast down by the fact that Bayard is in prison. We are thankful that he has heard and followed the voice of conscience within.

Yours sincerely,

JHS:KVC

John Hevin Sayre

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2929 Broadway
New York 25, N Y.
March 31, 1944

Bayard Rustin
P.M.B. 2905
Ashland, Kentucky

APR 4 1944

Number 1

Dear Bayard:

Whoops la! The silence is ended! It was good news when a note came from your grandmother yesterday saying that I could now communicate with you. Since the detective "investigated" me earlier in the week, and got my approval to be your correspondent, I assume it is quite all right now to write to you. I have scads of messages for you here, so if this first letter changes the subject as frequently as Webster don't be surprised. I think I shall send most of them to you today for next week's letter to you may be sent from North Carolina, where I am going for a week's vacation. On the way back from there I am stopping in Powellsville, Maryland, on the 14th and 15th of April. A.J. is to there at that time finishing up the School of Non-Violence. I hope very much I shall hear from you before then, but if you're writing about that time to me it would be fun to get it at Powellsville so that I can give your friends there your greetings. I leave the office here on April 5th, and will return on April 17th. Anything which comes here for me in the interim would of course be forwarded.

Neal Staley from Cheltenham was in the office yesterday and is sending me a full report on the situation there. He thought as a whole it was progressing satisfactorily. His greetings to you. He came in wanting to know what he might to do keep up Bayard Rustin's morale--whether he might write to you, or anything of that sort. He was glad to have this greeting sent to you.

Passmore Elkinton asked me to give you his "affectionate regards. I am sure these prisoner C.O.s are bearing prime witness."

On March 8 Curt Regen called, from the Society of Friends. He thought you were still in West Street and wanted you to know that they had been given permission to send a six months' sub. to the FRIENDS INTELLIGENCER to the library there. His greetings.

Here's a message I guess I really shouldn't send you--it's inflationary! But guess you can take it. It's from Margaret W. Thomforde, Marwood Farm, Kenneth Square, Pa. "Dear Friend: Although you may have seen the enclosed publicity (clippings from West Chester papers about your sentence) I thought you would be glad to know that our small F.O.R. group think often of you and rejoice with you that God is giving you this opportunity for serving Him. We who know your talents (only she crossed the wrong letter and made it 'latents'!), your staunch faith in the methods of non-violence, your winning personality feel that much good will be gained through this strengthening crisis. The Inter-racial Committee in Coatesville has been able to secure Philippa Schuyler for their musical program next Saturday and many are looking forward to this event--to be given in the Auditorium of the new Senior High School. As Mr. Anderson principal of the James Adams School put it, "this concert should be a milestone in the promotion of good will in the community." We have a fine group of interested workers and hope some time that you may be able to meet with us."

Denny Wilcher was given two years on March 16. He asked that his regards be sent to you. Gladys Moore of Utica had sent her greetings to you and wondered if she might communicate. I've written her. She sends greetings.

This is from Victor Barnouw. He's an FOR I-AO man, who was especially concerned about some interracial problems within his ranks. "Dear Bayard. You won't remember me, but I met you briefly at Otterbein at an AFSC Conference. I just wanted to wish you all the best of good luck. Remember that you are working for all of us! There are

so many people who are indebted to you and who are with you in spirit.* Good luck. God be with you!"

Bob Rumsey recently sent his greetings. He's in Columbus.

The New York Preparative Meeting writes this and asked me to send it along: "At New York Preparative Meeting yesterday Charlotte Bailey read the letter which thee (Bayard) wrote explaining thy reasons for the step which thee has taken. The Meeting was much affected by thy letter and asks that thee be told that it extends to thee love and sympathy and wishes thee to know that we admire thy stand, for the sake of thy light. We hope that thee will bear with fortitude and courage in the difficult days to come and that our love and prayers will help to sustain thee." It was written, on behalf of the Meeting, by Philip Stoughton, Clerk.

APR 3/12/ 1944 Summer

Charles Carpenter of Philadelphia sent you a copy of his statement explaining why he couldn't report for induction into the Army, after having been denied IV-E.

Charles Jones, minister of the Presbyterian Church in Chapel Hill, sends his warm regards to you. Julia Arnold of Palo Alto asked us to convey to you "the love and prayers and very real admiration many of us hold for him (Bayard)--especially at this time." She remarked also about the book by Doris Stevens, written in 1920, called JAILED FOR FREEDOM. I've heard from others, also, that it is a remarkable thing describing, I believe, the struggle of the suffragettes.

Nevin is still in Mexico--until the latter part of April, I believe. Evelyn Moorman's husband, Albert, is here in the office now, having walked out of Trenton shortly after you walked out of the office. He's a grand guy. Al Hassler has written his local board to the effect that he will be unable to appear for induction. His statement is excellent and I shall try to give you parts of it later. Right now I want to tell you the biggest news around here, that of the Town Meeting of the Air last night. Hope some of you were able to listen.

A couple of weeks ago the director of Town Meeting called to get suggestions from AJ as to possible speakers to take the platform in ~~support~~ objection to the policy of obliteration bombing if they could arrange such a Town Meeting on that subject. He made suggestions and we hoped that he was going to be asked. Finally Norman Thomas and C. G. Paulding, editor of COMMONWEAL, took the one side in opposition to the policy, and Norman Cousins, editor of the Saturday Review of Literature (and with literature he should stay), and George Fielding Elliott took the affirmative. We were told by the director of the forum that the committee had decided it couldn't accept A.J. because he represted a pacifist organization, and pacifism is not an issue in wartime. From their point of view of course they are right. The question was on the strategy of the bombing, not that of war. Well, as you can imagine, the office force turned out en masse at the Town Meeting last night. In the 45 minutes of discussion from the floor, before the broadcast began, the general atmosphere of the questions and comments was that of great support of the obliteration policy. A.J. was given a chance to speak for about five minutes and he did a wonderful job. We all felt his manner and presentation toned down the hostility to the bombing protest- which had been creeping around the room--or leaping-- up to that time. John also made a good brief comment to the effect that other individuals there, from their remarks, seemed to imply a racism--an extermination of Germans policy--which seemed as dangerous as the things we were supposedly fighting. Some rabid intolerants behind me assured him that's what they were doing. 'Twas very saddening. In fact, the whole business saddened me, even the program which was broadcast. Thomas did a good job, and Paulding, too, but it was too bad our point of view couldn't have been represented. The

over

audience was very, very rude. Couldn't help but think of Lin Yutangmost of the time and the section in his recent book on manners. A people with good manners don't need laws, but those few who violate basic courtesies in a group take away the freedom of all, and make restrictions necessary.

The N.Y. FOR, and John Swomley (who said he felt like a JW) sold the Vera Brittain supplement afterwards on the sidewalk outside. Sold over a hundred copies, which we think is good from such an audience. Norman gave us a wonderful plug during the course of his talk. The next week our correspondence and literature orders should further indicate how the radio audience received the broadcast.

Abe Kaufman is here for a UPC meeting--rather he's leaving, for it's almost 6:30. He sends you his best regards. As do all of us. I gave the office some news of you that came through Davis earlier in the week, for which we all rejoiced. We miss you, and yet know you are with us.

Yours

Doris Grotewohl

A. J. sends his love especially.

Abe says they didn't sell the NCCO to the NSBRO as Charley thought they had, and that Evan is righting Charley about that.

Still can't locate the letter from your Grandmother that Al would like. Nor the folder of letters that would help Walter Rae in his study of prison correspondence. Searched the office high and low. Your aunt (whom I had written) said she found nothing there, either, but said we could go up and look. Shall one of us go?

The following original pages are of poor quality. UPA has made every technical effort to provide the best possible reproduction.

2.

R 14 1944

Number 1

2929 Broadway
New York 25, N.Y.
April 11, 1944

Bayard Rustin
P.M.B. 2905
Ashland, Kentucky

Dear Bayard:

This typewriter ribbon isn't quite up to the standards of our office but I trust it will be legible inspite of its defectiveness!'

Chapel Hill is simply beautiful. I arrived here on Thursday in the midst of redbud trees and plum trees in blossom. Like Ferdinand I spent hours just sitting and smelling. Almost got stung today when my nose alighted on the same blossom with a bee. Since Thursday the dogwood has come out, along with a variety of flowering shrubs whose names I don't know. Jasmine and wisteria (both white and lavendar) are all over the place today. What delights me so much is the way cherry blossoms or any sort of flowering tree reach way across sidewalks, at low height, without being plucked by wayward school children! Even the students seem to be tree lovers, and proud of the wild beauty of the place. I dearly love it, and know I shall find returning to New York a great effort.

I stayed at the Carolina Inn the first couple of nights, but moved over with Charles Jones and family on Sunday night. I hadn't realized you had been in Chapel Hill, but I'm glad to find that you have, for it means so much to be able to share the fascination of this place with someone who has been here and can visualize the people and places that seem so interesting to me.

Anyway, Charlie Jones sends you his greetings. He has been having something of a struggle here in his church. There has been a Navy training unit here, and an all-Negro Navy band to keep up its morale! The band members as a whole were college men, their leader a Ph.D man. Some of the band members, plus students who occasionally come over from the Negro schools nearby, have attended Jones' church. I guess it's been going on for sometime, but finally getting under the skin of some of the "good old stock". So the church session (seven men, including Dr. Frank Graham!.) has been having meetings to discuss the situation and try to work out some approach to it. They have had several meetings, and have arrived at this common agreement: that a Christian Church cannot refuse admittance to anybody who wants to come there. Beyond that, there are some difficulties. Three out of the seven men are inclined to say, we can't refuse them admittance but we can ask them to sit in the balcony, etc. The other four (inc. Dr. G.) feel that that, too, is wrong. At the present time, nothing particular is happening on it, except that none of them want to push action but want to work it out in due course through an honest facing of the problem. Jones feels that the solution may be to say we'll respect the feelings of those individuals who can't bring themselves to sit with Negroes (and I suppose vice versa) and have a tacit agreement among the ushers that such individuals will be escorted to a particular section near the front. Otherwise people may sit where and next to whom they please. There is one old woman in the congregation who is causing the most difficulty, has transferred her membership to Durham, and is trying to get this area Presbytery to pass a motion declaring Jones to be unfit. Since two members of his session will be present at that meeting, and will indicate that the local session is working on the problem,

he feels Presbytery will take no action. I'm sure neither he nor Dr. G. is going to back down on what they are standing for. , and I have a hunch they will win out.

R 14 1944

Number 1

I spent most of today on the Duke campus--ugh! There is so much native beauty around here and such endless possibility for developing a modern architecture in keeping with it that I just can't see imposing the Gothic upon it. And especially in that hospital building, where sunlight and ventilation should be sought after commodities. Oh, me. The ways of the world I shall never understand. But the flowers and gardens were all that one could ask. True inspirations. Much more so than the church with which Duke blessed the place.

Wednesday, April 12, 1944

Had to stop last night in order to get to a seminar of Dr. Odum's. The discussion was on Civilization vs. Culture. He spent a great deal of time discussing the "moral intellectual isolationism" of people, esp. the intelligentsia. It seems like a well-put phrase to me, for it's only too true that there are seads of people who can intellectualize about the social problems of our day, but keep themselves morally isolated from them. No identification of the problem with self. Reminds me of that sign I saw yesterday between here and Durham: "Durham Motor Camp. Morally clean"!

2 This morning Dr. Odum showed a couple of us through the Workshop on Regional Planning. They have an exciting display of maps, charts and planning materials on the southern region in particular, but also on the nation as a whole. I'd love to stay around and do some research, but shall have to postpone it I guess. Must read Dr. Odum's new book on Race, and Rumors of Race.

The sun is out again (it poured yesterday) so I'm going to go horse-back riding this afternoon. We went last Saturday - and it's taken me the four days since them to recover!

I shall meet A-J. in Powellsville on Friday. Hope the operetta is going well. Hope there's a letter waiting for me at P'ville from you, for I haven't heard from you yet. Be good!

Love,
Doris.

2929 Broadway
New York 25, N.Y.
April 18, 1944

Dear Bayard,

Tonight was the first chance I've had to talk with Davis since my return from the South and Powellsville! It was good to have news of you through him, though he hasn't heard from you for ten days. I'm still awaiting a first letter from you, but trust it is forthcoming this week. I've had the feeling that much has been happening these past weeks and that we have been separated from your thinking. I know Bram is also concerned. Incidentally, he was in Powellsville this past week - that's why I was there, too - and I think he felt happy at the conclusion of the Sch. of Non-Violence that it had as a whole been very worthwhile. He is away now but I shall meet him tomorrow in New Brunswick for the usual Wednesday lecture. I know that he, Bram, will be of help to Davis and me so I am anxious to talk with him. He goes on to Washington meetings on Thursday and Friday.

Did you ever know a Dr. Thomas Patrick - an outstanding Harlem pediatrician? He has been in the office several times recently seeking our help in getting campers and counselors for a camp he is opening in the Adirondacks this summer. He is apparently interested in projects for children, such as day nurseries and camps, which are completely interracial. His camp has a capacity of 100, and he wants it evenly

distributed between white and colored. He seems like an all-right sort, and has S.H. Bishop's unqualified approval, so we're trying to give it publicity. First camp I've heard of of that variety which is promoted by a colored man or group, so I'm doing my dearest to get people for it. Any suggestions? If Davis is free at that time I think it would be great for him.

APR 20 1944
Number 1

Had to do an errand on the way home late this afternoon, on Central Park West. So I detoured on the way to the bus through the park. The suggestion of spring is there. Grass just beginning to get a green fuzzy look. Trees, if one looks very closely, have tight little buds which a couple of warm days would help mature. But the birds are there, lovely in their remoteness from other city voices. That's what struck me so forcefully about Chapel Hill, after these past months of cave-dwelling in New York. The birds aroused me every morning there - but I didn't mind!

There's a bill in the office - amount of which I've forgotten but I believe it's about $4.00 - for two copies of Brothers Under the Skin which you gave as Xmas gifts in December. Is there enough in your "extra cash" account with Fran to take care of that - or what is your wish?

Please give my greetings to Fran Heal and others whom I may know there. And to you, my sparrow, my love -

Don't break any wings!

Davis.

2929 Broadway
New York 25, New York
April 25, 1944

Bayard Rustin
PMB 2905
Ashland, Kentucky

Dear Bayard:

Great rejoicing yesterday when your letter arrived in the office. I shared it with all at noon time, and everyone sends best wishes to you. We all regretted of course that the earlier communications weren't allowed to come through. I would be very happy to keep them from any publicity hounds. If they can be sent through sometime, that would be fine. We feel the approach you are using, through educational work, is very sound. No matter how ideal and right our goals, they can never be fully realized unless those with whom we work and about whom we are concerned have some basis for understanding both ends and means.

The operetta sounds great. When is it to be given? Success to it.

I have a number of messages again for you. Lee Ellis, who has called several times, wants to be remembered to you. Igal Roodenko, back in town pending further developments on his case in Denver, sends regards. Gertrude Heyman (remember that speedy older woman stenographer, from WRL, who helped you?) thinks most highly of you and sends greetings. A note in the mail from some fellow who signs his name "Chan", and is with Battery A, 395 AAA, Camp Haan, Calif: "Hello, Rus: Just a brief note with enclosure. (see attached clipping). see p.s. Write soon!(Will he be surprised? If you'll give me his last name I'll send him a note). I received from Farrell a clipping concerning your arrest. I know and hope everything is all right." Alice Doren, in Dayton, sends greetings.

Did I give you this message before? That Curt Regen called to say that at Friends Yearly Meeting, New York, March 30-31, remembered you at its opening session. That the Westbury Quarterly Meeting, through Frances Burke, quoted a good part of your letter to the draft board. On Sunday evening during the singing hour they sang "Jacob's Ladder" and remembered your teaching this song to the group in previous years. Those assembled at Yearly Meeting asked Curt to send you their prayerful greetings.

Mildred Jensen Loomis is having the book ECONOMICS SIMPLIFIED sent in to the libraries of all the prisons in which there are FOR members. Will you look up the book sometime? No doubt others there would be interested in it also.

A subscription of (or to) the New Yorker is being sent to you as a gift from the office here. I'm not sure when the first issue was to reach you but it should soon if it hasn't already. If the one for last week reached you, note the J.B. Matthews profile!

A. J. said you would remember the message which you gave John for A.J. when you were in West St. He wants to assure you that he was very happy to get it, chiefly of course for what it meant with regard to your own well-being. He says that he has heard it rumored that there are C.O. cases, which might reflect seriously on the cause under certain circumstances. Thus anything any one might do to help them would benefit both individuals and the movement.

You received a notice from the WRL (I've been having them send your material on anyway so that I might forward news to you) of the Executive Committee meeting at the home of Bob Brooks in Mt. Kisco, either May 7 or 14. The note is from Frank Olmstead, who appended a P.S. saying "Be thinking of us, Bayard." Some of the items which he lists for possible discussion at that time are:

Decade Plan Toward International Decency.

11 Move Offices this year to a more suitable building, possibly where WRL and FOR could both be housed. (We seem to be getting additonal 3rd floor space here so I doubt if this is at all likely.)

2. Initiate planning with the help of the FOR for a National United Pacifist Committee on the order of the New York UPC.

3. Start to lay plans for regional WRL secretaries for New England, Middle Atlantic, Middle West, Far West and the South.

14 4. Begin working toward a foreign department to supplement the WRI, with a secretary soon for Latin America and eventually one for the Orient.

5. Have a regular publication, possibly taking over Henry Geiger and his Pacifica Views, as CPS closes.

6. Employ immediately a promotion secretary, who will develop writers for magazine articles and enlarge our financial base.

The Philip Randolph meeting, at which the WDL is in behalf of labor presenting him with the Dave Clendennin placque for "distinguished service", is to be held May 2nd. They have secured an imposing list of entertainers for the occasion--Duke Ellington, Maurice Rocco, Gertrude Niesen, Mary Lou Williams, Pearl Primus, Hazel Scott, Zero Mostel, Earl Hines, Jimmy Savo. But I saw Morris last night and learned that there are some shifts in the line-up. Apparently the WDL secured these people through their managers, and when the CP saw the set-up, certain of the entertainers found it necessary to withdraw--need I name them? Primus, Scott, Williams, et al! Morris assures us that the new list of entertainers will be just as wonderful--but I am disappointed about not seeing Primus! 11

Today at Executive Committee meeting there were a number of items in which I think you'll be interested. A.J. attended an NSB meeting last week. Apparently there is concern over the grave financial problem facing the Service Committees over the failure of the non-pacifist churches to provide for the maintenance of their members in CPS, and by the rising problem of CO dependents. A.J. said the discussion there was "the most honest and searching" he has heard in an NSB meeting. There resulted these things: further effort to make it possible through the Comptroller General's office for COS to be able to retain wages; try to get a bill introduced providing that the money in the Treasury may be used for dependency (this is money that has been earned by COS on farms, etc.).

A significant item from the NSB meeting: The AFSC, though it has so far not seen its way clear to adopting a proposal thatit withdraw from all CO projects which cannot be carried on on an interracial basis, is taking the stand that it will support to the limit Charles Lawrence' application to Gatlinburg. It is envisaged that Selective Service may not approve or allow the assignment. The question as to what is to be done with Gatlinburg if this happens will then be seriously faced by AFSC.

It was also agreed that on the one hand, hospitals and other detached service projects must be immediately investigated to see where Negroes would be admitted on a basis of equality; and on the other hand, that Negro C.O.s in the camps should be

contacted as to the kind of detached service they desire and are equipped for. It was agreed that the minimum standard must be that there must be at least the same opportunity for Negroes to get detached service opportunities in non-segregated situations as for whites.

An interesting course on conflict areas (racial and religious) to be taught by Clifford Bragdon of the Smith faculty is being worked out in Danbury. N.S.B is taking care of the expenses.

If the CHRISTIAN CENTURY reaches Ashland read the editorial in last week's issue by Charles Clayton Morrison on "Disintegrating Pacifism." We've been teasing AJ endlessly about his disintegration, and for not letting us in on the secret that he is no longer a pacifist! Can you imagine Morrison's even suggesting such a thing! AJ has prepared a good letter in reply which we hope the editors will publish.

Saw Davis last night at the N.Y. FOR dinner--he cameafter the dinner. We sang a hymn or so preceding the addresses-- something this non-church going soul hasn't done for sometime! It was fun--I've always liked some hymn melodies! Davis, the organist and I all followed one melody for the song--the one that wasn't in the book; the others followed the tune in the book! Some fun--and harmony! Why don't hymn writers get together on melodies, or else have organists follow melodies indicated in the book?

Anyway, I think Davis wasn't disappointed in Thurman. I wasn't--I never am. Some people find his slow manner of speaking distracting, difficult to follow. But his pauses give my mind time to absorb his beautiful phrases and figures of speech. "This tunnel of madness and fury (and one could add fire, mockery, etc.) through which we are moving...." was one of his very apt figures.

Nevin also spoke--reported on his trip to Mexico. He is enthusiastic about the possibilities there. Brought back a glowing report of the race relations institute held several weekends ago in Kansas City at which he and Jim spoke. More Negroes present than at any previous ones, Jim felt. Very good attendance and participation in the Sat. afternoon projects. Today Nevin pointed out a need which I remember you expressing sometime ago--the need for real follow-up work in these communities where institutes are held.

Did I tell you that at ~~several~~ a meeting of the E.C. several weeks ago they voted to retain you on the staff, i.e., you shall be continued as on the letter-head, etc.? The same will hold for Al.

It's 7:30 p.m. and I'm famished. So, good night. And greetings from all of us.

Doris

Doris Grotewohl

P.S. Just re-read correspondence instructions and find that I shouldn't send clippings, so I'm not enclosing the one from Chan indicated on the first page. You can imagine the type of thing it is when I say it's one of Westbrook Pegler's column's which he devoted to a smear of the Negro Press, quoting at great length from the Los Angeles Tribune's editorial of some weeks' ago in which it discredits the Negro Press, except itself. I know nothing about it. Is the press pretty bad?

2929 Broadway
New York 25, New York
~~April~~- May (1) 2, 1944

Bayard Rustin
PMB 2905
Ashland, Kentucky

Dear Bayard:

May and spring have come, yesterday being so warm that some of us nibbled lunched in Riverside Park. The miniature magnolia trees in the parkway here on Broadway are in bloom and trees are losing that undressed look. May Day came and went as any other day, without fanfare in the papers, sans parades or oratory. The SP did have its annual dinner, at the Coop. Cafeteria--apparently nothing special. Tonight is a more significant occasion, I feel, with the presentation of the Clendenin Award of the W.D.L. for "distinguished service in behalf of labor's rights", to Philip Randolph. I told you about the difficulty they had gotten into concerning the entertainment, so I am anxious to see what the line-up is tonight. Some of us from the office are ushering and taking up collections. In connection with the event the WDL has set up the "A. Philip Randolph Educational Fund" "to provide means for the speedy application of exclusively educational techniques to promote better race relations." Grants will be made to individuals and to organizations in need of funds to continue or initiate worthwhile projects. "The Fund might finance education against intolerance in areas of racial tension." They have set a goal of $100,000 for the fund.

May Day
a Philip Randolph

Dorothy Norman paid quite a tribute to Randolph in yesterday's New York Post, giving a full-page (Post size) to a profile of him.

Thought you might be interested in this report of the rather non-adventuresome report from the General Meeting of the AFSC, 3/18/44, held in Baltimore, on the work of the Social-Industrial Section: "....The section has set up recently a new committee on Race Relations, with Herbert Bergstrom as Secretary. The response this committee has had in Indianapolis has been very heartening. The approach is to be through co-operative self-help enterprises of which housing and garden projects are examples, and the attempt will be made to build confidence across racial lines. Friends do not come to this problem with clean hands. We must have it laid on our consciences that the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of man is greater than pigmentation. Homer Morris also spoke of the racial casualties on the West Coast and the significance of these happenings in the total minority picture."

A.F.S.C. & Race.

Caleb reports that there "is a CORE group(in S.F.) that resulted from Rusty's visit which continues to meet weekly and is doing a pretty good job, though it has not had as much dynamics as the Denver group." He points out that the worst field of discrimination is in housing, where the tight restrictive covenants work hardship. "In Berkeley these have been largely overcome, but it is a much harder and bigger job here." He reports that a great deal of work has been done with education of the city government, particularly the police department. They are trying to complete arrangements for a large and top-notch delegation to have an extensive conference with the chief of police, the ass't chief, and the captain in charge of work in Caleb's area. "Most of this work with the police dept is predicated on our conviction that our force here is about as badly equipped to handle potential trouble as can be imagined. They go on the theory that the way to handle trouble is to have plenty of force on hand--six cops stand on our corner every evening!"

Race in California

He feels that Dr. Chas. Johnson's survey has helped, though much of his information they feel was based on too small and not sufficiently representative a sampling, and some mistakes are in it--such as his population figures, which are "badly off". But he feels it has been of definite help in interesting some people, such as "Y" groups.

A.F.S.C.

I must further this picture of interracial developments and work by letting you know that ~~atht~~ at the coming AFSC Institute in Greensboro, A & T College is cooperating on an equal basis with Woman's College in sponsoring of the Institute, though all sessions will be held at W.C. (Transportation difficulties enter into that action, I believe.) A.J. and others will be staying on the A & T campus. "No sessions of the Institute shall be scheduled at times or places where either the white or Negro group would not be welcome to attend." Remember the Guilford business about which you were concerned a year ago? Since Clyde Milner(pres. of Guilford) is chairman of this Institute I thought this development noteworthy.

Paul Williams, who was on the committee that interviewed you prior to your joining the Society of Friends, called to inquire about you, and to let you know that he thinks of you a great deal. He wants you to know, also, that he thinks "you did the right thing."

Alma Hansen from Bothell, Washington, writes of her admiration for your courageous work. "I wrote him a letter when I first read that he was up for trial and sent it care of your office. I wonder if you know whether he got it. And is there anything that we can do for him now? Can we write to him in prison or send him something like a book or something that might be helpful to him, and also to let him know that someone cares? Please let me know." Do you recall whether you got her letter? Are there magazines or books which would be of help to you, other C.O.s, or other inmates, which we might have sent to the prison library? Freqeuntly people ask what they might do to help, and I am sure that suggestions would be appreciated.

Elizabeth H. Reed of Fort Wayne, Indiana, says "Please convey to Bayard Rustin my constant admiration for him and interest in him. My sympathies and prayers are with him daily." Werner Baum, who is now at Conn. State Hospital, asks that you be sent his best wishes and regards.

Either

I sharedwith the office portions of your second letter. We all appreciate very much your sharing with us your new insights, or re-newed ones. The crumb of wisdom which you wanted: "The comment on the psychology of certain Negroes is very illuminating. It emphasizes, I agree, the need of non-violent direct action and of attacking the economic problem, but it also clearly reveals that the psychological job of enabling these Negroes in love to understand what they are doing to themselves is indispensable."

How very pertinent your statement "and to becloud is no great problem where the basic concern is not for inner freedom, dignity or real equality...."-- very pertinent to any area of social relationship. How true of some unions, political groups of all shades, and social groups.

Parole –

We of course have had a variety of reactions to the new parole procedure. It seems of course a very satisfactory step for those who are ready to accept parole to the army or CPS. For those who feel they can accept only special forms of service, we do not yet have any idea whether they are more likely to be granted such under this plan than under the former. In general, the feelings expressed by Jim McDaniel in a recent letter are those with which we are in substantial agreement.

Perhaps you can give us more light on it than we can give to you! What is the reaction of the non-registrants and walk-outs, the men who could not get a IV-E., the JWs, the non-CO 'draft-evaders'? In other words, what is the reaction of the different types of S.S. violators. It would seem natural, of course, that they should vary greatly. Has the new plan been presented to you people? Is the plan being put into operation there, for instance by phsyical exams, releases, etc.? And how many do they expect (estimate of course) to release under this plan? That's a lot of questioning, I know, and we won't be too saddened if you can't give us this information. It would help to clarify thinking of families and friends, however, if we could know a little more about your own reactions to it.

The literature you wanted sent is being sent this week. You may have to wait for the "There Are Things to Do" because they had none in stock here and the order is on the way.

Poll tax

There is to be a poster-walk in front of Congressional buildings on May 15, and continuing as long as there is filibustering against the anti-poll tax measures. FOR, CORE and other groups are sponsoring the occasion, along with some Negro groups.

That about takes care of all the news--and now I must run to the Randolph meeting. Thought of you particularly this noon when I bought one of those peanut-bird seed candy bars in the Chinese restaurant. I haven't had one since last you remembered me with one. They are still delicious. So glad you introduced them to me --though I get the seeds all over papers, typewriter, files, etc. when I have them!

Love from all of us.

Truly,

Doris

Doris Grotewohl

6.

2929 Broadway
New York 25, New York
May 5, 1944

Bayard Rustin
2905
Ashland, Kentucky

Dear Bayard:

This is my night at the Metr. Board, and since there are no customers I have dug up at ancient typewriter in order to drop you this note. I can't quite figure out what's wrong with the machine, but the keys are compressed into a smaller amount of space, and the rows seems to be missing a few end keys, so my fingers are inclined to land in the wrong places.

Did I tell you in my last letter that early this week Norman called to give us greetings from you. It was so good to have direct news from you all. And today's mail brought a full and moving letter from Elanor, parts of which Al would like to use if Bronson and you think it fitting. I shared the letter with A.J. who was greatly moved by the account and asked that I send this message to you and the others. "The other day I completed the reading of Lillian Smith's STRANGE FRUIT with a very troubled spirit. I was overwhelmed by the intricacy of the pattern of race relationships as she depicted it, its deep roots in the social-historical soil and in human souls, and the fatal precision with which, almost without any individual actually willing evil, a climactic horror such as a lynching came about. WHAT, ONE ASKED, WHAT force can possibly avail to overcome this evil and to change the individuals involved in it?

"Now I have just finished reading the account of the demonstration of non violence by our friends in Ashland a couple Sundays ago. It is difficult to put into words the joy I feel over the fact that their spirits under severe testing remained pure and true. If they were the sons of my flesh, I could not feel more closely bound to these young men than I do. One feels utterly unworthy of their friendship. One's whole being prays for them and with them that they may be spared suffering and may have humility, wisdom and strength sufficient unto the day. They incarnate the force and they are learning to use the method which can break the barriers of race and caste."

No more need be said about how we feel. We shall be with you all in spirit knowing that the faith we share with you will guide and keep you.

Truly,

Doris

Doris Grotewohl

Had an evening session recently with Liederkranz cheese. A smellingly good time!

2905

2929 Broadway
New York 25, N.Y.

1.

May 13, 1944

Dear Bayard:

This will have to be fairly brief, for Doris is coming soon and we're going to Frannie's for the evening. I'm taking your letters along, and Eleanor Clarke's, so that she can catch up on you. Doris & I will investigate mandolin possibilities. As you may know, watches are almost impossible to find, even $1.00 ones. Would you want either of the watches you left with me sent on to you? If so, which is the least valuable? I'll send "The Little Prince" and "Screwtape Letters" the first week. Understand AFSC James Mullins will be visiting Pasteur next weekend.

We would like to send the library there a subscription to Equality, and one for The Forerunner? Is that OK?

I wonder if you remember that large colorful map that hung over my desk? It's one of the U.S. showing all the many nationalities and cultural groups that make up our country. I could probably get a new for you, for your classwork or the library through the Council Against Intolerance. Shall I try? How about world maps? Do you have enough of those for display purposes?

We have all been thrilled by the outcome

of your recent trial of non-violence. Hope further developments since then have been satisfactory.

Doris and I are sharing your letters which is good for me get more news that way.

Aunt Regen called again yesterday. He wondered if a prison visit from him would be desired. He has three or four vacation days he'd like to use in some way with C.O.s. He of course thought of you as a member of his Society of Friends. I don't know on what basis he could get visiting permission to you, except as a representative of the Friends for a Sunday meeting. Would that be sufficiently helpful to you to warrant his making that trip? Doris yesterday thought he might be able to visit late in June, and perhaps again late in the summer. I'd like very much to visit you in early fall, if that would be desired. You might pass on your suggestions re this. I thought if I did get to come down I'd stop to see your grandmother on the way, coming + going, as I might at MAY 15 1944 middlemen for the two of you!

Al's situation is at a peak — perhaps several more weeks. Number 1

Went to an L. S. O. conference this noon to hear Walter Nash, deputy prime minister of New Zealand + new chairman of the I.L.O. We were very pleased with his obvious and sincere internationalism. For instance, he said the ave. age in India is 27; in New Zealand, 67 — and pointed out that as long as conditions exist which make a 67/27 age comparison possible, there cannot be peace. He stressed several times the danger of any victorious peoples getting the idea of a "superior" people — as though they have some special commission to lead the rest of the world. We felt he was expressing the concerns of small countries who may or may not get in at the peace table. He ended on the note of "hatred is a boomerang" — and said only love + understanding can create a peace.

Will write early in the week. Love

Doris Grotewohl Doris

© B.J. Himmel

8.

May 17, 1944

Dear Bayard:

A real letter really will follow this, but in the meantime just a note of greeting. Stopped at Tommy Lee's early this morning to pick up your letters which Davis & I left there Sat. night. Peter was bubbling & grinning at me and looked so much like a Hummel child that I was prompted to find a Hummel this morn for you.

We are pursuing the mandolin and have a good lead.

There is a request from the Columbus CORE group to send you P.M. Would you find that helpful - or would some other newspaper or magazine be desirable?

The F.O.R. Retreat for Staff, Council & Committee members begins next Friday. If you have suggestions for future employees in race relations, W.V.O.R., or industrial work send them on.

Ruth Steinberg is sending a greeting card to you. Let us know if it arrives.

Miss you.

Doris

Doris Stokowski

9.

{Butcher
Currier
Holt
— returns

9 Broadway
New York 25, N.Y.
May 19, 1944

Bayard Rustin
P.M.B. 2905
Ashland, Kentucky

Dear Bayard:

I believe the note I sent along with the card a couple days ago was # 8--
so this is # 9.

* * **

Interruption by twenty minutes of excitement. Al is to appear for pleading next Tuesday. Suddenly a ray of hope, however. Because of the May 12th ruling of S.S. all men over 30 are supposed to have draft classifications reviewed and placed in II-A if they are engaged in activities essential to the national health, safety and education. Al's work is included. Technically he is in IV-E until he's sentenced, and since IV-E is one of the categories to be re-classified for men over 30--we are hopeful! He is seeing the D.A. in a little while, and if the situation looks favorable will see the local board tonight.

We have still been unable to locate the letter from your grandmother which Al had wanted to use. Also, thanks very much for permission via Eleanor for Al to ~~se~~ use the non-violent material. He now feels that it would be best to wait until there is more conclusive proof of the results. The story itself is great, but he feels for the particular usage he wanted of it that it would be more desirable after further time had elapsed so that ~~might~~ results might be indicated.

Your friend, Private Charles Chandler, from a camp in California, was in the city recently and called to give you his greetings.

Then there is a most interesting message from Marie A. Ewler, Awbury, Germantown, Pa., to you: "There is a drum downstairs calling to you. Do you recall it, the night you spoke in Germantown and gave our children a real vision of a better way of living? May I send it on, and how? It is about 15 by 9, now so large you see. Then when you have finished with it, please pass it on to some appreciative soul. The drum stands for some very happy memories, and I'm sure must give out friendship and love to any owner, it has to us, and we pass it to you in the same spirit. Best wishes from us all. What could we send you or do for you?" Does she mean a regular orchestra drum? If so, could the prison use it? With a mandolin and drum your musical career would really swell! Please let me know what to tell her.

Don't forget to let me know about whether or not a sub to PM would be welcome. Or some other newspaper. Pauli Murray has sent an account from the Washington papers which she wanted sent on to you--pardon, it was in P.M., April 28, but written by I. F. Stone from Washington. It's really a significant bit of work so I quote it herewith in full:

The Little Prince + Screwtape Letters sent yesterday. -bg

MAY 23 1944
Transferred

"In Lillian Smith's deeply moving novel of race relations, STRANGE FRUIT, there is a climactic scene in which the Negro doctor, Sam Perry, appeals to his best white friend, Tom Harris, to help him stop a lynching. 'I'm no radical, addle-brained red,' Harris cries out, 'trying to turn a hundred years upside down in a minute.' Dr. Perry's answer is unforgettable. 'It's been a long minutes,' he says sadly, 'for the Negro...'

Students at Howard, the famous Negro university here, are not out 'to turn a hundred years upside down in a minute,' but they think a start must be made. They have begun a campaign to end the exclusion of Negroes from restaurants, theaters and other public places in the District of Columbia.

In Washington there is no place to take a Negro guest to lunch, however distinguished he may be, except Union Station, a Government cafeteria, or the YMCA.

Last year the late Sen. Barbour of New Jersey and Rep. Rowan of Illinois introduced a District of Columbia Civil Rights bill in Congress. It has been buried in committee ever since. The students at Howard organized a Civil Rights Committee. In a statement sent to the press, they say that, 'realizing the slow pace of remedial legislation,' they decided to demonstrate the need for a Civil Rights bill 'by helping public opinion along a little.'

Last Saturday (4/22/) they gave a demonstration of their method in a cafeteria at 11th St. and Pennsylvania Avenue. One 'Negro' girl student went there first. She was served because she is to all appearances white. A second very fair Negro girl entered next and was about to be served when the counter girl realized that her customer had Negro blood.

A white man and woman sympathizer then went into the restaurant with a Negro girl. The whites were refused service because they were accompanied by a Negro. All three went out and began picketing. They were joined by other students. Some signs said: "Are you for Hitler's Way (Race Supremacy) or the American Way (Race Equality). Make Up Your Mind!' Other signs bore the slogan: 'We Die Together. Why Can't We Eat Together?'

Negro students and white sympathizers entered the restaurant, and, when refused service, took out newspapers and began quietly reading. A poll was taken of customers present when the demonstration began. Of 10 present, seven said they had no objection to eating in the same restaurant or even at the same table with Negroes. Three objected.

Six Negro soldiers wearing corporal's or sergeant's stripes arrived next, were refused service and sat down to read. There were some white soldiers and sailors eating in the restaurant at the time. White military police arrived and asked the colored soldiers to leave. The latter said they were waiting for service.

The military police left and came back with an MP lieutenant who asked the Negro soldiers as a personal favor to avoid embarrasing the Army by being involved in an 'incident'. Negro students said that if the Army wanted to avoid an 'incident' it should request all the soldiers to leave, white or black. The MPs cleared the restaurant of all uniformed men. After four hours, the management capitulated and served the Negroes present.

Now the Tom Harris of Miss Smith's novel was a good and brave man, who finally risked his life with the lynch mob. Harris voiced the feelings of many honestly bewildered Southerners when he said he could not 'turn a hundred years upside

MAY 22 1944 Number

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

down in a minute.' The test is whether they are willing to take the first elementary steps toward fair treatment. I suggest that a good one would be to end discrimination in public places in the capital of the U.S.A. " --I. F. Stone.

I think that's a pretty good story and significant coming from Stone. If you have been getting PM then you have probably already caught that story. Let me know.

Dorothy Johnson, in Naper, California, wrote not long ago that she wanted us to send her greetings on to you. She spoke of her deep appreciation of the musical work the quartette with which you worked, did at the Regional FOR Conference in Berkeley in October, 1942.

The W.R.L. recently voted "that we consider members of our Executive Committee who go to prison, as members 'in absentia'; . . . That Mrs. Gladys Walser be elected to fill the vacancy on our Executive Committee until such time as Bayard Rustin is free to renew his work on our Committee, or until his term on the Executive Committee should expire, whichever date comes first...."

Kenneth Burnham, secretary of the Camp Council at Powellsville, sent this message to you: "The Camp Council has asked me to thank you on behalf of the Camp for your contribution to the School of Non-Violence. Your own experience in the non-violent approach to race problems and your fidelity to your peace testimony lends great validity to your talks. The School has been completed but the work still goes on not only in our minds, but in our hearts and spirits as well. We hope we may prove ourselves worthy of the effort extended in our behalf by you and by the other speakers who visited us."

In the spring, 1944, issue of "Inward Light" Kenneth Boulding has his whole series of Nayler Sonnets, and they are beautiful. They are based on the passage which James Nayler wrote in 1660 in England. As you probably know, he was one of the early leaders of the Society of Friends. I shall ask that a copy of the issue be sent to you directly from the publisher in Washington. The passage from Nayler is: "There is a spirit which I feel that delights to do no evil, nor to revenge any wrong, but delights to endure all things, in hope to enjoy its own in the end. Its hope is to outlive all wrath and contention, and to weary out all exaltation and cruelty, or whatever is of a nature contrary to itself. It sees to the end of all temptations. As it bears no evil in itself, so it conceives none in thoughts to any other. If it be betrayed, it bears it, for its ground and spring is the mercies and forgiveness of God. Its crown is meekness, its life is everlasting love unfeigned; and takes its kingdom with entreaty and not with contention, and keeps it by lowliness of mind. In God alone it can rejoice, though none else regard it, or can own its life. It is conceived in sorrow, and brought forth without any to pity it, nor doth it murmur at grief and oppression. It never rejoiceth but through sufferings: for with the world's joy it is murdered. I found it along, being forsaken. I have fellowship therein with them who lived in dens and desolate places in the earth, who through death obtained this resurrection and eternal holy life."

Affectionately,

Doris

Doris Grotewohl

2929 Broadway
New York 25, N.Y.
May 24, 1944

MAY 29 1944
Incoming

Mr. Bayard Rustin
P.M.B. 2905
Ashland, Kentucky

Dear Bayard:

Want my crutches for the lame arm? Or my cane? I'm really very sorry that your wrist was so injured and hope it knits rapidly. Perhaps this will force you to join a majority for a change, and be a right-handed man! Do take care, though.

Ralph

Thank Ralph for me--Faith recognized the writing and wanted to know what I was doing getting a letter from her brother! * *Are you getting Ruth's cards?

Lee Ellis called today and asked about you and Bill Hefner. Please give him my regards when you can. Lee seems to be settling down, loving her dance work with Doris Humphreys and sticking with it. I haven't seen her since before you left, but have talked with her several times on the telephone. I am going to make it a point to meet her soon, whenever she calls again. There is really a large core of goodness, and sweetness, in her and I should like to see something more of it.

"The Reporter" for May 15 indicates that there were 108 men who had been recommended for parole during the first two weeks the new parole plan was in operation, and this from only Danbury and Petersburg. Do you see the Reporter? In case not, here's a bit more on parole from that issue. "During the first two weeks at Danbury and Petersburg, special prison local boards recommended 23 men to I-A and I-A-O (both COs and non-COs); four men to CPS; 23 men for special service under a IV-E classification; and 58 men to regular-type parole as being either physically unfit or over 38. This last group also included both C.O.s and non-COs. No breakdown was available. The report gave no indication of the number of men who might refuse the classifications offered them and thereby be ineligible for parole under the plan. Such men may still apply for regular third-of-term parole."

The six Coshocton men are still waiting re-trial. A.J. has recently done some active work in raising some money for the trial costs, and others are doing what they can to push the work. Any messages to Milton?

Davis plans to come to see you in June--I believe he said he wrote you that it would be the 26th or 26th. He will probably be able to see you then again in August, on his return from the South--or perhaps early September. Perhaps I could make it in October, though I hate to wait that long.

Remember the James Nayler passage I quoted to you recently? This is the sonnet Kenneth Boulding wrote to the first line of that passage:

Can I, imprisoned, body-bounded, touch
The starry garment of the Oversoul,
Reach from my tiny Part to the great Whole,
And spread my Little to the infinite Much,
When Truth forever slips from out my clutch,
And what I take indeed, I do but dole
In cupfuls from a rimless ocean-bowl
That holds a million million million such?
And yet, some Thing that moves among the stars,
And holds the cosmos in a web of law,
Moves too in me: a hunger, a quick thaw
Of soul that liquifies the ancient bars.
As I, a member of creation, sing
The burning one-ness binding everything.

Truly,

Doris

Doris Grotewohl

AACI 8:9 YAM
Freedom

Bayard Rustin
PMB 2905
Ashland, Ky

2929 Broadway
New York 25, 1944
May 30, 1944
10:00 pm.

Dear Bayard:

Have just reached home after the last session of the National Council. Three full days of "Retreat" – and two of Council! I'm "sat" out, but it was all worth it if for no other reason than the decision reached at the last Council session. We spent all morning and afternoon today discussing our relationship to the NSBRO. Everyone there had a full chance to make his feeling known, and the spirit of it all was pretty wonderful, for same there were as deeply convinced about the necessity for our staying in NSB as we were for getting out. A J of course made a good case for withdrawal and opened the discussion this morning on that recommendation. Nevin then took the opposite pole & made a good case for it, though I think the best plea for remaining in came from Dan West. He ~~seems like~~ is such a genuine guy and that depth is so much a part of what he says that I felt moved by what he said – (though not in agreement.) John Swomley did a grand job – one of the best I've ever heard him to do. He pointed out particularly well the

feeling of so many of the younger members, that a need is desperate for a clear, challenging leadership on the conscription issue. He felt three positive ~~ons~~ things FOR can give COs — all three of them if we withdraw; only the last two if we remain. a) revolutionary radical leadership b) educational services c) counselling — or "pastoral" services. After over four hours of discussion Allan Chalmers moved that the FOR withdraw from NSB. (Incidentally, he made a very good case for withdrawal.)

For awhile I was afraid that some who felt a close vote would be divisive would succeed in getting the motion tabled or handled somewhat other way — like a membership referendum. But all finally agreed that a vote should be taken on the Chalmers motion, and then submitted to the full i.e. (the members not present) Council for a written ballot. A record of Council voting is to accompany the ballot, plus two statements of "equal brevity" (to quote De Witt Wykoff) presenting the pro and con positions.

The staff (by action some months ago) cannot vote — or make motions, of course — but the Col. felt Staff opinion should be listed separately. So now if you are in proper suspense as to the outcome of the vote

Bayard Rustin

For Withdrawal (14)	Against (9)
Bentley	Mrs. Peirce
Bowers	Cloud Nelson
Colmers	E A Schaal
Kohn	Merlin Miller (Kansas City)
Templin	Vernon Nash
Wyckoff	George Paine
Jessie W. Hughan	Ted Walker
Homer Jack	Dan West
Charles Jones (Chapel Hill ministers) swell guy	Norman Whitney
Albert Lerizey	
J. Holmes Smith	
Evan Thomas	
Catherine Raymond (Chicago)	
Jim Bristol	

Staff: Muste, Swomley, Rustin, Farmer - ~~Against~~ For withdrawal
Sayre - Against.

Whether or not the rest of the Council will sustain this vote is anybody's guess. I'm pessimistic but AJ thinks there's a good chance. The important thing I'm sure is that the Council did take action - it didn't let the matter terminate in some frustrating referendum, or no action at all. Furthermore, the spirit was up to its usual goodness, and perhaps it's because of that that such action was possible at all. We want to know Fran Hall's vote on the motion, and yours for the record - though Fran's will count as he's a Col. member, Not that we have much difficulty imagining!

I'll write more fully (on typewriter!) about other actions. We all want you and the other men ~~that~~ to know how much we appreciated your very thoughtful and thought-provoking communications! It meant much to have that message from you. A long letter came from Brosson yesterday, which helped, too.

With very best wishes to all of you. We felt you were very close to us today. Doris

Doris Grotewohl

To:

Bayard Rustin PMB [illegible]05
Ashland, Kentucky

#11 = typed.

29[illegible] Broadway
Ne[illegible] York 25, N.Y.
June 5, 1944

Dear Bayard:

I had that same "gone" feeling this morning that I experienced on February 28 of this year--recall the date? Al reported at 10:30 and was sentenced to three years. He is given a week in which to "adjust his affairs". Word also came that Glenn Smiley pleaded guilty last week and is now free until June 12 on a "pre-sentence investigation". Roger Axford was assigned, about ten days ago, to three years in the "graduate seminar in penology"--to quote Roger himself. And thus goes our staff, with Caleb soon completing it. And thus the madness goes on. I can't believe that any one man responsible for policies could alone be liable for such a rash, irrational, disposal of men; yet what evils a man will fall into when he becomes just a cog in a machine system. No direct connection with the results of his own action. Somebody else has to see the consequences. A. J. recently said that nothing pains him more than seeing such men as Al and you go to prison--"men who were so clearly made to be free and who know how to use freedom." Then he went on to say that there is joy also in seeing F.O.R. staff members, one after another, Jim McDaniel, Bayard, Al, Roger Axford, Glenn Smiley, take the stand they do (the list is not complete!). He said that you men reminded him of that magnificent passage in MOBY DICK in which H. Melville describes Father Mapple's sermon on Jonah. What was Jonah's duty? "To preach the Truth to the face of Falsehood!" And then: "Woe to him whom this world charms from Gospel duty! . . . Woe to him who, in this world, courts not dishonor. . . But ah! shipmates! delight is to him--a far, far upward and inward delight--who against the proud gods and commodores of earth, ever stands forth his own inexorable self!. . Delight--top-gallant delight is to him, who acknowledges no law or lord, but the Lord his God, and is only a patriot to heaven."

Davis brought your letter in today--the one with instructions about money, books and the like. Franny will take care of the money tomorrow, and have Wally send it.

I had tried to find you a copy of THE HISTORY OF THE REVOLUTION but the thing is a rare item these days. It's long been out of print and the problem is to find a second-hand book store, or a person, who has a copy. The other books we had sent out promptly, and they came back. A week ago I received a letter from Mr. Wray, approved by the Warden, which said that "Institutional rules require permission to have been granted prior to receipt of any article or material and inasmuch as permission had not been requested or granted in this case, it is being returned." I can certainly see why an institution like Ashland would need to have a regulation like that, in view of the wide variety of inmates. I am therefore reluctant to try to send THE HISTORY... and the others unless I gain permission first. It doesn't seem like too big an effort for me to make. If permission should be denied you, or me, because of the political slant of any book, that would of course be a different matter. Shall I assume from now on that when you ask me to send you a book you have cleared it already? Or shall I write each time to the Warden asking permission? It must be most distressing to you to have such innocuous material refused you! I'll follow your suggestion in the matter, but I do want to know what procedure should be followed. I am sending THE LITTLE PRINCE tomorrow. It seems to me on this whole matter of censorship that the first step of course is to get a full picture of the mail regulations as revised by Mr. Bennett early in the year. I believe Faith is sending a digest of these, but I should think it might be desirable for some of you to ask to see those regulations so that you will understand the basis for inspection of the mails. We must remember, too, that these liberalized inspection regulations do not apply to books. To get a code that applies to publications should perhaps be the next step. But first we must understand the ones that are supposed to be in effect and see wherein they are weak or are not met.

Bayard Rustin

About the long letter from the group of you on matters of concern to the F.O.R., let me say again how very much it meant to us--and especially in view of the fact that it meant sacrificing a magicians' show! The Council did not take up all the matters you mentioned therein, such as "small community", "spiritual emphasis", etc., chiefly because half of the four sessions was devoted to the problem of conscription, N.S.B., and the like (it was worth it'.). However, I am running off a set of copies of the communication so that some of our key people might have it and study it, and no doubt it will be followed up later in these other areas. When the minutes are ready, I shall send them to you so that you may have a record of the full action on things.

I am troubled about your letters that aren't returned to you and don't reach me! I believe, according to those revised mail regulations for the inspection of letters, that the sender is to be notified if his letter is not sent, and the letter returned to him.

Bron mentioned in that long informative letter of his which helped a great deal, that you thought it would be fine if I could visit you--that such a visit would have great educational value. I certainly don't mind if a by-product of my visit is educational value, but don't make any mistake about the reason for my coming! If and when I get there my primary reason will be to see you, and not to be of educational value! I hope that it will be possible at that time to have some time with all of you who have been on our staff, perhaps as a group, and then some separate time with you. But that's still some time off so more on that later.

Pearl Primus gave a dance recital last Thursday night in Hunter College Auditorium. The two drummers from Cafe Society accompanied her. Her performance excelled anything I have ever seen her do before, and it showed the training she has been getting this past half year. To her group of primitives she has added a dance called "Yanvaloo", an interpretation of a Haitian Voodoo Ritual "in honor of Dambala, chief of gods. His symbol is the snake. Worshippers possessed with this spirit take on the movements of a serpent." And she was a worshipper possessed, writhing all over the floor--but beautifully!

The other new numbers were "The Negro Speaks of Rivers" (Langston Hughes' poem; narrator accompaniment). "I have known rivers--ancient as the world and deeper than the flow of human blood in human veins--my soul has grown deep like the rivers." A dance to "Strange Fruit" (poem by Lewis Allen) made my soul burn for shame--and goose pimples appeared on my arms! For both of these dances she wore a long blue and black costume, a rash departure from her usual.

"Hard Time Blues" still very popular, and among her best. Josh's recording of it was used, but his voice in the recording seemed to do a funny summersault even more violently than usual on some of the high notes. "Our Spring Will Come" was her last number (poem by Langston Hughes). "The pent up snows of all the brutal years are melting beneath the rising sun of freedom." While this could be interpreted in the light of all oppressed peoples at this time, I felt in that context and to that audience (about half and half) it looked too much like black nationalism. But it was terrifically well done. With the whole stage to herself, good lighting, a very attentive and receptive audience, she showed her real skill--and her jumps and leaps really have room on a full stage; and she knows how to use the room! (That last is a most disconnected sentence. Guess it represents the disconnection in my thinking at this hour of night.)

A. J. joins me in sending you our love.

Truly,

Doris

Doris Grotewohl

Guess this is my 11th typed letter.

12
Bayard Rustin PMB 2905
Ashland, Kentucky

2929 Broadway
New York 25, N.Y.
June 8, 1944

Dear Bayard:

I was over-joyed with your letter today. As long as you keep such a happy sense of humor I shall not worry about you! Not that I have been--but it was reassuring to note your message to Davis indicating that you thought he had mistaken you in your meaning on the two matters he recently brought up. Perhaps we both envisioned you spending the rest of your life in an isolated hermitage, or monastery--far from the maddening throng! Seriously, though, I think we all felt moved by that section of your group letter in which you discussed spiritual emphasis, and we all realize how far we fall short. Perhaps the danger, though, would be in thinking that a neo-monastic emphasis could be anything like a mass movement, or "radical" enough to be a constructive force in the current world context. I fear the world isn't at the point where it could accept, in other than "they are just queer folks" terms, the challenge such a group may put forth. That is not to say that if there is a real urge among a group to give expression to spiritual experience through such a movement that they should not do so. Far from it. But if their purpose in it is in any sense that of "conversion" of others, I think they have an insurmountable handicap to begin with in the reality of the world context.

I know that you men will be interested in the enclosed "prospectus", which I make page two of this letter. While it isn't exactly your suggestion of a School for Pacifists, it is moving in that direction for a particular group of young members. Would that you could be present at that conference! But I trust your ideas, and those of the other men interested, will be.

I'd stake my bet on your side on the Randolph vs. Pierce bet with John! Caleb wrote A.J. on May 28th that Randolph was in San Francisco during May and Caleb had a long talk with him "and got some good pointers". Caleb then wrote "You and Bayard have done a real job of conversion here; in his* mass meeting a week ago he spent much of his speech insisting that Negroes use non-violence, discussed Rustin and CORE in detail, and said that if you receive physical violence, you must not have any anger in your heart, let alone hitting back." We are of course very happy about that!

* - Randolph's.

Mrs. Gesner popped in just before noon! She'd just come from Lewisburg. Let her read your letters and had a chance to get a little acquainted with her. Very glad she came in. Davis came in while she was here so he met her, too. Lunched with Davis , with the usual enjoyment in the moment.

I love the FOR calendar idea. Haven't had a chance to get Lit. Department's reactions yet. Shall write Julia Rustin tonight, and shall plan on seeing her the weekend of June 23 when I shall be at the Bryn Mawr Institute. If it's August you want me to come, I shall make it August if at all possible! I'll ride in on a heat wave!--but oblivious of the heat! Suzie Schaum wants to know if you have available Margaret Webster's SHAKESPEARE WITHOUT TEARS; Irwin Edman's PHILOSOPHER'S HOLIDAY; Edman's CANDLE IN THE DARK; Schreiner's DREAMS. If not, could the library use any of them? Did the map from the Council Against Intolerance arrive? Hope you got my postcard message about the coming marriage of Shizu Asahi and Paul Proctor.

Wonderful office party at Muste's last night, for supper, as a sort of farewell for Al. Spirit high and good. Al read his "next to his last Will and Testament", in which he bequeathed various items to individuals--such as a three year's supply of extra adjectives and etceteras which he had been slyly deleting from A.J.'s manuscripts, to A.J.!; his swivel chair and Ruth to Elliott Finday; to the unmarried girls in the office, Par Danforth--who comes on the staff July 15th.

Love, Doris

Doris Grotewohl

FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION 2929 Broadway New York 25, New York

Prospectus for Study Conference on Philosophy and Strategy of Revolutionary Pacifism

The F.O.R. National Council on May 30, 1944, authorized the convening, probably in September, of a conference which would consider how pacifism might be made, in the words of the F.O.R. Statement of Purpose, an "effective force for overcoming evil and transforming society into a creative fellowship."

The conference would seek to bring together a limited number especially of the younger members of the Fellowship who hold that individual resistance to war is politically ineffective, or at least gravely inadequate, but who recognize that very little significant work has yet been done on the question as to how pacifism could be made into an effective revolutionary force and who are competent to contribute to the study of such a problem.

A conference such as is envisaged would consider such subjects as the following:

1) a more careful examination of the meaning of violence
2) a more penetrating discussion of the means-ends problem in politics
3) an attempt to sketch out the institutions of the pacifist commonwealth
4) a recognition of the importance of labor in any pacifism which is to prove politically effective
5) a consideration of the relation of pacifism to socialism, decentralism, etc.

Perhaps the most convenient time would be the Labor Day weekend, September 1-4. It may be that the convenience of a larger number of potential participants, however, would be better suited if either the September 8-10, or the September 15-17 weekend were chosen. This study conference would be different in character from the F.O.R. general conferences which are held in the fall and which will begin this year on the weekend of September 22-24. The study conference would confine itself to a set of special problems and not to F.O.R. program and policy generally. It would not take action; but suggestions and recommendations growing out of the study conference could be passed on to the general conference and profitably considered by those in attendance at the latter who would be most interested.

In view of the engagements of staff members who would be most deeply involved in a conference of this type, it seems probable that it would be advisable to hold the conference in or near New York. It might be that Chicago or some city between New York and Chicago ought to be given some consideration.

This prospectuc is being sent to twenty or thirty persons about whose interest in the problems which such a conference would consider I know. It will be exceedingly helpful if at an early date you can write me your opinion on such points as the following

1) Is it likely that you would be able to attend? If so, will you put down the above dates in your engagement book at once. (For the most part, we shall have to depend upon conferees to take care of their own expenses. However, some help with travel expenses and lodging can probably be provided, especially for CPS men.)

2) Which dates above-mentioned would you prefer?

3) Will you send the names and the addresses of other members of the Fellowshipd who ought to be invited and also the names of persons who should perhaps be asked to serve as consultants at such a conference?

4) Will you send your suggestions as to the program, both for the conference itself and the preparatory period, the subjects which ought to be considered, preliminary papers which might be prepared and circulated, and possible authors for such papers, etc.?

Cordially yours,

A. J. Muste

13

2929 Broadway
New York 25, N.Y.
June 14, 1944

Mr. Bayard Rustin
PMB2905
Ashland, Kentucky

Dear Bayard:

In follow-up of some of your inquiries, I have learned from the Literature Department that the material for a flyer, which you turned over to them last December, has not been forgotten. Elliott wrote in regard to this "Al was not able to get to it before because of various other items that were considered of more immediate importance. However, you can tell Bayard that everyone approves the flyer and it will be produced as soon as humanly possible." The "other items" included the bombing publicity and special issue, definition of peace aims material and the like. They are going ahead with the flyer now.

The five major points found in our Statement of Purpose,
"Although members do not bind themselves to any exact form of words,

They refuse to participate in any war or to sanction military preparations; they work to abolish war and to foster good will among nations, races, and classes;

They strive to build a social order which will suffer no individual or group to be exploited for the profit or pleasure of another, and which will assure to all the means for realizing the best possibilities of life;

They advocate such ways of dealing with offenders against society as shall transform the wrongdoer rather than inflict retributive punishment;

They endeavor to show reverence for personality--in the home, in the education of children, in association with those of other classes, nationalities, and races;

They seek to avoid bitterness and contention, and to maintain the spirit of self-giving love while engaged in the struggle to achieve these purposes."

A letter from Fran today to John indicates temporary (?) suspension of evening discussions among you people. Has this anything to do with interest in workshop approach rather than discussion group plan?

Al is still in West Street, wondering where he will go from there. Glenn Smiley's final day was postponed until July 10. The judge said he deserved "all or nothing"!

Wally has sent the $10. Hope it reached you all right. It would be helpful to Davis and me if you could indicate to us whom you have put on your list of approved visitors. A letter to me from Mrs. Julia Rustin indicates she will not be able to visit you. I am glad I shall see her the weekend of the 24th.

The first fall conference of the Fellowship will be held in New York the weekend of September 23-24. The following weekend will be the one in Chicago. John would welcome any suggestions from you for the Saturday evening session in Chicago at which they would like to have a period for "pacifism and the arts". He has written to Rosa Paige Welch and to John Raitt, who is singing the lead in "Oklahoma" in Chicago, and is an FOR member (from Los Angeles), asking them to sing at the conference and demonstrate ways in which music can get across the message of pacifism.

He feels they shouldn't ask other singers if these two accept, but in case they don't or can't, do you have any suggestions of others, or people in the field of instrumental music or some other phase of the arts who could serve well on such a program. And have you any suggestions for the program itself?

Allan Chalmers and Nevin have both recently asked me to send you their love, which I gladly do.

Goodbye now.

Doris

Doris Grotewohl

Bancroft Library
U. of Calif.

(14)

2929 Broadway
New York 25, N.Y.
June 19, 1944

AAPI SS MUL
Number 1

Mr. Bayard Rustin
PMB 2905
Ashland, Kentucky

Dear Bayard:

I grew up a Methodist, so it was a sort of happy sensation to be laughing at myself as I laughed with you over Methodist General Conference action. John returns Thursday of this week--I await his comment with interest. Maybe I'll have to tell him what a mickey is! ¶ How much like AJ you sound when you speak of the "command to God" given by the "master of our fate". The first expression is one AJ used himself last week, and in much the same context as you used it. AJ is down in Greensboro, N.C. this week at an AFSC Institute, so I'm sending him excerpts from your letter. The history of this Institute at Greensboro has been interesting, and I'm sure it isn't completed yet. When the arrangements were first made this year for holding the Institute there, it was to be understood that it was in cooperation with A & T College (Negro) and Woman's College, and that those whites who wanted to be would be housed at A & T. A. J. and Charles Jones were to stay at A & T. About a month ago the President of A & T began to get shaky and retracted his agreement that they could house some of the Whites, insisting that he hadn't understood that in the first place. I'm awaiting word from AJ as to how it worked out, but it is further evidence of the problem raised by Jones at the recent National Council meeting when he spoke of the difficulty in getting help from Negro professional people in the South, especially school people whose support is dependent upon State Funds or endowments, usually from ~~northern~~ white groups. In one of your early letters you raised the question, and discussed quite beautifully, the problem of people within a minority exploiting their own. To wit, certain labor unions; or the anti-Semitic Jews. It's certainly a real one and very complex. The old socialist theory of the exploiting class was a bit simplistic in its analysis--the workers versus those who own the tools. Exploitation goes on there, but not there alone, and ~~is~~ not only in the economic life.

I wrote to Hugh L. Latham, Time & Life Building, Rockefeller Center, New York 20, concerning reprints from FORTUNE for you. I wrote to him rather than your suggestion because he visited here not long ago as part of his "public relations" work, and we get reprints through his services. He was pleased that we had asked for his help and is anxious "to help in whatever way I can." He asks for more specific information as to the number of reprints of any one article which would be necessary to serve an adequate purpose with your group. He wondered, too, whether FORTUNE's material might not prove a bit stiff for the non-COs there. Had you thought of this for all groups? He suggested or asked about the usefulness of semi-scientific articles, such as Soil Erosion, Food Gardens, Perspective Maps, Geopolitics, and the like. If you wish, and if the material is approved for the educational department, why not have the, or rather ask the educational director write to Mr. Latham directly as to quantity and kind needed. I am sure FORTUNE magazine will supply the prison ~~whie~~- with quantity orders of reprints of specific articles, for use in its educational program. If I can do more on this, let me know.

Apparently Ralph Galt misunderstood A.J.'s opinion about the matter of physical examination. The question as it came to us was just whether or not taking the physical committed one to accepting a particular classification, or if one had to agree to anything in advance. AlJ.'s opinion on that, according to our understanding of the regulations, was that it did not. The question of whether or not one could conscientiously accept and cooperate with a physical exam given by Selective Service is something quite different, and I think AJ personally would feel that he couldn't--as he couldn't accept parole unless it was parole to do the same sort of work he was doing before imprisoned, or work which he might very possibly have done if he were free all the time.

I believe Davis' permission to visit you a week from tomorow has just come through--hurray! We are so glad, only sorry that it can't be for longer than half an hour. It seems that one of the difficulties is that Tuesday isn't a regular visiting day. There was also some reference (though I think this had nothing to do with the amount of time granted) to the fact that you had had a visitor and that other visits were scheduled for you, or had been asked for you? I don't have that straight--but perhaps you're talking with whomever is in charge of approval for visitors will clear it up. I thought perhaps other "official" prison visitors, like James Mullin, or Win Osborne, were scheduled to see you. So glad that you did have a talk with Jim Mullin, though as yet I've heard nothing from him, only through Red Schaal.

The ballot to the balance of the Council is just going out. Both Nevin and AJ took awfully long in preparing their statements which were to accompany the ballot--both wanted to be creative as possible, naturally! We should therefore know the answer in three weeks. We are keeping fingers crossed--at least I am. Though there is so much else to do I hope we won't get stewed up about it, whatever the decision.

A pin-up girl a la dg will come along soon. Spent the weekend at the School of Living (Youth Council, N.Y. FOR retreat), and got Ruth MacAdam to spare one of her precious films. "For Bayard I should be glad to."

Paul and Shizu are silent about the date, so we don't know when that is coming off. I shall see that your greetings and remembrance get to them at the time. I gave your love "to the little darlings", and Shizu (with Paul's eyebrows raised) said to send you her love, she is "still free with it"! Paul finally agreed that was all right as long as you remain where you are!

Al is still in West Street, along with Bob Brooks and Lawrence Templin. The latter left his hospital parole job, went to Suffern where he felt he was needed, was sent badk to Danbury, and then for some reason still unknown, back to West Street.

Irene was genuinely pleased over being especially remembered by you. She said it gave her quite a lift. I'm so glad you did. We're (AJ and I) are moving to the third floor front before the end of the month. It will be good to have elbow room, and two windows!

I miss you.

Doris

Doris Grotewohl

292 Broadway
New York 25, N.Y.
June 22, 1944

Bayard Rustin
PHB 2905
Ashland, Ky.

JUN 26 1944
Number 1

Dear Bayard:

Debby, Shizu and I are waiting for the Rubenstein concert to begin at Lewisohn Stadium, with the Philharmonic. Beecham is conducting. The program looks pretty good - Overture to "Prince Igor", Scherezade, some Tchaikowsky. Rachmaninoff's 2nd Piano Concerto. These concerts always excite me - the realization that night after night thousands turn out to get an evening of good music stirs me deeply. And, too, it's a colorful night. Women seem to have gone in for yellows + gold tones this spring (summer, now!). There's lots of bright green, and splashes of reds in hats, dresses and coats. With the exception of the men who have their coats off and are wearing blue shirts they are a drab-looking lot! The orchestra is coming onto the stage now, and, although it's 8:20 and still light, the electric lights are beginning to come on.

I was so interested today in your letter indicating the concern among some of the men there that a more revolutionary pacifist group should emerge. I know A.J. will be pleased about your thoughtful and wise - and tactful approach to it. I'm going to send you some some of the thoughts that have come from the Lewisburg men, and their statements resigning from the F.O.R. Also A.J.'s reply. I really question the plausibility of thinking one's creating a new group that is going to prove more revolutionary, until it is proven impossible within our autonomous free set-up in FOR. If those who want it have made a genuine effort and found it impossible, then there's certainly ground for considering it. And what assurance have we that such a group could succeed "outside" the FOR. Witness the history of Socialist splits.

It's getting too dark to see any longer and the program is ready to begin. Doris will bring you my greetings and a couple items on my mind - one concerning my visiting you, which I trust will be before too long.

Debby + Shizu join in sending you greetings and all love.

Doris

Doris Grotenrath

Bayard Rustin 0[illegible]3 2905
Ashland, Ky.

2929 Broadway
New York 25, N.Y.
June 25, 1944

Dear Bayard:

And just what were you ~~did~~ doing on the way to school, back when you were in the 7th grade, that caused you to be late every morning?! And when they made you take the punishment, was your pride wounded? Ah, me. I'm disillusioned - though I was happy to learn that otherwise you were a praiseworthy student!

We had a delightful time yesterday getting acquainted with your family, and chatting about you. I was so glad to find among them a sense of pride about what you have done, and a faith in your ability to handle difficult situations. The grandparents are indeed precious and I can understand the source of your insight into people and faith in something greater than any one of us. I was amazed to find your grandfather is going to be 80 on Aug. 14. He was really charming when he told me, when none of the others were around, how very wonderful "Julia" had been to him, what good care she had given him when he was so ill. "I'll soon be 80, and she is 71 - but we're still courting!" That brought a lump to my throat, but a sense of great happiness, too. I have noticed occasionally how the bond of love between elderly married couples increases as their age advances, and as the responsibilities of children leave and give them more time for each other. I felt particularly yesterday that that deep love between them had no doubt been created or at least greatly enriched by the love, the comfort, the life, and struggle they have shared with their children and grandchildren. I sensed a particular pride and joy now in the grandchildren, in which you share greatly. It was a very happy afternoon for me, and Marion Cole, too. We were served salad and tea and dessert - and cheese - and you were there! Young DeWitt met us at the station and took us back to the station. He's a bright boy and I believe a very promising one. He showed us some of his painting and we encouraged him to keep it up. You could help him a great deal if geographical factors and conditions of freedom made it possible. He has an imagination in his painting which is good. I asked him to please let me know

if he should get to New York at any time so that I might take him around a bit. I hope he will.

Watching your grandparents made me wonder again about my own parents and how their life might be if my father had lived beyond my 13th birthday. I recall very little overt expression of love or affection between them — or from them to us, rather typical of Swedes and Germans. Perhaps it was because business problems and making ends meet caused them both a great deal of energy and effort. But I think more likely it was a symbol of the rigid, religious pattern, the context of customs and traditions in which they were brought up. I am sure their love for us and each other was genuinely there, as evidenced in constant unselfish sacrifice. Yet wouldn't their lives been happier had they found it possible to give expression to the capacity for love which is in us all. I know that since my father's death, and since Mother has had more time to just be herself, to know us better (and we know her better) she has changed greatly in this regard. Had they been given the fortune of enjoying life together until their old age I should hope that they might have found together what I felt yesterday. It was a rewarding visit for me, and I do greatly appreciate their hospitality to us.

Marion Cole sends her love to you. She's getting along well, and apparently very happy in her work. As she described it to me, I can see the challenge it makes for her. It is worthwhile, it is long-range yet constant good, and it gives her time to carry on her interest in other things as an individual. She's doing chair work in a mixed church group. She's not too strong, but seems to be picking up constantly.

Thought the enclosed, taken way back in 1939 when "Keeping Left" really had a little meaning left, might amuse you. You may discard it if something more presentable comes along!

Learned this week from Marjorie Heyer that she has been given permission to stop and see you and Jim McDaniel on her way South on July 4th! That is good news. She is still youth Secretary for the Friends in this section.

The Institute here at Bryn Mawr goes well though. I understand there's a smaller crowd than usual. Haven't hearing and of present quite a different view on the MAR - which adds spice! Your letters are a joy.

Joie de vivre! Life is good. And you be good! Truly

Doris

Doris Grotewohl

2929 Broadway
New York 25, N.Y.
July 16, 1944

written from Toronto

Mr. Bayard Rustin
P.M.B. 2905
Ashland, Kentucky

Dear Bayard:

A long letter arrived yesterday from Davis--it was most welcome. He felt his visit with you a distinct success and was made happy by it. I am very glad that Davis is in that work camp this summer, although he is certainly have to work hard there. It's no vacation!

Davis mentioned that Helen may try to visit you soon as a special visitor. I hope that works out, for I know how much it would mean to both of you. As soon as I get back (Tuesday) I shall write Helen to find out when she plans to go. I definitely plan to come and nothing shall deter me from that, but if Helen is going in August it would seem best for me to plan to go later so that our visits aren't too close-and so that they are better spaced from your point of view. There is a new aspect in that, too, which may make a difference. The Rev. Mr. Bram might be able to stop in Ashland sometime during the first two weeks of September, or else early in October after a trip to Chicago for a conference there, especially if there is strong need or desire for him to do so. Since I feel that visit would be much more significant for you than mine, I would want to fit in probably later than that--or earlier if Helen doesn't go. The other possibility might be, though I haven't talked this over with him, that Mr. Bram could stop later in the fall, say November, and I would come in September then. I shall clear with Helen promptly.

Do you remember Billy Mitchell whom you met on West St.? And you had asked me to call his lawyer for him? Very much has transpired since then, and at times I badly needed your counsel but decided it was best not to raise that problem. What had started to be an impersonal correspondence began to look to me like a too-personal situation and I thought it necessary to bring an end to it. Then Al got acquainted with him, we learned the story of the past two years of Billy's life and the events leading up th it. Billy also reassured Al that he ~~nethi~~ meant nothing more than impersonal friendship in what he had written--so within the past month I have been writing to him again. I find him to be an ardent supporter of yours and becoming more and more convinced of the power of non-violent direct action. He never fails to mention you and asks me to send you his greetings. In his last letter he indicated that FELLOWSHIP reached him and that others were so interested in reading it he hadn't had an opportunity to finish it. He read in there the section of one of your earlier letters and asked me to let you know that he thinks it is superb.

Incidentally, I'm afraid we were a little inaccurate in the preliminary sentence of that quotation, due to the fact that we had gathered that information from several sources, chiefly men who had been paroled. I am sorry about that.

We leave early tomorrow morning to return to New York. The time has zipped by, with work and fun. We have become quite well acquainted with the young people in the F.O.R. group and they are a good bunch. Some of the fellows are with--or hope to be with--an F.A.U. group headed for China. All permissions have been given and everything is all set--except the government's unwillingness to allow the needed money to go out of the country to China, where inflation is so terrific that Canadian or American currency becomes meaningless. Whether or not that problem will be solved is the big question mark, and means weeks of uncertainty for the men involved.

The other night we attended a "Pop" Concert of the Toronto Philarmonic Orchestra. Walter Cassel (baritone from the U.S.) was the guest soloist--a good voice but something of a clown. At times the orchestra drowned him out which always makes me uncomfortable--as when the sound reel goes off on a moving picture. Lips contine to move but no voice emerges. The orchestra did a stirring job of the Prince Igor dance music, but particularly effective was their rendition of the Andante Cantabile. Think of its melody, played beautifully by strings only, and then read this description of it which A.J. wrote after the concert: "It was like the morning stars singing together on some very still morning when not even the birds had begun to stir and when the singing stars did not really want to wake any one up and wanted any one who did wake up to do so with a sense of quiet joy."

When I come will you sing something for me? I want to hear your voice flow forth in quiet melody again, as though the morning stars are singing.

Yours,

Doris

Doris Grotewohl

7-6-44

Dear Bayard:

Just leaving N.Y. with the Musties by train to Toronto. D.S. is speaking there this weekend. We're staying until 17th. We hoped to hear from you before we left - last letter was week before I went to West Chester. Hope you got the one I sent from Bryn Mawr on the 25th. Brief note came from Daris, happy about his visit with you - but not one whit of news! He was already tied up with the work camp activities. Hope Marj. Hyer's visit was successful.

To our knowledge, Al is still in West St. but thinks he may soon be joining Dave D.

Wonderful office gathering on the 4th at Sayre's, ~~Hope~~ Al's base ball team beating Nerin's! - I was on Nerin's, of course! Ruth, Faith & I bicycled up - and back - and felt it the next day.

More from Toronto.

Until the 15th - same postage rate as 1st.

Best,

Dorie

Alexandria Palace
600 University Ave
Toronto, Ontario, Canada.

2929 Broadway
New York 25, N.Y.
July 12, 1944

(written from Toronto)

AMP 17 JUL

Mr. Bayard Rustin
P.MB. 2905
Ashland, Kentucky

Dear Bayard:

A letter from your grandmother reached me here this morning, from which I learned that Davis did get the mandolin to you. Davis' wrote such a hasty line that I really learned nothing from it--not even what color you were wearing, how many pounds you had gained, or what you are thinking about anything! But I forgive him!

We are having a very happy and fruitful time in Toronto. The first conference of the Canadian FOR since the outbreak of the war, began last Friday. I still haven't the story of what happened to the FOR here early in the war very clearly in mind, but apparently the CP had a hand in breaking it up. During the past year some of the most concerned members have been putting the fragments together again. A little publication called "Reconciliation" (Very attractive and well done) has proved itself and now is put on a more secure footing. Over 100 people registered for the conference this past weekend, most of them from Toronto but a few from Montreal, British Columbia, and other parts of Canada. There were also others at single sessions who didn't register for the conference. We have been impressed with the leadership of the group here. J. Lavell Smith, a minister, is chairman; Albert G. Watson, a young fellow of our age has been made full time secretary, having served part-time most of this past year. While he looks youngish, we have been impressed with the maturity of his thought, and his tact and ability for leadership. A.J. and I were particularly pleased with his sound political orientation. He struggled through the days with the American Youth Congress, attended the Poughkeepsie World Youth Congress in 1938; was close to the CP for awhile but broke with them, being unable to swallow their tactics. He knows what the score is, which makes us very happy. We hope that he and a couple of others here can get to New York for the Political Study Conference of FOR in September. That promises to be a good event, incidentally.

The relationship of the FOR here to a political program is a very real one for our people here. The Cooperative Commonwealth Federation which was founded in the 30's by J.S. Woodworth (a pacifist, too) has gained tremendous power during the past few years. It now stands a good chance of gaining further political power in the provinces and if it continues, may successfully defeat the old parties. The CCF has been geuinely democratic and quite soundly and honestly socialist in its actions and pronouncements. Until the war its program was one which almost any c.o. could readily accept--unless he was economically reactionary! During the war it has played along much as has our Socialist Party with the war, but still offering a truly progressive political program. Some of our people here would like to see the FOR officially back the party; others allow for individuals to work with C.C.F. as they wish. It is basically the same problem as some

of us have faced with the SP, only much more strongly here because of the real strength of the CCF and its very vital organizational life. Incidentally, Woodworth is no longer living so he isn't there to keep up the work for a genuinely anti-war position within the party. A. J. feels that for him as an individual pacifist to work with a political party in any serious way, that party would have to be 1) a genuinely revolutionary political group, based on a philosophy of revolutionary economic social change, and 2) would have to renounce revolutionary violence within and between nations. I have come to agree with him fully (don't I always?!) and feel that unless we do stick by that principle we cannot hope to find a political vehicle which will endure and stick by its program.

Speaking of our "beloved prophet of a non-profit organization", I continue to feel deeply moved and impressed everytime I hear him lecture. I remember sharing this admiration with you many times, particularly on subways. How come it was always subways?! My respect and love of him is always strengthened. I was particularly impressed during this past weekend with the way in which he so successfully eliminates himself from what he is saying--I guess it's his genuine humility which does it. Very strong, too, of course is the clarity of his thinking--as Albert Watson said several times, "He knows exactly what he believes and lets you know exactly what it is and why he believes it. He has 'arrived'." I agree!

It's noon--but we can't go out to lunch yet because the third downpour of rain in the last three days is upon us. I'd like to get out in it in a bathing suit, running barefoot through the grass as Iowa used to let me do. And there is grass here, big spacious yards of rich, green grass, shaded generously by beautiful old trees that form tunnels over the streets. It's the fresh green of new life and growth, not the yellowed dryness we found on the West Coast last summer. I shall miss it greatly when we return next Monday to our building-bordered streets.

Toronto is a city of about 800,000, and except for the ever present king on the postage stamps, paper bills and coins, it could pass for any U.S. city in the North. A great majority of their merchandise seems to come from our side of the border, as well as reading matter. Good old New Yorker here, too.

* * * Later in the day--so late that I can only sign this and get ready to go out to dinner. I'll try to write again from here and tell you about several of the youth groups.

Will you please give my special greetings to Bill Hefner? He was on my mind a great deal lately in connection with the Fourth of July! I remember so well his good efforts on behalf of India's independence, and that I associate with our own day of "independence". Is Bill teaching, too? My best wishes to him.

The Muste's are waiting for me, but want me to send you their warmest good wishes.

Love,

Doris.

(Doris Grotewohl)

2929 Broadway
New York 25, N.Y.
July 18, 1944

Mr. Bayard Rustin
PMB 2905
Ashland, Kentucky

Dearest Bayard:

Your letter written on the 14th was waiting for me when I came into the office this morning. Along with it was a note from Marjorie Hyer about her good visit with you. She sensed apparently from what you were able to say, or unable to, that terrific problems are confronting you about which you felt the necessity for taking some positive steps; that you were encouraged by steps that have been taken and that you hoped further progress might soon be made. We therefore understand the situation described in your letter--as I am sure we would have done any way. And I trust you know that we have great faith in your ability to work through a problem of this sort creatively. Gee, that sounds stilted--but I mean it with ~~with~~ all my heart!

You've been on my heart and mind so much this past week that when your letter came today I wasn't a bit surprised. But it made me want to pick up and go to Ashland immediately to talk with you, to know more fully your thinking, to understand even more completely. I know how tremendous the problem is for you, and for us. It is our problem, too, and concerns us deeply. You are in our hearts and prayers constantly.

As you know, A.J. shares this concern a great deal and therefore, after reading your letter today, wondered whether or not he might manage to get to Ashland promptly--perhaps even before the end of the month. What thinkest thee? The other situation about which he would like to have an opportunity to talk with you and Fran, Ralph, Jim and others close to the FOR, is the action of the Executive Committee today in its meeting. The written poll on the motion to withdraw from N.S.B.R.O. was reported--30 to 24, in favor of ramaining in. After the deadline, several other ballots came in, making the vote 32 to 28 in favor of remaining in. So we remain in -- or rather we don't withdraw at this time, at least. A. J. resigned as alternatixe representative for Arthur Swift on the Board of the N.S.BR.O. and Nevin is to serve as alternate. I think all were subdued greatly by the very close vote, realizing how strong is each feeling within the membership. In view of this problem, and that of the new organization' discussions, it would be very helpful to him to talk with some of you. So I feel he is going to try very hard to do that. If you can, let me hear what you think of that possibility soon. He may proceed without waiting to hear, but it would be good to know, anyway.

We await further news from you. With love from all of us,

Yours,

Doris

Doris Grotewohl

2929 Broadway
New York 25, N.Y.
July 20, 1944

1
26, 27, 28

Mr. Bayard Rustin
PMB 2905
Ashland, Kentucky

Dear Bayard:

I suddenly realized that in my haste to tell you of A. J's plan to try to see you next Wednesday I forgot to tell you about the situation in Danbury about which you asked. I'm very sorry, and hope that this information will still be of help.

Just to review the facts, the boys (21) were ~~[illegible]~~ on work strike there from Aug until the middle of Dec. - 4½ months. Mr. Alexander then agreed to experiment with cafeteria system on New Year's Day. It worked well, and again at occasional times in January. Since Jan. 31 the cafeteria system has been in effect with men sitting where they wish. I gather that there are now some tables all white, some all Negro, and some mixed. But the men voluntarily do so. We have heard of no disturbance or unpleasantries caused by the change, though of course there may have been some of the latter until the whole story was under-

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November 21, 1944

Bayard Rustin
P.M.B. 2905
Ashland, Kentucky

Dear Bayard:

I do not know just how far along I got in telling you about my southern trip in the letter which I sent you from Atlanta. That letter commented upon your good letter of October 26 which arrived here after I had started on the trip and was forwarded to me. I want to repeat that I greatly value this letter and I hope that you will soon be writing me especially as to how the program you worked out for yourself is developing.

I very much regret that there seems still to be a misunderstanding about your correspondence privileges and I have taken that matter up with the authorities.

Returning for a moment to your own problem, there is a concern among some of your friends that you should not be coerced as it were by social pressure to attempt a course which would violate your own personality. I am sure that I have made it clear that I fully share that concern. In any event, a course which was not based upon the deeply inner conviction and a completely voluntary commitment would be certain to fail. The real problem is what you fundamentally want to do. I have my conviction as to what that is and my conviction as to the only way in which you will really be able to achieve a satisfactory and thorough integration. I have conveyed that conviction to you in our conversations in which we have analyzed the problem. I see no reason to change my views in the matter. Nevertheless, it cannot be emphasized too often that the decision has to be yours and that only one which springs deep from within and is not an artificial attempt to adjust to external pressure will be real and fruitful.

I felt that my southern trip was greatly worthwhile. I had a good session at Talladega with about thirty students and faculty going over the pacifist position and also putting them on the alert about peacetime conscription. I preached a pacifist sermon in the chapel there. I watched the reaction of a considerable number of servicemen in the audience and it seemed to me it was distinctly good.

From Talladega I was driven to Tuskegee and preached at their famous vesper service to about twelve hundred people; saw the students march out to martial music as per the ceremonial laid down by Booker T. Washington himself ages ago! I got a great kick out of the fact that about thirty young people, including

a number of service men, came to the acting chaplain's home afterward. They were invited for an hour but stayed over two. We got on to the race question soon, and they asked what would happen to the people who contribute to Tuskegee if Tuskegee students were to take a lovingly aggressive attitude on the Jim Crow issue. It was a lively discussion. I wish to goodness that you were free to follow up now in all of these places.

In Montgomery I talked to the Alabama State Teachers Assembly and had a good interracial F.O.R. meeting with thirty persons or more in the evening. In Birmingham my best meeting was with the N.A.A.C.P. leaders. I think we are going to get a couple of F.O.R. members out of that. I wound up at Fisk with about 150 present, three-fourths Negro. The Negfoes were attending a special community school which Fisk conducts, a sort of adult education project. All the classes were brought together for my meeting and the F.O.R. people invited to sit in.

A while back, our national chairman, Phillips P. Elliott, attempted to get a message of greeting to you and our other former staff or Council members who are now in prison. Since it proved impossible to get the messages directly from him to the men, I want to pass on to you in this way the context of his greeting, which he was asked to convey to those of our staff and Council by the last meeting of our National Council. He said that we are humbled by the testimony which you have made and are making for the cause of peace and good will, and we can only hope that according to our own opportunities we shall stand as firm and testify as eloquently as do you. It is not easy for us to feel our fellowship, separated as we are by the miles and by the differences of freedom and imprisonment, but the spirit of man can rise superior to all such obstacles, and we are far more conscious of the strong bonds that unite us than of the temporary difficulties that divide.

We want you, therefore, to know of our continued affection and prayerful support all through these difficult days. When one obeys the inner voice and follows the inner light, he makes the greatest possible contribution his life can make to his day and generation. The world's hope lies in those who hold themselves firm to their Christian conviction and will not allow the pressures of their society to make them yield. For all that you are saying by your words but even more by your lives, we are deeply and proudly grateful. May God keep you strong and help us all to find and follow His will and way.

I shall try to write again soon.

Yours in fellowship,

A. J.

A. J. Muste

AJM:dg

2929 Broadway
New York 25, N.Y.
August 1, 1944

Mr. Bayard Rustin
P.M.B. 2905
Ashland, Kentucky

Dear Bayard:

I met A.J. for lunch the day he returned from Ashland--Thursday. After a long conversation with him during which he gave me a complete report of his conference with you, I felt as though I must have been there myself--his reporting was so good! All of us in the office were happy to know that you look well, that your spirit is high and that your mind functions with as great clarity as ever. We shared A.J.'s disappointment that he was unable to see the other men, too.

A. J. would like you to know or to have this further reflection of his on ~~your reference to prayer which you made in parting~~ last Wednesday. Resort to prayer is, for one thing, a confession of one's own inadequacy. If we were adequate, we would not pray. Prayer is awareness, deep down, of inadequacy; a refusal to deceive oneself any longer on that point. Sense of adequacy is a block to the influx of more power, for in the life of the mind and spirit only that for which a need is felt can enter. Once we completely admit our inadequacy and evil-ness in a given respect, we cease, on the one hand, to be ashamed of it and, on the other hand, to be in the thrall of it. Probably the chief reason why this liberating experience fails to come in many instances is simply that we still try to justify ourselves and the weakness. We have not faced it. Once any thing or person is faced, that thing or person can no longer have power over us or excite fear. We can be objective.

For another thing, prayer is desire so intense that it passes insensibly over into action. Many people never desire anything very hard. Most of us seldom do. If we desire a thing hard enough to pray to God about it, we shall do what God tells us is necessary in order that the prayer may be fulfilled. Otherwise, the so-called prayer is self-deception and an insult to God.

Finally, the most effective way to overcome a temptation in ourselves is to work to undo the effects of the evil on others, to break its power over them.

* * *

He puts it beautifully, and with the power of one "who has arrived." Would that I were really deserving of the inspiration and rich insight which is the heritage of all who work with him and know him personally.

I shall follow up right away on the matters you asked about in your letter. Tell Robert Currier that we have entered his name as a member. Charles Boss asks that we give you his greetings--"my kindest regards and sense of unbroken fellowship."

My time has been crowded these past days because Debby is in the hospital, and I am apartment-hunting. Debby has had a complete nervous breakdown, and has been quite ill. The doctors feel confident that a period of good rest and therapy will bring her back to good health 'ere long. Apt. hunting is very discouraging. There's just nothing available. More soon. Love,

Doris

Doris Grotewohl

2929 Broadway
New York 25, N.Y.
August 7, 1944

Mr. Bayard Rustin
P.MB. 2905
Ashland, Kentucky

Dear Bayard:

This, too, will be a price-list letter! But I'll make that part of it as short as possible.

I referred to Shizu and John the item about the two Japanese in Washington. Shizu showed me an article by Kitasakoa in the "Heart Mountain Sentinel" in which Kitasakoa gives a very clear stand on the race problem in Washington. She will follow up.

I'll send E.C. and Council minutes. There will be none now until September. I've asked N.S.B.R.O. to send REPORTER. The mandolin strings I shall have to look for. But it will be soon.

Sometime ago you asked about the movie in which Paul Robeson played concerning Welsh coal miners. I have at last found that it was called when first released "Proud Valley", and then was changed to "The Tunnel." It played here at Little Carnegie. I remember hearing about it, and watching for it, but never finding it any place. It is an English film.

Anything further I might do about the material from FORTUNE? I trust you rec'd the letter sometime back in which I said the material would be available.

I sent off the summary of the Danbury procedure yesterday, with an original copy to the warden. I recall referring briefly to the Danbury procedure in a letter several weeks ago. Did you get that? Also did you get both letters from Canada? Needn't bother to reply if you received them all--just want to make certain things are reaching you.

Al was visited by Dottie yesterday--her first since he's in Lewisburg. Al is really pretty much of a 'home' man I've decided and I think these first weeks have been pretty tough on him. During this period so far he's been in with a group where perversions of all sorts prevail, and discussion about them. It's been a big dose for him and I surmise he felt great thirst for reading and discussion which could take him out of the confines and ingrown-ness of the situation. His first days of contact with the others whom we know there has not been too encouraging for him, either. Al is not a cynical soul and that quality in others whom he feels or wishes should be taking a course of constructive critical action and suggestion is not pleasant for him to take. But I'm sure that after the adjustment is made he feel be a good influence there on all--no doubt he is already.

John will no doubt write Fran about his concern that you and others there may have mis-read his letter of June 14 to Fran about the group in Lewisburg. He feels that they have by inference drawn the conclusion that John meant the fellows there were immature.

I'm enclosing Political Study Conference invitation.

Pearl Primus is travelling through the Southern States in an effort to get material together for her dances.

Saturday night I decided station WNYC was psychich. I had written Bessie LeBon on Friday asking her to call me Saturday night--I wanted to go see her yesterday to tell her about AJ's visit with you and also find out from her the name of your sister--or cousin?-- in West Chester who is about to have a child. I had asked Mrs. LeBon to call about eight p.m. She must have been away and failed to get my card for no call came. However, as I waited in the apartment for the call, and listening to WNYC, what did they play but "The Chain Gang Songs"! It was like having you there for a few minutes. "Cryin' Who, Cryin' You", and "Trouble" (is that the name?). I think you'll do a much better job with the mandolin and voice combination than John--but will you ever be able to get that inverted water-fall into your voice?!

Will you let me know as soon as you can the name of your sister? I know it is something like Etta or Ella and the last name Meyers(?)--but what is her husband's name so that I can address her properly. We found a little booklet of nursery songs of folk origin which seem very nice.

The Muste's have gone to Northampton where they will be until Labor Day, living in Ralph Harlow's home. A.J. is going to be writing, and getting some rest, I hope. I shall join them there this Wednesday, so from now on you can write me at 307 Prospect Heights, Northampton, Mass. If you should misplace the address, the office will forward things promptly. You need not apologize for your correspondence in the least--you've done right well by me, I feel. I must admit there's a let-down in my morale if Monday's mail doesn't bring an envelope with your familiar handwriting--and a great boost in morale if one unexpectedly arrives at the end of the week! As for the content, I'd say there, too, you haven't failed any of us. That's why I so often feel you are still actually (not just theoretically) on the F.O.R. staff. While it is important that we should keep abreast with your thinking, we know it is more important that you should use all the time necessary in working through situations where you are. Whatever of that you can share with us is to our good.

I am planning to visit you after the Political Study Conference (Sept. 15), the National Council and Eastern Regional Conference (Sept. 22-24). So I should be there the latter part of September, or early October--on my way to or from Iowa for a two weeks' vacation at my mother's home. If Sunday is a visiting day that would probably be most convenient. I seem to have misplaced visiting regulations. Will you have another set sent to me, and let me know if Sunday is a visiting day? As soon as I have cleared with A.J. this week, and when I find out about Sunday as a visiting day I shall write for permission.

I am still apartment-hunting and getting more and more discouraged. Think I'll pitch a tent on the roof at 2929. Started out in good faith Saturday morning again, but ended up buying a suit! If I could find an apartment of equal quality and attractiveness I'd be most happy. It--the suit--is slate-blue wool gabardine, man-tailored style. Now if I can find a soft sort of frilly yellow blouse and brimmed hat I'll be ready for fall!

Passed a couple of men on the street yesterday whose conversation intrigued me. I wanted to follow them to learn more. The one was obviously trying to sell the other on something--perhaps Father Divine, or perhaps prison! He was saying, "That way you have no rent to pay, and no debts. No rent; no debts."

One other little item. Last Thursday on the way to work I sat down in a corner of the subway and began to read the morning paper. Saw two women standing in front of me in the crowded train. Looked up at the face of one--a tall one--and it was Eleanor Roosevelt! I got up and offered her my place but she put her hand on my shoulder and gently pushed me back saying, "No, you're going to work; I'm not." Whereupon I said, "I think you are. Your life looks like hard work to me." Rather brazen of me, I thought afterward. But I had to sit down again. She and her companion soon got other seats!

Doris Grotewohl Love to you, Doris

Currier
Rustin
Mr. Daniel
Galt

*Currier
Helen Winnn

307 Prospect Heights
Northampton, Mass.
August 16, 1944

Mr. Bayard Rustin
PLM.B. 2905
Ashland, Kentucky

Dear Bayard:

Your lengthy telegram got us off to an early start on Sunday morning. AJ was delighted to have itand I am sure gave a great deal of thought during the course of that day to the problem which you raised. Before Connie returned to New York that evening we wrote out some letters to the people you mentioned and she took them with her to be mailed there. AJ felt there was great merit in the principle which you raised. In his letters to the individuals he stated this principle as an expression of your concern and one to which he would give strong support. He made no strong or specific request for action because he has felt a great lack of full information about the case. The continued indications that there are "political" implications in the situation,--without any sign as to what they are--; the possibility of the leaders having been hired as agents of ?, as provacateurs of something all contribute to this feeling of dealing with shadows rather than specifics. He urged the individuals to give full consideration to the principle you set forth. We have also sent copies of the letters to Jim Bristol with the request that he follow up and get us more information. This week's NATION carries an editorial which points up the merit of your concern. It lauds the enforcement of the Smith-Connally Act, the threat of removing job security or unemployment insurance to strikers, and the like.

I hope very much that by this time all three of my letters of last week, two of which had material on the report you wanted, reached you.

Norman Whitney asks that I convey to you his thanks for your recent note. He was glad if anything he was able to say proved helpful to you and the others. He wrote his message from the Cazenovia Institute where he felt that Lester Granger did a splendid service, but "many of us could not follow him in his advocacy of the use of the army in the Philadelphia strike of course. Scott Nearing held him easily at the intellectual level but many of us who know you felt something lacking by way of constructive action alternative that you could have supplied and wished you were here." He asks if you have available there Douglas Steere's ON BEGINNING FROM WITHIN and if not he would like to see that you get a copy. He wants you to read what Steere says about the Saint and Society beginning on page 30. "Lesley West sends her love ~~as, of course, do Mildred and I. . . Bishop~~".

The N.S.B. informs me that "The Reporter" has gone on the approved list and that they are putting you on the mailing list.

I had already ordered the mandolin strings from a shop here in Northampton but they changed the order for me. I think I should be able to get them to you before the end of the month.

Sometime ago you asked about Rosa Paige Welch's availability for a concert. She has written that she has no engagements in the direction

of Kentucky but that she would be glad to give her services for a concert there provided her expenses could be taken care of. The only fall dates she has available are Nov. 5-7 inclusive, or during December "if he wouldn't prefer a Sunday." Since her schedule is so heavy she would like to know as soon as possible whether she should hold the time. What say?

It's been hot here, too--but working in sunsuit and barefooted makes the weather more endurable. I'll write you more about what we're doing very soon. I want to catch the postman with this, however.

All of us send affectionate greetings to you.

Doris

Doris Grotewohl

I find through Joe Felmet that Saturdays and Sundays are visiting days, so I shall plan to come either the weekend of Sept. 29 on my way to Iowa, or two weeks after that, October 14, on my return to New York. Which do you prefer ? Thought it might make a difference in your visiting schedule of other people. I'm so anxious to see you.

Doris

Feel deep that I shall not forget the newspapers.

Russian Preference

307 Prospect Heights
Northampton, Mass.

August 20, 1944

Mr. Bayard Rustin
P.M.B. 2905
Ashland, Kentucky

Dear Bayard:

This will be mostly odds and ends of items--follow-ups of various things.

Ralph and others will want to know that we have asked John to send to group leaders the names of COs coming up for parole during the next four months--list secured from the NCCO--and recommending the sort of action on the part of individuals and groups that Ralph had recommended. We have also asked Elliott Finlay to put an item in FELLOWSHIP about it, asking readers to get in touch with their group leaders for the names of the men. Joe Summers of the NCCO thought the idea of getting the list publicity so that individuals who know the men may write in, was a good one. He wonders, though, about the effectiveness of "group letters." The latter may appear as a form of "pressure" to the parole board. You might have Ralph send on his further thinking on this--and the others of you, too, of course. Perhaps Jim might write directly to AJ about it.

I have one question about some of the names which I wish you would raise with Fran. I note that his name is on the list as possibly being eligible for 1/3 time parole in October. I recall his feeling about accepting parole before. If this is still his feeling, would it be better to remove his name from the list before we mimeograph it? Otherwise, members may be writing in about him to the parole board--he refuses parole--and then the board is annoyed. On the other hand, however, such letters might be good anyway as an expression of public opinion. At any rate, raise the question with him--and others who would not apply for parole--and have Fran write to John immediately about it. John is at 120 Willow Road, Harrisburg, this week. I have sent him the material for the group letter and he will send on instructions to the office. If there is a general feeling that such names should not be included, you might have Fran give John names of others who should be removed.

I feel your analysis of the reaction of Dave and the others is very sound, and good. You are certainly right that we should be concerned about how they got to such a state. In getting an orientation for certain parts of his new book, AJ has been reading a great deal of Kunkel lately. Fran's recent "manifesto" fitted in well into the developing thought. About a month ago I expressed to AJ my growing concern for the mental health of young pacifists. I think now that I mis-named the problem. Our concern must be with the mental-spiritual health. The two must go together. I have felt it particularly with some of our generation, who though they may have been raised in a religious atmosphere, revolted so extremely against it during the 1930's, turning to various secular movements for expression of their idealism. There was insufficient moral--sometimes ethical--foundation in the movements for them to last. Revolutionary pacifism has so far failed to make real to some the spiritual foundation on which it rests. Until it does, there will be cynicism and frustration among us.

The Conrour membership is being taken care of. He gave his home street address, but not the city.

Before we came up here AJ--at AJ's request--had an interview in New York with Charles Bell. (He's Tartt's brother, you may know.) AJ was impressed--and so is Constance Rumbough. Both are endeavoring to get him on the staff. To date, Bell doesn't know what he'll do. He's having to leave his church.

I have written to day to Dr. Hagerman for permission 1) for a two-hour visit with you, preferably an hour on Saturday and an hour on Sunday, and 2) for a visit with the group with whom I have worked in the F.O.R.--Galt, Hefner, Hall, Rustin and McDaniel. I did not state a specific time for my visit, still being uncertain about that. But I didn't want to wait any longer to get the permission. I can write later about the date. I did indicate that it would probably be the latter part of September or early October, but I don't yet want to commit myself to a definite time. If you should feel that for some reason I must come earlier if I am going to see you I want to feel free to request that time. I hope very much that extreme action will prove entirely unnecessary in your efforts to improve the situation there. We understand how great the emotional hardship must be and how difficult it is to be patient in such things. It is painful to us that you and others should suffer so--painful because we feel your suffering, and painful because the society in which we live has caused it. Yet we hope so much that solutions and progress will very soon be made for we should be unhappy I am sure if another course had to develop.

Holding faithfully here

If there are other names I should have given in the group above please let me know. I wish so much I might see all the FOR members, since the chief wasn't able to, but I shall feel very fortunate if I may see those with whom I have worked.

Soon I shall write you about this wonderful family life here with the Mustes,--of bubbling little Johnnie Baker, Nancy's 2½-yr old son, and of our work and play life here. But now I want to send this to New York with Connie so it can be mailed there later tonight.

See you in five weeks--or seven?-- !

Love,

Doris

Doris Grotewohl

307 Prospect Heights
Northampton, Mass.
August 23, 1944

Mr. Bayard Rustin
P.M.B. 2905
Ashland, Kentucky

Dear Bayard:

Odds and ends again. They never cease! Marion Code's address is c/o Morris Arboretum, Chestnut Hill, Philadelphia 18, Pa. She will be very disappointed to have missed your letter.

You may be assured that AJ will do something about the Willa et al problem. Just what he'll be able to do is something else, for there is the problem of approach. I've often wondered what Dal's real feeling ~~about the situation~~ was. I just couldn't convince myself that he, too, thought it a glorious experiment. I am convinced that that is one area of life in which 'sharing' just cannot work, unless of course it is part of one's religious beliefs, as in some sects--now almost obsolete. I hope so much that the situation will resolve itself satisfactorily--and soon.

I've asked Faith to check on July FELLOWSHIPS. How about August's? Try to let us know sooner. They are nearly always out by the first of the month, so I should think if they don't reach you by the 10th--or 15th at the very latest, there would be cause to think they had gone astray or we had slipped up in the office.

I have asked Bernard Walton to see that your grandmother gets the two issues of the Friends Intelligencer.

We had a very kind note from your grandmother recently, in which she expressed your grandfather's fear that he wouldn't live to see you again. I know how that must concern you. I think you are probably right that you would forever feel that you had not been with her when she needed you most, in the event that death should come to him and you couldn't get home. If you would be willing, I think I could very easily among a few people who have written in and asked what they might do re prison situations and our members in prison, raise the $100 or so that would be needed. I know your reluctance on this score, but remember, dear Bayard, that there are lots of us who can go on about our normal living--especially among the older people--without much "sacrifice" because of our pacifism. An opportunity to help concretely is what many of them need and want. There's always the question of whether that amount of money used otherwise would be more constructively spent. That's an un-measurable thing, and as far as I can see bears no weight. People will contribute to specific needs or causes, and requests to the few who would be involved in this would make no difference in the total raised for other purposes. If this meets with your approval--and just in case it is needed--what would be the procedure? Would the administration advance the costs and then be reimbursed? Or should it be wired to you promptly?-when you wire us, of the need. We hope of course that the need won't occur, but it is good to be realistic.

I should think the hotel item might be saved by asking some family, like the Passmore Elkintons in Moylan, to house you. They might be too far away from your home, but there's no doubt someone closer. What do you think? If you agree, and providing of course that the whole above is satisfactory, I could drop Passmore or whomever a note fairly soon explaining the situation and asking them to keep it in mind just in case.

Jim, in the July or August EQUALITY, wrote an article on the political situation in which he showed that the S.P. platform most nearly approached a satisfactory channel for the Negro population. He couldn't outright ask for endorsement of it--FOR policy--but put in a strong plug for it. Layle Lane has put out some good material through the SP on it, I gather. I haven't seen it yet. AJ and I were wondering yesterday whatever came of Randolph's political-bloc gathering in Chicago sometime ago--whether or not they have lined up behind any party yet.

These first two weeks here have gone very well. AJ's writing is progressing, and I think he feels it is satisfactory. I've typed rough drafts of the first two chapters and have more ready for me. Office correspondence has been so heavy that it has slowed us both down, however. I have a feeling you have been in the Harlow home, but if not, it's located on the edge of the town, on a hill. There's a house on either side of us, but with plenty of trees and space in between so that we really feel removed from people. We go down to the village for supplies maybe three or four times a week. I have my bicycle here so have seen the campus and a little of the environs of the town in that way.

Our chief active recreation has been cutting down the summer's growth of grass and weeds. The Harlows haven't been here since May, so there was a goodly supply to be mowed. I've been threatening to take a picture of AJ in his shirt sleeves pushing a lawn-mower, or burning the paper and grass, and sending it to the decentralists! I have been raking and sickling until callouses are beginning to appear on my hands! Other evenings have begun with watching the sunsets, or the hills become shadows in the east. We have had a number of sessions with classical music which have been wonderful. Last night AJ found some bits of poetry in some of Ralph Harlow's book cases which had long been his favorites, so he read to us.

Little Johnnie Baker keeps the house moving. He's really a beautiful child, with a firm little body browned to the shade of the brown mouse he sometimes pretends to be. Nancy is just about the most patient even-tempered mother I have ever seen, and in herself a very delightful person. Since we arrived here, she has insisted that there is a bird in the neighborhood whose call sounds like a "squeaking gate." None of us had been able to locate it--until yesterday afternoon when I was typing by the window I heard it. It seemed so close that I looked out and found the source--it was a squirrel straddling a limb, and giving vent to his feelings with this peculiar call!

Thursday morning, Aug. 24. Morning mail has brought several things which I shall write you about later. Chief among them though was a note from your grandmother describing Bob Horton's visit. I'm glad he did that. But apparently he told her of the attack upon you some weeks back and she is quite upset and fearful. I shall write her promptly and think I can reassure her. I felt after I visited her that I should have told her of that incident, so that if she heard it later from some other source she woul

wouldn't get alarmed. I wasn't sure then I should say anything, however, without clearing with you. I feel now that it would really be best to share with her as much as you can of any incidents of that sort, so her knowledge and faith in the method you employ will become a comfort to her, and her fears thus diminished.

She spoke in that letter of how much she wished she might visit you. If the finances could be solved, do you think she could make the trip? It would no doubt be a great physical strain, and perhaps emotional--and then the difficulty of accommodation,-housing and eating in the South. But if it were planned well-enough in advance, those things might be reduced to a minimum if you feel it might be desirable to make some effort to see if it could be arranged. On the other hand, it may point up all the more her need of you in the event of crisis at home. Even though under the circumstances the visit would be saddened, it might be better for her to see you under that situation than inside the walls.

Much of this, about the family situation, may be entirely wrong since my acquaintance with it is really very slight. But I've passed them on because I have taken a genuine liking to your grandparents and should like to see them as happy as possible during the years that are left to them.

Affectionate greetings from all of us.

Truly,

Doris Grotewohl

I'll be back in New York by Sept. 1..

TAMPERED I
AUG 25 1964

2929 Broadway
New York 25, N.Y.
September 3, 1944

Bayard Rustin
P.M.B. 2905
Ashland, Ky.

Dear Bayard:

I've been horribly tardy this time in writing. Please forgive. My last week in Northampton was a busy one — Trying to get as much of the mss. done as possible before I left. Came back here Thursday night - worked Friday - and having been moving since. I'm now sitting on my new bed in my "new" apartment on 15th — the bed being the only thing so far that there is to sit on!

Chief item is that while still in Northampton I rec'd word from Mr. Breland that my request to visit you had been denied because of the 'record-breaking volume of visiting by approved visitors.' A.J. wrote last week in my behalf and told Mr. Breland of the inability of your family to visit and that I could visit the family and thus be liaison. I hope so much that I might come. If you can help it along, I'll be happy. I'm afraid your grandmother would be as disappointed as I if I couldn't go, for she needs the reassurance of a first-hand report — from a "woman's point of view"! (See I).

Suzie Sahaun was in office Friday. Sends her best - and still wants to know if your library there has Jean Cristophe and Marg. Webster's book on Shakespeare.

A young Negro soldier from San Francisco came in Friday to find out about your Napoleon Brown. He worked with you and the CORE group there. He's stationed in Md.; on furlough ~~on~~ in New York this week.

Remember Jerry Disque who went to Café Society with us one night? He's been studying at Chapel Hill and is now going to teach at Fieldstone School (Ethical Culture). He sends you his best, too.

I shall write you from the office later this week about developments on the Phila. Transit strike business — and replies to your suggestion on procedure.

I'm sorry again about letting the days slip by without writing - I've learned that's it's easier to keep up a genuine correspondence by frequent letters - even tho' shorter - than long lapses of time in between. And surprisingly I find I can write more to the people to whom I write fairly regularly than I can to the persons to whom I haven't written for months. I guess that's sound psychologically, too,

for kinship of spirit means much/in freedom with which one shares experience and thinking.

Please tell Alex Stach that the Sunday issue of the Russian newspaper he and the group there desired has been ordered. I should imagine today's issue might be the first to be rec'd - or perhaps last Sundays. If it hasn't come through, perhaps he should inquire about it so that the mail office will know he requested it.

It's very late and I have a chance to get this mailed - so good night, mon chère. I shall see you ère the month is out - I do so hope!

Goodnight,

Doris

Doris Grotewohl.

2929 Broadway
New York 25, New York
September 7, 1944

Bayard Rustin
P.M.B. 2905
Ashland, Kentucky

Dear Bayard:

Faith came back today with the good news of Ralph. We are all happy about that, and hope that Fran's, Charlie's, and Jim's paroles work out promptly, too. And yours when the time comes. In that connection, I've been wondering if a pretty good possibility might be for work directly under Randolph in an area of activity which you could feel free to accept. He's been so very cooperative and obviously interested in your work that it might be a good try. Any time you want me to look into the matter--or a similar one--just say the word!

Still no further word about permission for me to visit, but there's hardly been time for a reply to AJ's letter yet. Faith is sending August FELLOWSHIP.

The FOR-NSB letter arrived very promptly after you wrote it. We're glad you did it. AJ is circulating it now among the staff. We can't understand Norman Gesner's not having seen AJ's letter to Dave Dellinger. It was sent to Lewisburg of course before it was mimeographed and generally distributed. So far no reply has come from the men, except an inquiry from Betty Dellinger yesterday asking for Dave why no publicity had been given it and some other items which puzzle us--especially if they have received the letter. If they haven't, it might explain part of Betty's letter. We had received an acknowledgement from Warden Hiatt, however, that the communications had been transmitted July 12.

The mandolin strings haven't been sent because when the order came in Northampton they were wire strings, although the music store there had ordered gut strings. I didn't take them because I wanted to try here in the city. Tonight--since it is Thursday--the stores will be open and I'll do some looking around then. Please don't ask Franny to reimburse me. It's such a small item. Consider it a belated remembrance of March 17th!

Win Osborne is stopping here Saturday morning. Anxious to see him. Glad he was so well received. Especially glad Jordan didn't have to be crossed.

By all means write us of your thinking on new approaches for FOR Race Relations work. If you can get a special memo to AJ on it that would be fine.

William Richards is not a member--looks as though he spoils the record for the Richards family. I am enclosing an application blank.

There's a wedding announcement here for you from Frances Goodman (Chilmark, Mass) and Sam Wolfson. Know them?! Sam may be the one in Syracuse who has been active with SP and the like.

The reply which AJ received from Eustace Gay is as follows: "Thanks for your letter of recent date. We were glad to have Mr. Rustin's viewpoint." A.J.'s comment to me: "You can let Bayard know about this reply. God knows what it means!"

Randolph's reply shows the depth of the man: "I think the questions raised concerning the boycott of the members of the Company Union of the Philadelphia Transit Company who served as leaders in the strike are of far-reaching significance and deserve serious consideration. I think that these leaders were arrested more because of the alleged violation of the Smith-Connally Act than because of the actual leading of the strike. This is as far as I have been able to discover. As a general principle I too believe that it will make for better relations between workers, that the white workers in this strike be not victimised by a boycott." He then goes on to say that he thought the matter required further study in order to determine the complete role that was played in this affair by the Company Union leaders. "I think it would be a fine thing if the colored workers who have been hired as motormen and conductors on the Philadelphia Transit System might be given this point of view and they themselves were to indicate that they did not want to see any white worker lose his job."

Marion Code writes that she feels the efforts of inter-racial groups there "were responsible for the small amount of violence that terrible week." She wants you to know that Annunciation in the North End is becoming increasingly pacifist and that she spends as many of her Sundays and Saturdays nights with the people there as she can. She wants you to know that you are "constantly in my prayers and I long to know that there is some sort of 'communication' between us.' I wrote her that you had tried to write her but that the letter was misdirected.

In my next letter to you I'll try to condense some reports from Jim Bristol on the Philadelphia situation. There is certainly no clear picture of the business--the role of the Company Union, the role of the CP, the role of the political machine in the city. Jim will probably be sending us a further report soon.

Good news from Bron that he has been transfered to a large modern dairy farm eight miles north of Springfield, Ohio--in the neighborhood of Antioch and the old stamping ground of Bron and Bill. He is to be running the milkroom. The actual transfer has not yet occurred but it looks definite.

We are all looking forward to the Conference on the Philosophy and Strategy of Revolutionary Pacifism here in the city the weekend of the 15th. Did you get the announcements of it? Any ideas from any of you will be welcome.

Love,

Doris

Doris Grotewohl

2929 Broadway
New York 25, New York
September 19, 1944

SEP 21 1944
NUMBER 1

Mr. Bayard Rustin
P.M.B. 2905
Ashland, Kentucky

Dear Bayard:

The office has become a grand central station these past days, with field workers arriving from out yonder for the Political Study Conference this past weekend, for National Council meetings and Regional Conference this coming weekend. Emerson Schwenk, George Houser, and Warren Nelson are around now; also Ab Watson the Canadian FOR secretary. Right now George and Bob Currier are in my office, catching up on news of each other. With Bob's and Ralph's help--and now Agnes'--we have been able to get a fairly complete picture of the story. Know that no matter how deep the tribulation our support is undiminished. That it has become complicated is unfortunate and that saddens and concerns us.

A.J. talked with Dr. Hagerman and Mr. Bennett yesterday by telephone, as you probably know by this time as A.J. asked Dr. Hagerman to convey to you his greetings. On the basis of his conversation with these two men, A.J. is planning to get to Ashland next Wednesday morning. He understands from Mr. Bennett that there will be no precipitate action before that time, and therefore is confident of seeing you then.

On the basis of the way things look from here now, we would feel that the acceptance of a transfer might be the best course. On the personal problems and other concerns that are involved you and he might counsel together when he sees you next week.

This is written in haste, because things happen so fast and time is pressing! Council meetings start Friday afternoon. We'll miss you there, and at the conferences. But we will be thinking of you and the others in Ashland, and wishing you well.

Affectionate greetings from all at 2929.

Truly,

Doris

Doris Grotewohl

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10/1/44

Dear Bayard:

This note is being dashed off in the R.R. Sta. in Chi. I'm taking a sleeper presently for Grand Rapids where I'm planning to spend a couple of days with my father who was 87 a week ago and is still hale and hearty. The Conference here was good – a couple of the sessions were thrilling. One of them was Sat. Evening's when John Raitt an FOR member of the Chi. cast of Oklahoma sang – Rosa Page Welch – and Perry Saito's wife. Raitt is a superb baritone and for one of his numbers sang the Figaro thing with English words from the Barber of Seville – gorgeously funny. Rosa and Mrs. Saito were very good too. Rosa asked about you and still wants very much to come to

Asbland to give a concert. I'm going to write Dr. Hager. man about this ~~same time soon~~. Later Dr. Geo. Tatham, a Canadian F.O.R., prof. of geography at the U. of Toronto lectured on the International Scene — swell job.

Rosa did something — I wonder if you recognize it — about "Talk about a child looking for the Kingdom: here's one, here's one." Doris and I both thought of you when she sang this. Doris passed this Chi on her way home for a 2-weeks vacation — still sorry as can be she couldn't make the visit and hoping to do it later + sending his affec. greetings to you.

This morning Rufus Bowman spoke and made a very fetching statement against war and conscription. You remember the chair in the Brethren Church here. They sang their hearts out this morning:

Perverse and foolish oft I strayed
And yet in love He sought me
And on his shoulder gently laid
And home rejoicing brought me.

"Home — rejoicing — brought me." You remember James Naylor's words about the "spirit which I feel" and which "lives in hopes to receive its own in the end." You and I — and all of us. In fellowship — H.T.J.

Bayard Rustin PHB 2905

1126 Franklin Street
Burlington, Iowa
October 9, 1944
Permanent: 2929 Broadway
New York 25, N.Y.

Dearest Bayard:

That I have not written you for over a week is due to a psychological condition produced in me by Iowa, or more accurately, the home and neighborhood in which I grew up. I'm back in my teens, the child of the neighborhood. The world revolves around Mrs. J's heart attack, the twins born to the Mc, the separation of the X's; recipes, quilting, house problems; the doings - and un-doings of the now-grown children; the new shoe dept. in one of the stores. That Dewey and Roosevelt are vying for office enters into the picture, of course - for this is the center of an agricultural section and farmers have opinions about "plowing under", farm subsidies, and the like; and others are employed in a large ordnance plant; sons are in the armed services, and married daughters are following other sons around. Yet somehow this is incidental to the detail of small town living. Soon the confusion, the transiency will be at an end, and stability will be in the community again. Sometimes it all seems unreal to me, dream-like; other times you & the other in prison, camps, and war; the strife and hatred seem unreal. I have felt out-of-tune with my world - and I couldn't write to you for you would detect dis-harmony!

Your letter came this morning, and helped to complete my re-tuning. I feel in focus again, but with better perspective. It is these little neighborhoods that count. They are the "grass roots", too often already dead before they have sprouted. Stillborn grass roots. But most new life, new leadership, creativity comes out of such neighborhoods. It has left them behind, sterile. Developed new paths or gutters lost in old ones, doing the accepted-expected thing - of moving to the city. There is such impoverishment in the old neighborhoods a world where "ideas" belong to the professors and scholars, shunned by the common folk as unessential to making money. And with that shunning, that stultifying of creative, native thought, goes a sacrifice of pleasures that could enrich these lives - music, forms of art and writing.

It has all made me feel I want to leave New York. (I dread going back to those tired, hard faces of crowds, the noise and most of all, the hurry.) I'm not sure what I want to do, but I think small city or town living would be good for awhile, at least. My vision could stand looking across distances, seeking new horizons for awhile, rather than looking up through the canyons, as though expecting manna to land in my lap, some effort!

I guess what's really got me is the smell of autumn leaves and sunshine in the clothes I've just taken off the line, dried by the sun and breeze! Just a sentimentalist at heart.

Several years ago a movie-version of Steinbeck's

Bayard Rustin PMB 2905

Tortilla Flat visualized for me the character of St. Francis, in the figure of a man (old maybe, but really ageless) who lived alone in the woods with his wealth - the animals and birds. I remember being damp-eyed after a simple speech of the man's in which he expressed his feeling and love for all life.

I am glad you told me the story of St. Francis. Yet I hope you know you need not have said anything at all "in the light of all that has happened." I understood anyway - even before there was need for understanding. I believe. That that has been struggle and deep anguish inwardly was sensed many months ago. To sense it and yet be so impotent to do anything helpful, caused me personal unhappiness. Yet there are times when one's only help to others can be silence, unbroken faith and love if these are needed. The creative force for healing will come from within, and it is there.

It has meant much to you, I know, that A. J. has been able to visit. The groove more precious to all of us constantly - and it seems as that happens his strength and power of understanding and insight deeper and affect us all.

I did not know I would be missing Pearl Primus' first Broadway engagement. I am sending it on to A.J., for I have spoken of her to him and want him to see her. The dance and poetry strike a deep response in him, and I know Pearl's dancing will move him greatly.

The leaves are falling. I must go rake the yard now and then have a bonfire. The leaves that fall later we shall not disturb. I like to think of them returning to the earth, to feed it and protect the new life that will come after the cold.

always,
Doris

P.S. I'm enclosing two snapshots of A.J. & Nerin, neither very good. If you wish to give the other to Fran or someone!

I'll be back in N.Y.C. October 16.

Doris Grotewohl.

Page missing in original

nostalgic warmth in memories of precious childhood - its simplicity, "untaintedness", curiousity, and spanteneous joy and trust. To be "as little children" has indeed real meaning for us.

Shall see A. J in Chicago. I know he carried to you my message of continued faith and love.

Doris

Until Oct. 14:
1136 Franklin St.
Burlington, Iowa

Doris Grotewohl

THE HIKER — 10 K125

COPY

708 North St.
Jackson, Miss.
Oct 11 - 1944

Dear Constance -

Mr. Furmer called me a few days ago, Sunday to be exact exact, relative to the murder of Isaac Simmons. I had never heard of the case, there had been nothing in the newspapers about it. I called several prominent Negroes about it and they knew nothing, except Rev. A. L. Holland who had heard a very garbled report. On Monday I called Mr. Mize and he said he would write me a letter setting forth all he knew. The letter has just come and I am enclosing it. He did say in his telephone conversation that four white men had been indicted for the murder but that there seemed to be little evidence so far and that the Grand Jury of Amite County is to take the matter up again at its next meeting.

It is greatly to be deplored that sensational newspaper, ever on the hunt for a "story", will take up an occurrence and exploit it in badly garbled accounts. Our law-enforcement officers are, on the whole, good hard working men and are really trying to solve some of the perplexing problems brought about by conflicts between the races. However it is like waving a red flag at a bull for a northern newspaper to exploit any of these conflicts. We can only relieve racial tensions by slow and carefully worked out plans to change the attitudes of people and we are really making progress along these lines.

Come to see me some time.

Very cordially yours,

/s/ Ethel F. Stevens

C
O
P
Y

October 13, 1944

Mrs. J. Morgan Stevens
702 North Street
Jackson, Mississippi

Dear Mrs. Stevens,

Your letter together with that of Mr. Mize has come. Knowing you, I am not surprised to hear that you at once got busy on the Simmons case after Jim Farmer called you last Sunday. I do hope that you are ready to continue your efforts.

Yes, it is wrong for newspapers to be sensational and to garble the truth for the sake of a story, but this time the facts seem to have been checked both with the Civil Liberties Section of the Department of Justice in Washington, and in Mississippi too. It seems strange that our Negro friends in Jackson didn't know about the case because Dr. Looby, a Negro lawyer in Nashville told me today that the story appeared on the front page of every Negro newspaper in the country about a month ago. For the sake of everybody concerned, the story should now either be disproved or proved and justice meted out. Of course nothing can be done now for Isaac Simmons, but other Negroes now alive may suffer the same fate if the men who killed him are allowed to go free. This kind of thing will never stop unless public opinion demands apprehension and punishment of the guilty parties.

Dr. Looby suggests that a committee of citizens might talk with the district prosecuting attorney, and ask him to bring pressure on the gand grand jury to take the proper measures with the four men who were arrested for Simmons' death.

Evidently Mr Mize knew something about the death of Simmons, since he is a lawyer and Simmons was his client. No doubt he considers the facts which he knows as legal secrets.

It will be best in every way for citizens of Mississippi to handle this matter, and I am advising the Wokers Defense League to leave it to you for the present. Will you let me know what happens when the Grand Jury meets on Monday, and what the Law proposes to do next?

Some day soon I hope that I'll get to Jackson, and can have that visit with you.

Sincerely,
/s/ Constance Rumbough

COPY

MIZE AND MIZE
Attorneys at law
Palace Theatre Bldg.
Forest, Mississippi

Frank F. Mize
Joe Sid Mize

October 9, 1944

Mrs. J. Morgan Stevens,
Jackson, Mississippi.

Dear Mrs. Stevens:

As stated in my conversation with you over the telephone today, I filed a law suit in the Chancery Court of Amite County during the early part of February of this year to have cancelled a State Patent which was issued Feby 11, 1942 purporting to convey 120 acres of land to Warren E. Fox. This land was sold to the State for taxes on the 1st Monday of July 1932 for the 1931 taxes. I filed the suit in the name of Isaac Simmons and the other heirs of Anthony Simmons.

The case was to have been heard on the 1st Monday of July 1944, but prior to the convening of court Isaac Simmons was said to have been killed. The case is still pending in the Chancery Court of Amite County. I do not know any of the facts concerning the death of Isaac Simmons.

Yours very truly,

/s/ Frank F. Mize

October 17, 1944

TO: Mr. Francis Hall
Box No. PMB 2608
Ashland, Kentucky

FROM: John M. Swomley, Jr.
2929 Broadway
New York 25, N. Y.

Dear Fran:

It is good to get your letter. I have shown it to A.J. I understand that he is hoping to get down to Ashland again in the very near future, so that it may be that you will see him then. Until then I suppose there is nothing new in the way of suggestion, though if anything occurs to A.J., one of us will write.

A.J. has also had an extensive discussion with Mr. Bennett and with others in the Federal Bureau since the visit to Ashland, which may be one reason for his wanting to come to Ashland again.

I shall try to send you some of the results of the Study Conference, though I might point out now that the chief result was the organization of a committee which would go ahead with study and make suggestions for action to the Council and Executive Committee.

I am interested in your comment about the possibility of parole. I didn't realize that there was such a real likelihood that you might get it, and hope strongly that you will.

You may be interested in some of the things that are concerning us now. We are at work on the matter of conscription, since there is a very real threat that permanent peacetime conscription may be passed after election. Ray Newton has been released to give some time to the direction of our work against conscription. There is also the possibility of a conference in Washington some time in December.

You may be interested in an experience I had Friday night. I went to register for my first time as a voter in New York State. They didn't take my word that I was literate and insisted that I go to the Public Schools for an examination or else produce a diploma. After much searching I found my diploma from Theological School and thus avoided reading a story about the fox and the grapes and passing an examination on what I had read.

The following is a summary of the proceedings of the Study Conference. No attempt is made to present the material in the order in which it came up in the conference nor to ascribe particular statements to specific individuals. A. J. took the notes and has tried to set forth the main ideas which emerged in the discussions in the form that might be most compact and helpful.

The conference was held in New York City with the following in attendance: Pat Reith, Emerson S. Schwenk, Ken Cuthbertson, Alden Nichols, Polly Cuthbertson, Bob Currier, Mulford Sibley, J. Holmes Smith, Thomas Leonard, Jim Bristol, Henry W. Maier, John Swomley, Charlotte Bentley, Abe Kaufman, Ted Paullin, Harrop Freeman, Connie Muste, Albert E. Watson, Joe Felmet, Bob Heglen, Scott Nearing, Marion Coddington, Marjie Carpenter, Walter W. Sikes, Ernest Bromley, Eleanor Bromley, Glenn Mallison, James P. Alter, Margaret Ann Osborn, Betty Campbell, George Houser, Bill and Ada Wardlaw, Carl Viehe, Irving Beal, Harry Reith, Ralph Rudd, Max Kampelman, Dan West, Morris Milgram, Paul Proctor, Jean Houser, Henry Babcock, Victor Cate, Shizu Asahi, Prentiss Thomas, Warren Nelson, A. J. Muste, Doris Grotewohl.

General Philosophy. Religious pacifism is revolutionary in three respects. It recognizes the need of an inner revolution, the recreation of the human being; of a revolution also in the social order so that the will of God may be done on earth; and of a revolution in method by the renunciation of war and all organized violence.

(a) The religious basis for action is for us fundamental. Action for transforming the social order can be effective only if done in joy and gladness and without fear; such action is possible only for those who have constantly the experience of unity with God and their fellows. Men who are autocrats and lovers of power, and who know no peace in their own hearts, cannot and will not work effectively for a brotherly and warless world. In ourselves, furthermore, we are corrupt and helpless. We begin any work and every day with a recognition of our profound need for deepening the spiritual life and building up inner reserves if action is to bear fruit. Organizations and institutions need likewise to be on guard against ambition, love of power, and self-centeredness.

(b) We believe that we must work in the actual social situations of our time, seeking to remove conditions which hinder and enslave individuals and groups, working with those who suffer exploitation, injustice, and cruelty in their efforts to achieve justice and freedom; and that we can do this effectively in the degree that we enter into the spirit of humility, selflessness, and unity with God and our fellows referred to above.

(c) Since we believe that evil and violence cannot overcome evil and violence and on the other hand that positive social efforts to remove evil conditions need to be made, it is our responsibility and aim to work out non-violent methods applied in the spirit of non-violence and love. Such convictions as these grow out of our study of the life and teachings of Jesus and the "Way of the Cross" and also of the prophets of the Old Testament and such conceptions as that of "The Suffering Servant of Jehovah." The Gandhian Non-Violent Action strategy and techniques furnish the best current example of the effort to develop non-violence into an effective revolutionary instrument in a large-scale social and political situation. We do not, of course, suggest a mechanical or slavish copying but an imaginative and creative adaptation of the Gandhian method in conflict situations of various kinds in the United States.

There was discussion of the question what is the distinctive mark of pacifism since pacifists seem to share many objectives with non-pacifists in radical groups or in the churches for example. It was agreed that the rejection of war and violence and participation in them--that is, non-violence as a method--was distinctive of pacifism. But most agreed that this is not a complete statement. Adherence under all circumstances to non-violence itself grows out of basic convictions as to the nature of life; and since the means determine the end, non-violence as a means has a bearing on the kind of economic and political orders which pacifists seek and regard as compatible with basic pacifist convictions.

The basic element in the pacifist faith may perhaps be described as the conviction that community or brotherhood is fundamental; a conviction as to the unity of all life. From the community no one is ever excluded. The neighbor remains "the other self" whom therefore we cannot hate or do violence to. Since love or community is thus an essential characteristic of reality, we believe that ultimately there will be a response to it, if the attitude of love is maintained to the end and at every cost.

The question was raised as to whether we would retain faith in non-violence if it never achieved results or if it were proved that war did produce good results. It seemed agreed that we could not be indifferent to the social results of our actions. But the result of an action is not something in the future, mechanically divorced from the means employed. If we use the means of brotherhood, community is now being maintained and built; that is, the values we seek are being achieved, and the future result will be of the same character, though this may not appear at once. For a hypothetical future value we do not break community, that is, sacrifice the supreme value now.

I will continue this report on the conference in my next letter. Our love and affection to you all.

Sincerely,

John M. Swomley, Jr.

John M. Swomley, Jr.

JMS:MVC

October 26, 1944

TO: Mr. Francis B. Hall
P.M.B. #2608
Ashland, Kentucky

FROM: John M. Swomley, Jr.
2929 Broadway
New York 25, N. Y.

Dear Fran:

Many thanks for your letter. I am sorry to hear that the Parole Judge is willing to accept applicants for hospitals only. Of course this seems to be in violation of the whole spirit of the parole arrangements, but I reckon public officials do not always feel it important to follow the spirit of the law. Others who do are very often people who do so because they are broad-minded and have courage enough to follow their convictions.

I realize all you have been through when you mention that this is the fourth anniversary of registration. A good bit of that time you have actually been in prison. You may be sure of our prayers and hope that this experience will leave you stronger in every way.

I, too, have shared your doubts about the strength of democracy as the war goes on. In some respects this election year is seeing a more vigorous campaign than the last. However, in many respects there is no essential difference between the programs of the two major Party candidates. Dewey, for example, almost always reechoes the President's foreign policy proposals, as if somehow that will prove his patriotism.

Margaret Rohrer, our Rocky Mountain secretary, had resigned to go to work for the AFSC in California on the matter of resettlement of Japanese-Americans. We were in the process of looking up a successor, but just today received word from her that she has decided to stay. All of us rejoice at this.

You have probably been reading in the newspapers about the Dumbarton Oaks plan, or as some call it, the "Dumbarton Hoax". Raymond Wilson in his Friends Newsletter raises some very interesting questions about the plan, which I am listing in case you and any of the others want to discuss these questions: 1. To what extent is the new organization focused on "keeping the peace" rather than creating conditions where peace has a chance? 2. How far does the name and the character of the organization carry the psychology of war into the organization of peace? 3. Is it necessary for the United Nations to rest the maintenance of peace upon prodigious military forces, and why is there no categorical promise, as in the Atlantic Charter, for lifting the crushing burden of armaments? 4. Is it wise to trust so much concentrated power in the Big Four or Five, and what more could be done to resolve the struggle for power as among and between them?

I have just spent some very interesting days in Virginia speaking and lecturing in Brethren churches on race and on peace. This grew out of my experience in camp Bethel, their summer camp, which as you may have heard, was closed in the middle of the week because of race reasons. I am now back at the office for what I hope is at least several weeks' work before going to Washington to see if there is anything I can do on this matter of permanent conscription.

You will be interested in an announcement from Indusco, Inc. which came to you here at the office. It was held Monday, Oct. 23, at Hotel Shelton - the sixth anniversary dinner of the Chinese Industrial Cooperatives.

The following is a continuation of the minutes from the Study Conference:

The question of inner motive versus outward action must be resolved in somewhat the same way. Men must be judged by what they do; but just as means and ends cannot be divorced, then so the inner source of action will determine the nature of action; from a pure inner spring pure results will flow. Here again the unity of the organic nature of life is fundamental in our philosophy.

Outlook for Modern Civilization and the Pacifist Movement. The opinion was expressed that Western society is in process of rapid disintegration. We are moving into a period of increasing resort to violence. Pacifists will be relentlessly persecuted, reduced to a very small minority. All we can do is to keep the concept of non-violence before people, but we must not expect to acquire influence in unions, etc. or to achieve any immediate political results.

Attention was called to the fact that from 1648 on a great struggle for dividing up of the world occurred, such as is taking place now. Certain pacifist sects and forces emerged. There is no evidence that such sects achieved a mass following. Pacifist groups emerge in such periods of intense violence but are only tiny sects, affecting the masses not at all.

On the other hand, such items as the following were mentioned. It is unscientific to assume that what has happened in other historic periods must necessarily be repeated now. The psychological attitude of the masses toward war is different now from what it was in the last war. They fight but not with enthusiasm and conviction. This attitude of being "fed up" with violence is characteristic of periods when a civilization is disintegrating. Non-violent groups, in particular the early Christians and the Buddhists, have had immense effects. There is an increased acceptance of the non-violent approach in education, treatment of the mentally ill, etc. Non-violent methods have proved effective in the occupied countries. The emergence of a world figure such as Gandhi committed to non-violence may be highly significant. Non-violence has recently been used in Latin-American countries. The labor movement itself has to a considerable extent used non-violent methods.

There seemed to be agreement that in any case the future will not be one of easy growth for pacifism. The first emphasis is on winning individuals. However, whether or not we expect to exert great influence in their organizations, we must cease to be exclusively middle class and go to workers, farmers, Negroes, and other minority groups. Those who are members of organizations or who have influence in them are in any case bound to try to win those organizations to the rejection of war and violence.

Furthermore, it is only in action that we shall actually be able to develop a philosophy and strategy of non-violence. Only by action and not talk can we teach pacifism to others and only thus can we gain the confidence of the masses, so that they may know to whom to turn when they become convinced that non-violence must at least be tried.

Coercion, Non-Resistance versus Non-Violent Direct Action. The reader is referred to Ted Paullin's pamphlet, Introduction to Non-Violence, for an analysis of various kinds of "non-violence." There is a difference of emphasis, or perhaps an even more fundamental difference, as to whether any pressure method can be reconciled with the ethic of love. The question was raised for example whether minority groups could work for their own rights without violating that ethic. The danger of selfishness, hate and violence arising, even when at the outset non-violent means were used, was pointed out.

I will continue this in my next letter. We send all our best wishes to you.

Sincerely,

John M. Swomley, Jr.

John M. Swomley, Jr.

JMS:MVC

so constantly and strenuously, and his burdens are so heavy and many, that I feared for his health. But thank God he seems much better today and the laryngitis which has been lingering has cleared up. He gives so unbegrudgingly and completely unselfishly of every bit of his time and energy that I constantly marvel at his ability to withstand the load. Perhaps it is because of his ~~ability~~ self-lessness that he can do so much. He has had great faith in you, Bayard, as you must know ~~xxxx~~ by now. I hope and pray that you will give him cause to re-affirm that faith through the real you.

Write us soon about the items above. Greetings from all of us.

Doris.

Greensboro, N.C.
11/7/44.

Dear Bayard:

Your letters, forwarded by Doris, reached me here yesterday. I don't know whether you are aware that I'm making a tour primarily among Negro colleges. Was at Virginia Union in Richmond and Va. State in Petersburg. Here at A + T yesterday for chapel and 2 classes and at Bennett this afn. for " " " " . The best time I've had yet came at Bennett this afn. where a couple very alert girls after I'd read my rap about a positive, aggressive program to end Jim Crow, challenged me and said you couldn't break the pattern down here. It gave me a chance to clarify for myself and elaborate the thesis that we shall arrive at Fascism in U.S. in 25 years or at true Democracy — and the whole area of life will in either case be affected. On the one hand, you will have reactionary, monopoly economics, (labor licked) militarization, renewed race pattern with negroes + Jews as scape goats,

and World War III. On the other hand, socialization, (labor "arriving") demilitarization, race brotherhood, abolition of war. If we have any one in either list, we'll get the rest. But e.g. if labor "arrives", labor will be interracial and you will have racial democracy —

NOV 9 - 1944

Receiving your letters was a great relief to my spirit. Doris may have written you that I had a siege of laryngitis — no voice etc. — after the trip to Lunisburg. But for that I might have written you. However, I waited also, in part, because I was eager to hear from you first. As the letter was delayed, I experienced much anguish, knowing the hard and bitter experience through which you were passing, knowing how great and numerous are our weaknesses, and how deceitful the human heart is, so that there are indeed many ways in which we can deceive ourselves. Your letters are greatly reassuring. You are on the right path. Look humbly to God for grace to persevere in it. Accept eagerly the opportunity for simple ministrations to human beings which will arise. You know now by your own experience how behind the masks they wore people are weak and distraught

and lonely and trying to express that of God in them. O, let love for them and for God purge you of all but the good.

I have begun reading The Cloud of Unknowing for my own devotions. The Cloud of Unknowing is the darkness, the void, the absence of things, which we feel when we are learning to meditate and pray and in this connection the author uses a to me helpful expression: "At the first time when thou dost it, thou findest but a darkness, and as it were a cloud of unknowing, thou knowest not what, saving that thou feelest in thy will a naked intent unto God." Again he says: "Lift up thy heart unto God with a meek stirring of love; and mean himself and none of his goods."

While I think of it, I shall be only too glad to see that any such item as postage for the things — musical theory etc. — which Bob Currier get you is provided.

At Lunisburg hunger strikes are off but work strikes still on. Though time did not permit detailed discussion of FOR problems, I am

serve the feeling there is better than it was.

I am distressed beyond words that Francis parole did not come through.

Have you written Helen? I know she will be eager to hear from you and it will do you good to write.

I go from here to the "next" schools at Atlanta — thence to Talladega, Tuskegee, Fisk.

NOV 15 1944

My greetings to all friends at Ashland and steadfast affection for you. Write often.

In fellowship,

A. J.

A. J. Muste
2929 Broadway
New York

Bayard Rustin
PMB 2905
Ashland, Kentucky

2929 Broadway
New York 25, N.Y.
November 9, 1944

Dear Bayard:

AJ did receive the long letter you wrote him shortly after he was there. It meant much to both of us, as I know the writing of it did to you. The letter in answer to my questions also came--just yesterday. No, it was Monday but I was ill then and because of the holiday Tuesday I didn't get to it until Wednesday. Thanks so much for taking care of all the matters so promptly. Sorry about the mandolin strings. If I can find a real set I'll send them on. I can get a wire set if you should want that.

We are especially appreciative of the suggestions for a greeting card to men in CPS and prison. Please let Alex and Larry know that we received the suggestions and like them all. The few of us who have seen the material like the message of the poem particularly. Connie (who is working full time here now) typed out the poem and set it up in the line and star design. It looks good. We are sending it on, along with the other suggestions, to AJ who is in the South on a speaking trip. I like the other two also. I think the Gara one with the Maritain quotation might be quite useful--but particularly on something other than a Christmas greeting.

AJ is having a good time on this trip. His audiences are chiefly Negro colleges, as I may have told you. His first visit to Tuskegee and Talladaga and Virginia State. He's being invited to classes, too, where apparently he is having a very good time!

A little bit of news. Jack Dixon is now in Chicago, working in a hospital I believe. Bronson's transfer to Ohio fell through and they are still at Olney. Paul Johnson (remember Jean who worked in our office awhile) has been paroled to the A.F.S.C. in Seattle. Al may get back to New York within the next few months. What doing we don't yet know, but we have some faint hope of luck coming our way. I think that is too optimistic, though. Milt Kramer has been having a most difficult time along with Roger Axford and others. Ugly anti-semitism raised its head, and complicated an already complicated situation. The immediate difficulties, creating danger to health, have been resolved apparently. The basic charge against Milt remains, I gather, and may determine his stay.

F.O.R. is sharing in an important conference on conscription to be held in Washington on the 16-17. The threat of permanent conscription continues to loom and with the reconvening of Congress we should be prepared for anything.

And so we go on. Sometimes lost in the muddle of the multitudes; sometimes alone in the midst of them; sometimes completely with them, while sitting on the corner of a cloud. But always knowing that of it we are a part. Life is good.

Blessings on all of you.

Affectionately,

Doris.
Doris Grotewohl

ATLANTAN HOTEL
CONE AND LUCKIE STREETS

DOWNTOWN

UPTOWN

COX-CARLTON
683 PEACHTREE STREET

J. Will Yon OPERATOR

Written from
THE ATLANTAN HOTEL
CONE AND LUCKIE STREETS
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

11/20/4X

Dear Bayard:

I am all alone in the home of Claud Nelson Jr. and his young wife. They have gone off to their respective jobs. Claud is in the Sports Dep. of the Atlanta Journal and his wife in the Alumnae office of Agnes Scott College. It is a lovely autumn day. Out of the window to my right I look out on the Emory U. campus. I hope to get out soon to drink in some light and warmth from the sun and the trees.

I have been reading some pages from The Cloud Of Unknowing. I think I mentioned in an earlier letter that I was using it in my devotions. In the section I read this morning the author speaks of the first of what he regards as the two supreme virtues, viz. meekness; the other being charity. "Meekness in itself is naught else but a true knowing

and feeling of a man's self as he is. .. Therefore toil and sweat in all that thou canst, for to get thee a true meaning and a feeling of thyself as thou art; and then I know that, soon after that thou shalt have a true meaning and a feeling of God as he is."

NOV 14 1964
NY Public Library

I think that last is a very accurate and meaningful observation. When once we face ourselves, do not pretend or evade, our fears leave us and it has somehow also a cleansing effect so that we feel God as real. I suppose we cannot afford to let God into our lives so long as we have not faced ourselves, still have that mixture of impurity in us which is there when we are trying to protect and defend our egos, rather than just being our true selves.

"Therefore, travail busily about perfect meekness; for the condition of it is such, that whoso hath it and while he hath it, he shall not sin; nor yet much after." Beautifully said?

The constant emphasis in this book is on love as an intent of the will directed first of all to God. Here too is much needed spiritual di-

J. Will Yon OPERATOR

Written from
THE ATLANTAN HOTEL
CONE AND LUCKIE STREETS
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

rection. If we truly love another, love God in him and him in God, then we are rid of obsessions with our own selves, our own demands. We cannot think of him or her as the means to gratify our pride or lust or desire for domination. At the same time we shall not be tempted to appease the lower in the human being we love as we so often are tempted. It will be possible for us to be honest and in a sense hard with him when that is essential in order that he may truly live.

I think I wrote you that I was emphasizing Negro contacts on this trip. I spoke at A & T. and also at Bennett in Greensboro — chapel and 2 classes in each. Yesterday here I spoke on permanent consecription in Spelman and Morehouse chapels and on race and the Negro churches in

Gammon; and then at an F O R meeting in Gammon last night again — on Dumbarton Oaks or Dumbarton Hoop. Tomorrow I go on to Talladega where I preach Sunday A. M. and Tuskegee Hospital Sunday P. M.

NOV 14

I felt the impulse to share this early part of the day with you. My ~~thought~~ and love and prayer are with you and with other friends at Oakland.

In fellowship —

A. J.

A. J. Mutabe

2929 Broadway
New York 25, N.Y.
November 27, 1944

Dear Bayard -

It's been ages since I wrote - to you or anyone else! I'm getting to be a wonderful procrastinator. Among the more than enough diversions lately has been a visit from a couple Toronto F.O.R. fellows who showed us about in Toronto this summer. They are now at Pendle Hill with 13 others with the Canadian Friends Ambulance Unit - headed for China. They're really going, too; everything is set for it.

Another time-absorbing thing has been preparation for a recital tomorrow night, sponsored by WRL & FOR, ~~in~~ with cooperation ~~with~~ of S.P, WIL and Prison Comm. of Friends Mtg. Performers are Joe Goodman - pianist, and Arlo Tatum, baritone + parolee. Benefits go to prison work of FOR + WRL. We had our final committee meeting Friday night & feel optimistic about clearing at least $200. - I hope! It's to be held in the parish house of Community Church.

Had dinner with Franny + Wally last Wednesday. Love them both more every time I see them. Franny is pure gold. Peter is adorable, too. Can't decide whether it's ma or pa he's going to look like - but that matters not. He's a real boy.

Davies said he wrote you to wire us in case of need for a home visit if your grandfather becomes ill again. Please do - and we'll wire the money promptly. We trust the occasion won't arise, however. It would be so joyous if he could live until you are free again.

Wonderful to see Charles Friday. He and Agnes came to the Office - Agnes bubbling over with happiness of course. They were married this afternoon - A.J. performing the ceremony.

On may way to bed - 9.00 p.m.! Sending this to the mail box with a departing guest. Greetings from all -

Love,

Doris.

NOV 28

Number 1

December 3, 1944
8 30 p.m.

Dearest Bayard:

If my printing goes askew it's 'cause I'm writing this in bed, where I've been off + on since Friday afternoon, trying to shake a cold. Grr-r-r. It makes me mad. Being sick is such a waste of time.

First news is that at the recital last Monday night, for the benefit of C.O.s. in prison, (WRL + FOR) we cleared between $350 + 400. It rained hard that night, too, so we were delighted to have a turnout of several hundred people. Joe Goodman played well and Arlo Tatum did a good job, too. They gave a recital in New Haven on Wed. night, for the N.C.C.O., and raised about $175.00. We should — and shall — make more use of the technique.

On Tuesday Marion Coddington spied a wedding ring on Shizu's finger. The rascals — Paul Proctor + Shizu Asahi — got married Thanksgiving Day, came to work on Friday — and none of us knew anything of it until five days later. When Marion discovered it, we gathered the clan together in the front office about 4 00 p.m and had a celebration party. Nevin was in high form; Sonny Ad was out of the office. Next Sunday night Marion is having a "wassail bowl" party for them.

Al's status still uncertain, but we look for a family re-union in N.Y. by Christmas. Probably the Baptist Board

will get him.

Have had no news of Milt recently, so can do no clarifying on further developments. One of the causes of unrest was due to his protest over segregation of blood, which protest he made via letter handed directly to the Red Cross physician. This action, plus later reported insolence and insulting manner, plus reported ungranted leaves from work, all piled up against him. I think we know much too little about it to pass judgment at all, but the year's penalty seems unduly stiff in any case.

National Council meetings are Friday and Saturday. I shall miss you — Having Ad on one side and you on the other had become part of the institution of Natl. Council!

Your letters have been good and cheering to us. I know you won't fail us — and pray that we shan't fail you.

Love,

Doris

DEC 6 ... NUMBER A

Doris Grotewohl

2929 Broadway
New York 25, N.Y.
December 19, 1944

Bayard Rustin
P.M.B. 2905
Ashland, Kentucky

Dear Bayard:

Forgot so many items in my note to you last night that I shall send along this p.s. to it.

First, I hope the greeting from the F.O.R. office staff has reached you all by this time. Recognize your good work? I think it turned out very well. Frank Wallace, an FOR member who is working part time here in the office and who is an artist, added the lines. Irene did all most all the technical work of layout and arrangement.

Bob Horton asked me to tell you that a Mrs. Mack who has a son at Big Flats will be dropping you and the other boys a card.

Bob and Betty Dodds of Buffalo, New York send you greetings--"We've thought of you so much, Bayard, and send you all our support and interest. Remember our invitation is always good, whenever you can use it." Bob is working at Neighborhood House and preaching on Sundays in a Unitarian Church in Dunkirk; Betty writes up theatre news for the Buffalo News, ~~adnw~~ and writing book reviews.

This isn't as voluminous as I thought it would be. Other items seems to have been taken care of. So I'll get back to work.

Love,

Doris

Doris Grotewohl

2929 Broadway
New York 25, N. Y.
December 20, 1944

Mr. Bayard Rustin
P M B 2905
Ashland, Kentucky

Dear Bayard:

Sometime ago Bolton Davidheiser told me that he would like to send you a copy of his adaptation of Laurence Housman's St. Francis of Assisi's plays and also a little collection of poems which he had made with you specially in mind. Under separate cover in care of the Warden, I am sending you these two pieces of literature. I trust that they may reach you, if not by Christmas, then at least before the first of the year.

I am at the moment in the midst of a tremendous amount of detail which always accumulates at the end of the year and so this letter will be a very brief one. I have had a chance just to glance through the letter you wrote Doris immediately after my visit to Ashland last week. Needless to say, I am greatly interested in the fact that you decided to go back into population. I pray that your spirit may be composed and pure and filled with true love for all men as you enter upon this new experience.

My visits with you last week comforted me greatly. To you and all the friends at Ashland a blessed Christmas.

Yours in fellowship,

A. J. M.

A. J. Muste

2929 Broadway
New York 25, New York
December 21, 1944

Mr. Bayard Rustin
P M B 2905
Ashland, Kentucky

Dear Bayard:

There is one matter that I neglected to mention in my letter of yesterday and I greatly regret that. You remember we talked about the watch which one of our friends wants to give you. I spoke to Mr. Breland about it just before leaving Ashland the other day. He stated that the routine procedure in such a matter was for you to indicate to Captain Watson, I think that was the individual he mentioned, that one of your correspondents desired to give you this Christmas present. Mr. Breland thought that if it were an inexpensive watch and thus within the prescribed limits, his permission would be granted. You could then inform your friend accordingly. I shall report to the latter that this is the situation and that I have been delayed in writing you about it.

Last evening Anne and Connie and I were going over the Christmas cards we were getting. We were especially grateful for the one from you and other friends at Ashland. Please say so to the others.

This must be all for this time. With warm greetings and constant faith, I am

Yours in Fellowship,

A.J.

A. J. Muste

AJM*SA

P.S. I gather from Davis that you may already have done the above. If so, so much the better.

Christmas Day 1944.

DEC 27 1944

DEC 27 1944

Dear Bayard:

Anne, Connie, John and I have just finished our breakfast which was preceded by the ceremony of opening our presents. A little later Nancy and Jack Baker and young Johnny Baker and his 13-day old brother Richard will be coming in, so all of us will be together for X-mas dinner. (Nancy says Richard looks like Johnny Woodchuck at this stage). I want you to know that we are thinking of you and wish you could be with us. Our thoughts go out to the comrades who are with you in Ashland and to all of them in all the Federal institutions.

During the past couple of days, partly by way of relaxation, I have been reading Aldous Huxley's Time Must Have A Stop. I think this is the first novel of his I have read. My novel reading is very much limited anyway because I get so completely absorbed in the story and/or one or more

of the characters that I can hardly keep from reading on and on — to the exhaustion of both eyes and emotions. This I regard as a very great book — effective as a story and also as conveying the idea of God and the life of the spirit in a way that the modern sophisticate — who in Huxley's ~~phrase~~ has been rendered "God-~~proof~~ proof" — can understand and be drawn toward.

Toward the close of the book young Sebastian quotes a saying of old Bruno, his mentor in spiritual things: "Remorse is pride's vanity for repentance, the ego's excuse for not accepting God's forgiveness. The proud man prefers self-reproach, (<u>bravely painful</u>) for the reproached self isn't abandoned: it remains intact." Then he recalls the circumstances under which these words were spoken — his almost hysterical desire to make some kind of dramatic expiation ... if he could submit to some great pain or humiliation, if he could undertake some heroic course of action! Bruno had answered:

"You're ~~not~~ from a Circ... Not even Florence Nightingale. ... You'd be inefficient .. and your heroic attempt would be a great deal of harm, because you'd be so <u>bravely</u> and resentful that you'd come to loathe the <u>very thought of God</u>. Besides, you'd seem so noble

and pathetic, on top of your good looks, that all the women within range would be after you . . -- as mothers, as mistresses, as disciples - every one. And of course you wouldn't resist, would you! -- Don't try to act some-body else's part. Find out how to become your inner not-self in God while remaining your outer self in the world".

A little later Bruno said: "Performing miracles in a crisis - so much easier than living God selflessly every moment of every day! which is why most crises arise - because people find it so hard to behave properly at ordinary times."

There are magnificent passages about war in the book. But my time is running out.

Have gotten a new volume of Charles Péguy - translated - about which I must tell you some time. In most of his poems God speaks and it's marvellous - deep and honest and funny.

In fellowship,

A. J.

FOR
2929 Broadway
New York

Dear Bayard:

Your letter of a few days ago in which you ~~wrote about~~ going back to work was a source of deep joy to me. I now have yours of Nov. 27 and I am grateful for your comment on several points. I agree also that many aspects must be left for discussion on my next visit. That will certainly be before the holidays unless something entirely unforeseen develops.

We are passing through very busy times. There is a Council meeting on Dec. 8-9 at which the NSBRO issue comes up again. The poll of CPS ~~prison~~ men runs 65% for withdrawal 35% for remaining in. I know that such persons as Nevin & A. Swift are deeply impressed, agree that the poll is truly representative — over 400 votes in. I am quite sure they feel ~~that the~~ there is in the circumstances no moral ground left for remaining in and I think they will try hard to keep any leading members from bolting if we withdraw. If this turns out to be the case, I feel

it will be a vindication of our patience. — Work against peacetime conscription piles up. Today a four hour staff session on budget with ~~not~~ more to come. — G F S C sessions here in N.Y. to-morrow and Sat. — And so on. And I have never succeeded in getting back my reserve strength after my laryngitis six weeks ago, so that while I am turning out nearly as much work as usual I am exhausted at the end of the day.

John Muste will be so "sot up" over the fact that you noticed the account in the Boston Globe! He really seems to be playing well and it was very close to his heart — I mean the desire to make the team etc.

I am enclosing as part of this personal message the profound and lonely comment on pacifism and art from a recent issue of Politics. I don't know who this Bernard Lemann is. Do you?

Doris and the Musteses join in sending love. See you soon.

Devotedly,

A. J.

11/30/44

BAYARD RUSTIN - CORRESPONDENCE 1945

6/7

424 West 119th Street
New York City 27
9 January 1945 (14)

Dear Bayard,

Annette has told me of what was by far the nicest Christmas present she got this year: being told by the quiet, kindly Irish woman who runs the elevator where she works, "I thought

of you at Mass on Christmas Eve."

How important is every word and every casual gesture, when a single sentence like this can be counted valuable beyond price!

What immense possibilities we possess, if we can and will make use of them!

Your friend & brother,
Davis Platt.

JAN 23 1945
Library

Bayard Rustin
PMB 2905
Ashland, Kentucky

Dear Bayard:

The other day I sent off a letter to you without reading it myself. I was away for a couple of days and Marion Coddington, who is taking Doris's place, sent it along. Now I have your letter of July 13th. You have probably learned that a week ago I had a long talk with Davis. He may have communicated some of my thinking to you. I have not seen him since, so I do not know just what course he finally decided to take, and perhaps he hasn't made up his mind himself.

It may well be that so far as you and I are concerned, we cannot come to a satisfactory understanding until we have had a long personal talk. I shall keep that in mind. I am not sure that you are as yet ready for that talk. Of course, if a situation were to arise where you felt that you needed an immediate opportunity to go over things, I would do everything in my power to come. However, my schedule from now until pretty well into the fall is already crowded. I am going to Canada on the 25th, to be gone nearly three weeks. I am going to Toronto for a couple of days to conduct a seminar for our Canadian FOR folk, and from there I go to the far western end of the Province of Alberta, to teach at a school of religion run by some left wingers in the United Church of Canada. I hope to get in a good deal of writing as well as a big pile of the usual administrative and pastoral work between the middle of August and the end of September. Then I cover in turn a series of FOR regional conferences--Nashville, Denver, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Seattle. It will be well after the first of November before I can get back here, and then comes the 30th anniversary of the American FOR on November 11th and 12th, a semi-annual council meeting the week following, etc., etc.

Doris's address is c/o Walter Muelder, 1215 West Gage Ave., Los Angeles 44, Cal. Of course, if you write her here, the letter will be promptly forwarded to her.

With respect to the personal situation, what you have written in your letter of July 13th leaves me questioning and somewhat anxious. It seems to me that you may still be making explanations rather than facing decisions. It does not seem to me that you have to know in advance whether 3 would mean total abstinence or not. You cannot know absolutely in advance whether a certain refusal to obey the conscription act is going to mean jail or not; and in a sense the question of whether it is going to mean that is irrelevant. The question is whether you are going to conform to the

conscription act or not. That may mean "hating father, mother, wife, child and your own life also." It may mean plucking out the right eye that offends you. All that is secondary. The moral decision is primary. Grace and strength to carry it out will come once the decision is made. They never will come if that kind of decision is made dependent upon what the consequences will be. It seems to me much the same thing is true of the decision you now confront.

In hope and love,

A.J.

A. J. Muste

AJM.IC

Mr. Bayard Rustin
PMB 2905
Ashland, Kentucky

Dear Bayard:

I received your letter of July 6th promptly. It was good to hear from you. William Bell's comment in reference to Jim's proposal was certainly interesting. I hope that before very long I may have an opportunity for a good talk with Bell, so that I may have a first-hand impression as to whether he would be likely to act consistently and positively in line with the ideas he expressed in the letter.

Yes, it is a fact that about the middle of September Jim will sever his connection with the FOR staff, except that we expect to make quite a bit of use of him if he is available, for speaking and conference work. I keep forgetting that you don't get Executive Committee and Council minutes and that there are things of that kind that get by unless I write about them personally. Jim and I talked the matter through a couple of months or more ago. It was the same old story of his doing good work when he made speeches, but no organization work whatever, and always being a month and often two months behind with material for Equality. Then, too, he is getting married and would need more money in order to be able to get by decently; at any rate the FOR wouldn't feel right about not seeing to it that he got more. We could not convince ourselves, however, that we were really warranted, in view of the limited character of the work Jim was willing to do, in paying him more than he was getting. As I indicated a moment ago, Jim and I talked the thing through and we came to the conclusion that the best thing all round was for him not to continue as a race relations secretary but to be available for specific jobs and to be paid for them. This means that we are looking around for a race relations secretary, but so far we do not have a good prospect in mind. If you have any ideas, be sure to let us know.

In a letter she sent from Los Angeles, Doris said that you had been asking about a dramatic demonstration the FEPC people planned in the event of a real crisis over that issue. I don't know of any such plan and I doubt whether there is one. As this is being dictated, it looks as though the situation in Congress were coming to a head. The Senate proposal to vote FEPC for the coming year about half or less of what the organization needs as a minimum, with the proviso that it is going out of business on July 1, 1946, seems about to be adopted as a compromise.

I suppose this does leave open the possibility that the progressive forces may rally during the coming year in order to reverse the situation next summer. All

things considered, it is fairly significant that the reactionaries were not able to get away with their plan to kill off FEPC promptly and completely.

I suppose the next year will see a heightening of the tension in the race field, and we shall then learn whether this will mean that the progressives insist that positive and creative measures must be taken or whether they permit the reactionaries to triumph and precipitate a genuine crisis.

Some of the men at Ashland, Doris wrote, want to know where Don Herfkerd is. I will try to find out and if I do, will let you know.

I am enclosing herewith a rather lengthy quotation from Rosa Luxemburg, which contains some exceedingly penetrating observations on a number of problems in which we are interested. I trust that there will be no difficulty about your getting it as a part of this letter. The other day in a volume published by some Canadians a number of years ago and entitled "Towards the Christian Revolution," I came across the following passage. I thought of you as I read it and wanted to share it with you. "God as Absolute comes to us in moral situations in life. His coming transforms the seeming relativity of our moral alternatives into a decisive parting of the ways. It brings man to the crisis, not of having to weight or judge, but of obeying, or with all the consequences before him, taking it upon himself to disobey God's righteous demands."

Take all time to think and pray about the contents of the letter I sent you some days ago. I shall, however, look forward eagerly to your response when you are ready to write about it.

Ever yours in fellowship,

A. J. Muste

A. J. Muste

AJM.IC
Enc.

2929 Broadway
New York, New York
January 16, 1945

Mr. Bayard Rustin
P M B 2905
Ashland, Ky.

JAN 19 1945

Dear Bayard:

It seems a long time since I have heard from you. Your letter of January 6 to Doris which got here on the 9th was therefore most welcome. I am sure that it must be a relief to have the tonsillectomy over; but under the circumstances your stay in the hospital probably was not exactly in the nature of an ordeal.

I noted what you said about the possibility of picketing the British Embassy in protest against British policy in Greece, etc. These developments in Europe are certainly exceedingly serious and we ought to do what we can in the circumstances. I am hoping in the next couple of days to get a pamphlet written exposing the whole situation and calling more vigorously than we have ever done before for an end to the slaughter which becomes daily more senseless.

As for some such action as you suggest, I doubt very much whether we can manage it at present. With a big percentage of our men in CPS or prison and for other reasons, there is a pretty serious shortage of personnel for activities of this kind. Furthermore, we are putting pretty much every ounce of energy we have into the fight against national service and peacetime conscription and it is probably right that this should continue.

The cooperation on this conscription issue of the pacifist organizations continues to be by far the most effective we have ever achieved. It is really encouraging. Altogether an immense amount of work has been done and the situation is now certainly such that it will not be possible for the administration to rush through compulsory conscription. We are on the point also of getting a pretty representative non-pacifist committee at work in Washington. It will of course also stimulate educational work against conscription throughout the country.

The latest developments in Washington are interesting and somewhat complicated. In his message to Congress Roosevelt said that we should have peacetime conscription and he would be sending another message to Congress on that subject. This is being interpreted as an attempt to do two or more things with one stroke. On the one hand, it announces to Stalin that we intend to maintain a big peacetime army and that is regarded by the administration as important for bargaining purposes with Russia. On the other hand, the announcement that a message on the subject is going to be forthcoming is also in effect a postponement of immediate action. This probably results in part from the fact that it is necessary to get the national service legislation out of the way first and this is a headache in itself. Partly also, the demand for postponement of action on peacetime conscription until after the war has reached such substantial proportions and has enlisted such important elements that it is impossible for the administration to ignore that aspect.

Glad to know that you got my Christmas letter. Let me know how things are going with you. Affectionate greetings from all the Muste's,

Yours in fellowship,

A.J.

A. J. Muste

2929 Binney
N.Y.C.
1/23/45

Dear Bayard:

I regret that so many days have passed since I've written you. It's somewhat too since I've heard from you. I hope there may be a letter on the way from you or that – at the very latest – I may find one when I get back to the office on Sat.

Last week I spent in Cleveland at the Fed. Council's Study Conf. on J. & D. Peace – the "2nd Delaware". It was quite an occasion and on the whole the most progressive church conference representing Am. Protestantism as a whole which has ever been held. It came clear – and unanimously against segregation – excellent statements on that. Also the most of Germany and Japan after the war. On the main issue – Dumbarton Oaks – it was better than I had hoped though far from satisfactory. Urged the churches to support D.O. "though we cannot approve it in its entirety and therefore will at the same time work for the following amendments –". But

they will support even if the amendments are not adopted. However, their criticisms of D.O. are so drastic and sweeping that they furnish the rest of us with all we need to oppose D.O.

Over the week-end Geo. Norman had a Race Inst. at Chen. I thought of you throughout and wished you were there. It was good. Yarbrough and Ray Wilkins both spoke and were good, I thought. Attendance at evening + Sunday aft. sessions from 150-200 - total no. of different persons probably 300.

Yesterday - Monday - I was in Chi., mainly for annual dinner Chi. - FOR - 200 out - good meeting. I am spending 2 days at home in Grand Rapids with my 87-year old and still going strong father. Then a meeting in Ann Arbor Thursday eve. and back in N.Y. Fri. evening.

Hope all goes well. My thoughts and prayers are with you.

In fellowship,

A.J.

JAN 1945

Greetings to all friends. Expect to see Charlie Batchelor + Jim McD in Ann Arbor.

January 23, 1945

Dear Bayard:

An unsought holiday has come my way - and I'm really sort of glad for it because I can write to you and some others from my perch in bed. About ten days ago my side began letting me know it was there. Last night a visit to the doctor confirmed the fact that I'm having a mild dose of appendicitis. But, damn it all, they probably won't have to come out now which means that hence on I'll wonder with every slight pain if I'm going to have to go to bed again! The office now carries hospitalization for us all, and also surgical coverage! See, you don't have to go to an FCI to get taken care of!

I've been seeing a bit of Lee Ellis lately. I think she's changed a lot since I first met her. She loves her dancing and takes her instruction very seriously. She's doing work under Graham now, which you may know. Lee says they get along - violently. I can see those two temperaments clashing through a glass! Saturday morning Lee went shopping with me because I was in the market for a fur coat. Lee got a new one in December - and we decided it was a good style for me. So - Saturday, She, Jerry and I went shopping - the result being

that at last I have a coat that may keep me from freezing through the winter. Wish you could see it.

A. J. is out of the city until Saturday. He attended the Federal Council's meeting in Cleveland first time I guess that the Fellowship has been given representation (I'm not too sure of that.). His reports on discussions there of Dumbarton Oaks sessions showed the cleavage of thinking. A resolution went through in a hurry supporting D.O., though making some recommendations. A minority brought the issue back on the floor again, suggesting amendments — and they were passed! A J and others of his faith there apparently left feeling pretty satisfied that progress had been made on that. I have a feeling that as a whole, though, A.J. felt discouraged by the meetings - you know, seeing how obviously the churches await leadership from the State Department. A J will no doubt write you his impressions himself.

I have to go to sleep now - but I shall be more faithful as a letter-writer. Furthermore, I'll do better than this rambling kind of note.

I'm so glad you had your tonsils removed. Were you a good patient?! Affectionately,
Your Huss greeting was the loveliest I rec'd. Doris

Doris Brotemarkle

JAN 1945
Number

Bayard Rustin

stood. But to our knowledge the plan continues to work well. That might be an effective solution to the situation where you are.

Wonderful meeting - at last very encouraging - last night of key people in all pacifist groups concerned about COs in prison. Bilinge (AFSC), Fred Biggs, NCCO, Osborne, NABRO, DeWitt, Wyckoff, Keith Macadam, Mullins, AFSC, Cornell, Evan, also a rep. from Fed Cal., C.J., Abe Kaufman, Prentiss Thomas for NAACP! The latter wanting of Chuckey. to know quite specifically how they might help. Net result of meeting was to indicate strong desire for NCCO to continue, to raise a much larger budget so there might be three people instead of one paid as workers. Enthusiasm is good. We're going to do some serious money-raising through events (like recitals) here in the fall.

Get the fellows here to do above.

My love,

Doris

Doris Grotewohl.

FEB 2 - 1945

2929 Broadway
New York 25, New York
February 2, 1945

Mr. Bayard Rustin
P M B 2905
Ashland, Kentucky

Dear Bayard:

I am sorry that a couple of days had to elapse before I could get round to writing you in response to yours of January 24 which we got on the 29th. First of all, I want to say how grateful Doris and I and the rest of us were for what you wrote in that letter about the developments in connection with Larry Gara's good time. I had heard something of the incident but you know how much it means to get exact details. Most of all, we rejoice in the spirit displayed by Fran, Bill, yourself, etc. From the moment I heard about the incident and your reaction to it, I said that it seemed to me the only thing you could do under the circumstances. It is good to know that there seems to be understanding of this at least among some of the officials of the institution.

I am sure that if the spirit which animates such actions is pure and honest and is the spirit of love, the situation is fundamentally altered. This may not always appear on the surface. Indeed we know that the most terrible opposition has sometimes arisen against those who were most deeply committed to the spirit of love. The crucifixion itself is sufficient evidence at that point. But the crucifixion is also evidence that even in the moment of conflict, the effect upon those involved depends upon the spirit which is finding expression and that in the long run it is upon this that redemptive effects depend.

In this connection you may have heard me refer in the past to a very remarkable statement which occurs in the Book of Acts in connection with an address of Stephen to the Jewish religious leaders. After he got through speaking to them on one occasion, the author goes on to say: "They were touched in their hearts and they gnashed on ~~them~~ him with their teeth". It was to a considerable extent just because they were so deeply touched in their hearts and therefore convicted of untruth that they gnashed on him with their teeth. But though they gnashed on ~~them~~ him with their teeth, and perhaps that was all there was to be seen at the moment, because of the spirit which animated Stephen, it was also ~~through~~ that that they were touched in their hearts. And it was the seed thus planted which bore such precious fruit for the Christian church in subsequent years.

Among other things, Paul, the man who became the most important figure in the whole Christian movement, was involved in that situation.

So I want you and all friends to know that my thought and prayers are with you. I hope that your witness may be pure and that it may be as effective as it is pure.

I had a little time with Charlie Butcher, Agnes Young and Jim McDaniel in Ann Arbor a week or so ago. They all seem to be well adjusted and Charlie and Agnes are evidently most happy. Jim is making a systematic effort to build up his weight and has already had some results. I had a good meeting in Ann Arbor -- about 100 in the evening at Lane Hall. At the close of the Federal Council Study Conference in Cleveland a couple of weeks ago I stayed over three days in George Houser's Race

FEB 2 - 1942

Relations Institute. About 300 different persons attended. At the meetings on Friday and Saturday evening and Sunday afternoon there was an attendance of 150 to 200 each with an exceptionally good percentage of Negroes and also a considerable number of nisei. Wish you could have been there.

I want to get this letter off without further delay, so I won't write any more now.

Ever yours in fellowship,

A. J.

A. J. Muste

2929 Broadway
New York 25, N.Y.
February 12, 1945

Bayard Rustin
P.M.B. 2905
Ashland, Kentucky

Dear Bayard:

Where to start after such a long silence is a problem. But since the delay has been caused by a series of personal ascendencies and descendencies I shall plunge therein. Since early December it seems that most waking moments--and moments that should have been sleeping, too--have been involved with the problems of Louise, your friend who lived with Debby Bennett Last year. Remember the night you, she and her friend, Jerry Disque, went to Cafe Society?

Well, Jerry moved to N.Y.C. in September to teach in a private school. He and Louise had been friends for three years or so, but there was nothing much more than that until this past fall when he came to the city and they began seeing quite a bit of each other. Early in December they decided that it was a match and became engaged. Louise was gloriously happy, and Jerry, too, it seemed. I spent a good deal of time trying to keep her down to earth--so she could get at least a little work done! Come Christmas they went to Jerry's home and told the family, all of which was quite satisfatorily accepted. Louise came back to N.Y. early and Jerry joined her on New Year's Eve, at the party at my house. Everything was still perfect and 1945 began with great hopes and joy. But apparently old man doubt had crept into Jerry which Louise began to suspect shortly after that, and thence began tensions between them, until neither one of them could continue. All during January they struggled, but the odds were against them. They were to have been married in June, with plans for the summer and next year pretty well made. Louise' morale has been at bottom, inspite of all our efforts to give her perspective. I think the spirit riseth, though. I've been reminding her of "But, oh, shipmates! on the starboard hand of every woe, there is a sure delight; and higher the top of that delight, than the bottom of the woe is deep." (I'm reading Moby Dick for a class in the Sociological Implications of Modern literature (!) at the New School.) Through watching her I've come to realize much more fully than ever before how completely one can accept something intellectually and yet be unready to accept it emotionally. Intellectual understanding and emotional acceptance are two different kids. The former no doubt facilitates the latter, and vice versa, but they are not inseparable. Prejudices of all kind to wit.

On top of that, Louise had to spend a week in bed at the end of January trying to get appendicitis, as she said. It's apparently a chronic appendix that was acting up. The doctor felt an operation unnecessary so Louise had to stay in bed with an ice pack. I spent a good bit of time with her, thus getting further behind on work and everything else--as you can imagine!

So now to other things. Your long letter to A.J. came this morning. Davis was in at noon so I have shared it with him. I think it's very good, and serves to answer some of my questions, also--which ran along the line of Davis's and which we had discussed a bit. Both of them will be writing you of that, I know, so I shall move on to adds and ends!

I've written to Bessie LeBon about the pitchpipe. Hope it comes through all right. Is Ralph Siegel still there? If you can send me his P.M.B. number we'll send him his FELLOWSHIP--which he hasn't been getting.

I think of you all so often. Take care. Goodby for now,

Doris

Doris Grotewohl

MAR 1 1945

that becomes difficult in such personal relationships, I know.

Lee was glad for the greetings you sent via Davis from Bill Hefner. She has been turning to me lately as a confidante. I wish so much I could talk with you and get your counsel. I pray that Lee may outgrow certain aspects of her way of life for I cannot see how to a person of her appearance and temperament it could ever bring anything but sorrow and the sort of hard, cruel side which comes forth~~er~~ in her occasionally. Not that I think the latter are necessarily a part of the former--far from it. But I think they are related for Lee, as part of her whole life history. And until she finds a more creative fulfillment of herself, which the dance will do in part but not completely, she will be wandering, restless and tormenting to herself and others. How help her overcome such basic fear as she has?

Of what else I'm thinking I'll be writing more often. How about coming up and seeing us sometime so we could talk instead of write? Ah, me!

Be good, my dear,

Love,

Doris

Doris Grotewohl

Peat-Bog Soldiers is attached. dg.

2929 Broadway
New York 25, New York
March 1, 1945

Mr. Bayard Rustin
P M B 2905
Ashland, Kentucky

Dear Bayard:

I am sorry a good many days have elapsed since your letter of February 8 came to hand. There have been a good many things, as you may surmise, to take up time including the situation at Germfask as well as the continued activity against peacetime conscription. The Germfask situation has a good many angles, some of them not too creditable to COs and the pacifist cause. On the whole, however, the Selective Service certainly shows up a great deal worse than the pacifists do. There are some who think that the "exposure" of the situation at Germfask is likely to work great injury to COs . Personally, I think they are alarmists and that one of our great difficulties in the present war has been that the treatment of COs and related subjects have been kept so assidously out of the press. Consequently, the administration and in particular Selective Service have been able to operate behind closed doors,as it were. Therefore, I am disposed to think that anything that brings the situation into the open will be to the good. It will give an opportunity to demonstrate the ineptness of much that has been done by the authorities and to call attention to the record that has been made by COs in spite of this.

Germfast

So far as the struggle against peacetime conscription is concerned, I think we have ~~almost~~ reason to feel satisfied with what we have accomplished and that this can be said almost without any reservations. The pacifist organizations in putting a joint staff to work in Washington some months ago showed a considerable measure of foresight and have been able to achieve a remarkable degree of cooperation. It is largely due to the work of the joint staff that the non-pacifist organizations have really got stirred up and active, at least on the issue of postponement. John Swomley, as all who are in touch with the situation gladly testify, has done a particularly swell job. He now gets out Conscription News which goes to a thousand or so active anti-conscription workers and also editors, etc., throughout the country and is as good a job of that sort as I have ever seen.

P.T.C

D.A.

Of course, Dumbarton Oaks-Crimea is another situation which has required a good deal of attention. Crimea linked up lip service to the Atlantic Charter with flagrant violations of the charter in the treatment of Poland, plans for Germany, etc; and then linked all this up with the Dumbarton Oaks security organization in such a way that to support Dumbarton Oaks now means to guarantee these unilateral, power politics decisions, which means in turn, that the United States pledges to implement its guarantee by using its armed forces, if necessary. It's the old business of linking up the League of Nations with the Versailles settlement. This seems as ~~plain~~ as a pikestaff; nevertheless, the proposals are getting pretty nearly unanimous support.

You will be interested to know that yesterday I went to a meeting of the Peace Section of the AFSC. It looked at the start of the meeting as though a plan which would have put two or three prominent Friends to work to effect minor~~ity~~ changes in Dumbarton Oaks

prior to the San Francisco Conference would go through. However, the meeting ended up with a unanimous conclusion that if any are to speak on behalf of the Service Committee or the Society of Friends they should do it on the basis of a straight out witness for Christian pacifism and an exposure of the meaning of Dumbarton Oaks-Crimea from that point of view.

Turning to the question in your letter of February 8 about those who refuse to cooperate with a system requesting or demanding "either rights or favors", the first thing that ought perhaps to be said is that a remark of mine may have influenced Davis' question or at least his formulation of it. I remember that I had gotten a message from Abruzzese's sister asking whether something could not be done about the permission to use his violin. I said to Davis that I could hardly see my way clear to taking the question up with the authorities; that what one could do by approaching them was in any case pretty limited and that it seemed better to save one's ammunition for what would seem to be more important occasions and issues. Then I made a remark to the effect that, of course, the whole prison system is wrong but if one takes an attitude of non-cooperation, one must certainly expect that difficulty will arise with regard to both rights and privileges and that it is a question how and how much one ought to protest when this happened. It is quite likely that I did not stress as strongly as I might have the initial assumption that the whole issue arises within a context that is fundamentally bad. Also, there wasn't time to go into the detailed discussion which would be necessary in order to present a rounded conception.

I don't see how a sounder analysis of the whole situation could be made than you, Fran, etc., have made and which you set forth admirably in your letter. Of course, your own analysis indicates the dilemma with which one is confronted in dealing with the problem. For example, we rightly ask that conditions be maintained which are conducive to mental health and spiritual growth, and in a sense the prison authorities are committed to doing just that for all of the inmates. But, as is so clearly demonstrated and so explicitly stated in Dr. Lindner's book Rebel Without a Cause, the prison system is actually calculated to do almost exactly the opposite for inmates and is certainly not except a very slight degree toward the positive achievement of mental health and spiritual growth. doing anything

Another aspect of the dilemma is well stated by you in telling about the problem of letting the men in segregation out into the corridor where they could be seen by other inmates. There isn't any true and complete solution for such problems except by way of revolutionizing the whole set-up. Therefore, we are perpetually confronted with the question as to whether we shall enter upon an extreme and dramatic form of non-cooperation which cannot possibly bear any immediate fruit but which may constitute a witness which contributes to the eventual revolution; or whether the fact that the underlying contradiction is going to remain for a good while is to be accepted and then imaginative and creative ways of dealing with concrete situations as they arise devised.

Your outline provides as good a basis for the latter as I can imagine. Even within the system, it seems to me there is no justification for subjecting men to conditions which do serious and perhaps permanent injury to eyesight. Personally, it seems to me also that depriving Abruzzese of the use of his violin cannot possibly achieve any end

of value for the prison authorities. It seems to me therefore to be a petty and senseless thing to do. Unquestionably, however, you have hit upon a basic criterion when you say that the issue was not pressed because Abruzzese is the sort of person who can make an adjustment to such a situation whereas if he had been a person in greater psychological need of this means of expression, you might have been compelled to make an issue of it.

There are one or two other items in the letter about which I want to comment later. Detailed requests, of course, have been taken care of.

I got deep joy out of your closing sentence about the "happy family", including yourself, Fran, Bill, etc. Give my affectionate greetings to them all. Many here join in these greetings and so do all the Muste's.

Yours in fellowship,

A. J.

A. J. Muste

AJM*SA

2929 Braadway
New York 25, N.Y.
March 8, 1945

Mr. Bayard Rustin
P.M.B. 2905
Ashland, Kentucky

Dear Bayard:

Hope the letter I sent last week containing words to the Peat Bog Soldiers reached you. I shall send along additional songs directly.

Larry is a grand addition. He's a good worker and about the only one around here--next to AJ--who gets to the office on time! But I had not expected a sandy-haired, lean young man--rather, I thought like his name he would be short, on the chubby side, and black-haired! Why, I don't know! Franny has been out of the city, visiting family in the middlewest and stopping to see Willa and Dal in Yellow Springs. She is back now, but the first time we can get together is a week from Saturday so Larry and I shall be having lunch with her and Wally--and Peter--that noon. We shall be thinking of you and St. Patrick, too.

Wasn't it a year ago today you left for Ashland? By musical time, measured, certain, it seems abbreviated. But by the sense of time, by one's relationship to outer events and one's own inner self, it feels like years. I wonder if for you it is that. I can imagine that in a sense it would be just the reverse. And yet when one is removed from others and events moving through Time that psychological sense of time may be greatly increased, more keenly felt. One's own magic mountain.

You and others will be interested to know that Gettier came up again in Richmond, Va., on March 2nd--or maybe the Friday before that. He had refused CPS again. He was sent to Petersburg where he is to be tried for C.R. violation.

It was wonderful to get news of you through Pearl Crist. I hope to have a longer talk with her very soon.

I guess I had slipped up on sending you the information you wanted about the summer direct action campaign plans. Rather than go into detail here I am enclosing as part of this letter an outline of the program. Since the preparation of this original outline George has met with the committee in Washington. The problem of organizational sponsorship, F.O.R. vs. C.O.R.E. vs. a variety of community organizations is one big question. George has a committee meeting on the 21st of this month followed by an n.v.d.a. comm. here in N.Y.C. so that more definite plans should be ready about that time. George has probably shared some of this information with Fran but if not, you, Fran and Bill might send on to us or to George through Fran your comments about it.

Going to the Ballet Russe tonight with Lee and a couple of ex-CPS'ers. I'm looking forward to it, for I've never gone to a ballet with anyone who knows much about dancing technically. The program includes Cappelia, Snow Maiden and Prince Igor.

3-10-45

Dear Bayard —

Great rejoicing in the Hoster family last night. Haven't seen "Al" yet but he was due to arrive home at 6:15! Dottie was so slap-happy when she called I couldn't get much information! But we think he's to be assigned to work here in the city —

Best to all,
Doris

MAR 12 1945

2929 Broadway

New York 25, New York
3/12/45

Bayard Rustin
P.M.B. 2905
Ashland, Kentucky

Dear Bayard:

Al looks wonderful--as though he's been in a health resort! The twenty added pounds cause him a little concern as he tries to wear his own suits, but no doubt Mt. Sinai Hospital will take off a little of that.

He will not be doing any writing for publication under his own name, but no doubt he will be helpful in many ways to us. He brought a considerable amount of material with him, including a good diary, a couple outlines for books, and story material!

Sometime ago George Houser asked me to get information from you about the taxi cab case in Baltimore. Did I ever write you about it? I do hope so, because George has written again: "Sometime ago I wrote a special letter to Bayard trying to get information on a taxi cab case. . .I also wrote to the warden to ask for the letter to go through. I received no reply from the warden. So I want to know whether Bayard is a slug for not writing...." or whether you didn't get the request. Perhaps you have already sent it through Fran.

Heard a delightful interracial story the other day--a true one. Abe Kaufman's young niece asked her mother if a colored person should marry a white one. The mother replied that she thought any two people should have the right to marry if they wish. The child: "I don't think they ought to." The mother, astonished at this from her daughter, for she's been a good Socialist and liberal for many years, asked the child why not. "Well, suppose they had children. They might be striped."! (No doubt an answer to "How the zebra got his stripes" story!)

The next two pages of this letter are words to some of the songs you asked about. Did you get the words to the Peat Bog Soldiers which I sent week before last?

Best wishes,

Doris

Doris Grotewohl

2929 Broadway
New York 25, New York
March 23, 1945

Mr. Bayard Rustin
PMB 2905
Ashland, Kentucky

Dear Bayard:

It was good to get your letter of March 15, even though it reminded me that I had waited too long again with writing you. Most of the time I was probably fairly profitably occupied!

The situation with respect to peacetime conscription continues to be favorable. One indication of the significant forces which are lining up at least for postponement is the Hansen Baldwin article to which you referred. I noticed that the Grenville Clark Committee felt it necessary to write a two column letter to the New York Times trying to refute the arguments of its military expert! The Post-war World Council is issuing a pamphlet by a Lieutenant Colonel Roscoe Conkling who until very recently was with the Selective Service administration in Washington and who resigned because his superiors in the army, though they themselves were talking for peacetime conscription, would not permit him to speak against it. The main point of Conkling's very effective pamphlet is that the agitation for peacetime conscription comes mostly from a lot of generals, colonels, etc., who have jobs in Washington ("our unarmed forces", he calls them) who are afraid of losing their jobs, rank, etc., when the war ends unless we keep up a tremendous military establishment including conscription. He demands that except when called on by Congressional committees military men should be forbidden to talk for peacetime conscription on the grounds that they are hopelessly biased by their own economic interest. He pulls no punches and I don't see how it is going to be possible to answer this argument coming from the inside. I understand that if Conkling should be challenged, there are other men in the army who are prepared to support his charges even if it means they too have to retire.

Of course, the other job on which we are continuing to work is Dumbarton Oaks and related matters. I am enclosing herewith a copy of a recent memo of mine on the subject. I feel sure that the authorities at Ashland will not require me to have this all retyped in order to place it in your hands. I shall be glad to get comment of yours and other men at Ashland on this memo. I do not recall whether I mentioned in my previous letter the fact that the April issue of FELLOWSHIP will contain a 16 page supplement written by me going extensively into the background of Dumbarton-Yalta-San Francisco.

We have also been giving some time to the situation at Germfask. I suppose you have gotten echoes of the attacks made on the Cos there, charges that the girls were not safe on the streets in nearby cities when the COs were in town, etc. The latter of course was pure fabrication. On the other hand, not all the men at Germfask are

religious pacifists of the highest type. You know that the Selective Service administration deliberately sent nearly all of its problem cases there. FOR got out in mimeographed form an excellent reply to the TIME article on Germfask drawn up by Roy Kepler and three other COs there. We also sent Owen Knox of St. Clair, Michigan to Germfask who has made an excellent report which we are now circulating. The most remarkable development in the situation occurred just recently and certainly will serve to put a stop to any one-sided attacks on COs at Germfask. I think it also makes it certain that if there is any investigation of Germfask and the CO situation generally, it will not be a one-sided investigation. The recently appointed manager of the camp described by one of our correspondents at Germfask as "an upper Michigan man of independent means, who values truth and freedom above all things", on March 17 resigned his job in the following letter.

> "I resign the post of manager of the conscientious objectors camp at Germfask, Michigan, the position I assumed at the request of the U. S. Employment Service.
>
> "This action is taken only after thoroughly familiarizing myself with the situation. I have found the Selective Service treatment of men in this C.P.S. camp to be the re-establishment of slavery in our nation and the punishment of men whose conscience does not permit their participation in war. As a liberty-loving American citizen and ex-serviceman, I cannot take part in the administering of a system of unpaid, forced labor."

Needless to say that I read with tremendous interest about your project for a reader.

There are other things I want to be writing you about but I think I will save them for a letter which I will send on in a couple of days.

My thoughts and prayers are with you and the other friends at Ashland.

Ever yours in fellowship,

AJ.

A. J. Muste

AJM*SA

Dear Bayard

We all miss you. We all are sad to hear of your Grandfathers illness. Cheer up Bayard. The spring is here and I dance today and it was fun and again new space will soon be mine. The world is in my hand for I ~~twirl~~ twirl and kissed the air. and sweet Camelia's float to me in every air. Can you see me, Bayard? so much love to you

Lee

[redacted]

[redacted]

Dear Buddy, I write you [redacted] [redacted] of [redacted] I [redacted] glad to get your second letter from [redacted] ago. I had no hopes that you would [redacted] the city when I came in on furlough. I suppose you know by now that I am a married [redacted] married you to meet my wife. She is now living in Brooklyn with my father. She told me about her baby, it was too bad wasn't it. Said it [redacted] engaged, he has married and my way. If I have not told you, I married the girl from Ogden [redacted] I now in the Marines I think, it [redacted] I'll tell you more when I hear from you.

Your buddy

[redacted]

[redacted]

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April 12, 1945

Mr. Bayard Rustin
P.M.B. 2905
Ashland, Kentucky

Dear Bayard:

It was good to talk with you for a few minutes over the telephone last week. I hope to get a letter from you soon.

In the meantime, I think you will be interested in the following quotation from a letter we got from John E. Barnwell. I think you know him. He is in the medical corps at the present time.

You will also be interested to know that on April 23rd Allan Chalmers, Jim Farmer and I expect to have a conference at my home with Roy Wilkins, George Schuyler and Philip Randolph on the Negro Ex-Servicemen's project.

The Barnwell quote is as follows:

"With the apparent successes of Bayard Rustin, the one man N.V.D.A. force of the F.O.R. as a stimulus, I decided to try non-violent direct action several months ago. Although my efforts were small, I did manage to learn a few pertinent facts from first-hand experience. These are my conclusions: Non-violent direct action is a workable solution only if it attains a revolutionary aspect. Mass action, coupled with concrete organization and rigorous discipline will surely shake our national conscience, boldly pointing the finger of truth into the faces of the people. Whereas individual or group action can but attain a long-range good. When I purposely violate a Jim Crow law, then forced at the point of a gun or club to retreat, my little speech on democracy, good will and Christian living will impress the vast majority of my audience. The score or more listeners will go home and think over the words, will ultimately conclude that I spoke the truth, perhaps even they will mention the incident to a few of their intimate friends, but never will it stimulate any action on their part to specifically contribute to the alleviation of the condition. For as long as our complete American pattern of living is tolerant of Jim Crow and the average person is happy while living in that pattern, there will be no desire for change regardless of the obvious wrong. The fact that I suffer as a result of Jim Crow practices does not phase the average conscience. . .not for long anyway. Unless our fight develops into definitely revolutionary aspects, the abolition of Jim Crow in America

must be considered as a long-range objective, since Jim Crow practices are a part of our complete socio-cultural pattern, and has been since the days of reconstruction following the Civil War. Non-violent direct action is our answer if we can make it work and our every effort should be bent toward that objective."

With affectionate greetings,

A. J.

A. J. Muste

AJM:dg

2929 Broadway
New york 25, New York
April 24, 1945

Mr. Bayard Rustin
P M B 2905
Ashland, Kentucky

Dear Bayard:

I have your letter of April 20 which got here very promptly, being delivered on Monday morning. I wrote your grandmother just as soon as I got word on Saturday morning of your grandfather's death. Our thoughts and prayers have been with her and with you during these days. As you know, I never met your grandfather. I knew from what you had said and your grandmother that he must have been a very strong and lovely spirit. I can imagine that your grandmother must be very lonely today. I wish I could have gone to West Chester. If I had had no other definite engagement than our regular executive committee meeting, I would have done so; but later this afternoon there is a very important conference of some of the leading ministers in the city and vicinity to see whether we cannot draw up some effective statement of protest against the continuation of the "unconditional surrender" policy toward Japan and related matters. This seemed pretty crucial and I felt that I ought to be here for it. One of these days, I want to write you a long letter giving you my reflections resulting from conversations I have had with, and letters I have had from friends here in New York and in Columbus. Probably you have had word from Davis which has given you an insight into the general trend of my thinking. My mind and heart are a good deal disturbed. My affection for you and the others involved is exceedingly deep. I am praying for you and for us all.

I trust that the authorities will permit you to receive the statement on San Francisco signed by 51 religious leaders which I am enclosing herewith. We devoted a good deal of time to it. I think that it was quite remarkable that we were able to get the signatures of practically all of the persons to whom we sent it except that of Dr. Fosdick. Did the "Dumbarton Oaks or Chaos" supplement to the April issue of FELLOWSHIP come through? It seems to have filled a need for a great many people.

Once again my thoughts turn to you and to your grandmother and the other members of the family. Give my greetings to all friends at Ashland.

Ever yours in fellowship,

AJ.

A. J. Muste

AJM*SA

3824 Broadway
New York, N.Y.
VE Day
5/8/45

Dear Bayard:

It is with a sense of contrition because it is so long since I have written you that I pen this note; and I am the more distressed because even now I am not ready and do not have adequate time to deal with the situation which through your letters and in other ways I have learned about. I am writing this note nevertheless and sending it off as soon as possible because I want to be sure the delay does not create any erroneous impression in you.

It does not mean any diminution in my love for and confidence in you. If anything these have increased. Nor does it mean that you have not been in my thought and prayer. Not many hours go by that I do not for some moments hold you there.

And you are aware that within the past month or so I have spent a good many hours with Marie and our Ohio friend and in this way have communicated with you.

MAY
NL'

It has been an exceedingly busy time. The Dumbarton Oaks supplement was a heavy job. Other activities in connection with San Francisco have consumed time. Now the Woodrum Com. has announced hearings will begin on peacetime con. and it looks as though they will try to push the measure through this summer. This news came ~~yes~~ last Wed. just as I thought I might get some leisure to read your letters carefully again and to answer. Since then I've been on the go again trying to line up the forces for this battle. So it goes.

I am enclosing three quotations which I had copied some days ago because I thought of you when I read them. On the Wright quote, I'd like your comment. The two others might, I thought, speak in some way "to your condition" as the lovely old Quaker phrase has it.

I am tired tonight. Partly because

see back of sheet with quotes —

Page missing in original

2929 Broadway
New York 25, N.Y.
May 23, 1945

Bayard Rustin
P.M.B. 2905
Ashland, Kentucky

Dear Bayard:

Days ago, when I read your long letter to Davis as I was riding home in the subway after work, the melody of Smetana's Moldau began to flood through me. It began slowly, just as the Moldau does, and then suddenly all the little rivulets that had been working their way through rocks and brush--through handicaps--they all joined into the easy-flowing yet purposeful stream. It was a moving experience for me, just as I know writing that letter and the thought and feeling that had gone into it, had been for you. Why I couldn't share it with you sooner I don't know. I've had an unaccountable block, which I hope is completely broken now. Come the end of June, on my way to California, I shall see you in Ashland. Talking will be easier.

Some days ago Larry wrote me a note which he wanted you to know about, for it was addressed to you, and read, "My thoughts often turn to you and the rest of the Ashland gang, especially Fran, Bill, Alex and Abbie. How I miss those wonderful discussions which we had in segregation, to say nothing of the plunking of the mandolin. Some of us here are searching for new N.V.D.A. techniques to be used in CORE action projects. The old tricks seem to us to be just about worn out. However, even though the N.Y. CORE does seem to be in a sort of rut there are some definite signs of progress in individual YMCA situations. Bayard, believe me, those who are working on the race situation need you. There are some of us who are depending on you to come out of prison stronger than when you entered--I know you will not let us down."

Tell Larry I lose. Bill

Then yesterday he asked me to tell you that he'd like to have Bill Hefner tell him what is the name of the county seat of Grant County, West Virginia? I suppose Bill will understand that, though it sounds too much like a geography quiz to me.

We had lots of fun last Friday night introducing Larry to Nick's, in the Village! Lee Ellis, a CPS man, Larry and I had dinner together in my apartment and after listening to some classical recordings decided to take in "Muggsy"'s trumpet playing at Nick's. We all had ginger ale—and a wonderful time! I thought that might be the last time I'd see Larry, but he's still around. He had been invited to join Bob Currier, who was returned because he married without official sanction, but so far they haven't called for him. We're hoping that Bob's stay is temporary.

Yesterday, in our Fellowship period at noon, I read the office staff the portion of your recent letter to A.J. dealing with BLACK BOY. I had read the book in North Carolina at Easter time, and thought it a monumental document. I recognize the evil in it which you point out, and yet I feel that its strengths outweigh that. For the book, I feel, will have its largest market among white people. If that is the case, then the strong presentation of the psychological struggle of Wright, the keen analysis of relationships and feelings, will have its reward. If the market is primarily among Negroes, then the dangers you point out will cause the book to be a liability. It is unfortunate, however, that no matter what the market, there couldn't have been a different sort of presentation of "western civilization." or perhaps none at all.

Last Saturday afternoon I betook myself to the National Theatre and waited around the lobby for a cancellation ticket to come in so that I might see Martha Graham dance. I had tried early in the week to get a ticket but the place was a sell-out. I had never seen her dance and disliked the thought of leaving New York without doing so, so I risked it, and was successful. The first number, a solo by Eric Hawkins, was completely abstract with the only stage prop being a mobile, a la Alexander Calder, which in outline was the figure of a person. The dance left me completely cold, as surrealism does to me. Then Graham and her troop did Appalachian Spring, which was well done, but if I was supposed to "feel" anything I certainly failed. One has to spend the time figuring out the symbolism, rather than letting oneself go in sheer enjoyment of the movement. But to me the movement itself, per se, is not a thing of particular beauty, so I'm not sure the "sheer enjoyment" would be possible even if the symbolism was blatantly obvious. Their last number, "Every soul is a circus" I thoroughly enjoyed, perhaps because it was a satire and Graham's technique, with its obliqueness, seems to me to be ideal for satire. This number was a take-off on the aspirations of every woman (so Graham thinks) of doing a "star-turn", of being the apex of a triangle, and the partner of a duet. Well, I have seen Graham. I prefer Beethoven to Stravinsky.

Be good, my dear, but--as the saying goes--if you can't be good, be happy!

Lots of love,

Doris

Doris Grotewohl

No!

If you can't be good, be careful! is correct

From - Pearl Crist
R & W Chenango Bridge N.Y.
May 29 - 1945 -

To - Francis B Hall
Box No. PMB 2608 -
Ashland Ky

AM

My dear Fran - Of course Bob has written you about Jim McDaniel's accident - last Thursday. In case he has not - it seems he slipped off of the elevator shaft at the hospital and died as a result of the fall. It was on the top floor and there was no light. It seems very dreadful - yet he was on the Way and still "walks on". I know you all are saddened by it. Pop Jay will be home on Friday, Maud said. Maud was home from a visit with Walter who is a little better than when he went away yet has much depression and anxiety. The Ashram seemed very dreary as they have had a series of little mishaps like a robbery, relieving them of all radios & 30.00 - and a broken lock on the front door, consequently Maud feels the need of keeping everything locked away - Friday night they had a fire in the fuse box that burned out all the lights and no electrician can be gotten so consequently each one carries his little candle around with ~~them~~ him. I left them last night singing "Brighten the corner where you are" Add to this the discomfort of not having any hot water for ten days and you can see the Ashram is really being disciplined instead of doing the job themselves. And just at this time Maud seems to have become more irritable about cigarettes and Lee Ellis comes in

and scrambles all the Ashram eggs for a ten-thirty supper and leaves the cupboard bare. But no doubt they will come through this series of adversities as they usually do. We had a good hour to-gether at our Meditation group and a little time around the supper table when Eugene told us of a few changes at Fabulous in the daily program. They now use "the plain song" in the oratory for about thirty minutes after supper. He says it is very beautiful. Then Gerard takes the evening devotion which ~~Eug~~ Felix used to do and they kneel for prayers the last half hour of the day. As one pushes the way of life there he longs for such a haven in which to pursue his work. Knowing the peace and purposefulness of surroundings such as Fabulous offers one wonders how he dares to proceed in the world towards the same goal. Yet we are infinitely better off than anyone I know elsewhere who is working on this line - and my pattern of life is more conducive than any of those in the group. It seems like divine ingenuity to place us in a prison and a lunatic asylum to give us a place of retreat - doesn't it? Eugene says Felix is living in a tent on the Whitney ranch near Glendora and Elena is not staying at Fabulous. This is the most he has ever said about them. He and Denver had lunch to-gether last week and he says he thinks he will ever be meeting with us again. Aldous Huxley was presented to the Harper's group (for publicity etc) and

there was a general feeling this would be the longest life (2) of his books - Both his and G.N.'s books are coming out in October. Eugene said he was writing you this week. He says he wants us to have a long visit soon. Yesterday I spent in the library gathering prayers. I have quite a large collection of them - and it is very good to study them. Fran - do you know we can do a lot to-gether on the book and I hope we will get to have some time with it. Yesterday I had Abbe Grou's "How to Pray"

I must run along to work. Ill not be writing you until Friday when your letter comes God bless and keep you

My Agape -
Pearl.

P.S. One doesnt put aside what is in one's heart as easily as a book - Right?

2929 Broadway
New York 25, N.Y.
June 13, 1945

Bayard Rustin
P.M.B. 2905
Ashland, Kentucky

Dearest Bayard:

AJ left for an AFSC Institute in Wichita the day your first letter came. I copied it off for him so that he might read it on his way. I have copied the second one and am sending it off today. (It arrived today). . . . Periods indicate lapse of time during a visit from Davis bringing your letter. There are portions of that I shall also send on. I feel exceedingly distressed personally to think that again I might miss the opportunity of seeing you in the event of transfer or something of that sort. Remember my first effort was at the end of last September; my second was Easter; and this my third. The third effort just <u>must</u> be realized. God knows when I might see you again!

Your accounts have been exceedingly helpful and clear, and if your spirits are as un-self-righteous and the tone of your letters to AJ then indeed I do feel you are acting well and rightly. Know that no matter what happens we are behind you in your disciplined group action and personal struggles that may accompany it.

The situation there seems so major as to make comment about anything else irrelevant but perhaps a bit of diversion will be helpful! New York FOR dinner Monday night at which John Raitt, lead in Broadway musical "Carousel" sang, and rocked the walls with his volume, and the audience (particularly the more susceptible ? sex) with his charm. Then Darley Downs, returned missionary who was interned in the Phillipines until just recently, gave an account of his experience as a prisoner of the Japanese. Good sort of narration, but without anything which gave us--me anyway--much lift or inspiration. His slow delivery had something to do with that no doubt. Sat with Franny and Wally at the dinner and had a gay time modern dancing vs. ballet, and found parallels in modern anything versus classical anything. The more I see of them the more I love them both and cherish for <u>all</u> the kind of deep, rich and constant tie that is theirs.

Larry is always delighted by the special greetings you and Bill send along to him. He wants you to know that "You and the others have frequently been in my thoughts during the last few days. How often have I been reminded of our peanuts and oranges diet while I have been filling my stomach with good food. (Even if he does live at the Ashram!--ed.) Seriously though, it is my prayer that you will be able to arrive at a solution which will be satisfactory to both sides. At present I'M living on borrowed time and finding it most

enjoyable. When I return to our little world I will, of course, become a member of the small community rather than the thriving metropolis. Please give my love to Arnold, Bill, Fran, and Rich and others."

Incidentally, we didn't hear from the mutual friend.

I shared with Irene Ford your comments about Calder's sister and she was simply delighted. Such thoughtful actions deeply move her. Sometimes I think affection starvation is a more devastating experience that hunger starvation. It was sweet of you to write that. And also, I deeply appreciate your suggestion that I take up some kind of musical instrument (not that I feel any starvation from lack of affection!), but because 1) I think it's a mighty good idea, and 2) it's so good to sense a growing concern in you for the needs of others.

Lee will not be with me for she isn't going to California, at least not at this time. In any case I'd rather see you alone. Lee has grown much, but naturally there is still far to go and she has the additional handicap of having so much to live down. But the deeper the growth the lesser becomes the handicap, and the greater the consequent joy. I think again of that wonderful passage from Moby Dick--"On the starboard hand of every woe there is a sure delight; and higher the top of that delight than the bottom of the woe is deep!"

It will be so good to see you, Bill and Fran again--and it just must be!

Love,

Doris

Doris Grotewohl

actn

2929 Broadway
New York 25, N.Y.
June 15, 1945

Bayard Rustin
PMB 2905
Ashland, Kentucky

Dear Bayard:

Larry went on a trip today, very suddenly about eleven. He looked well and confident, much more at ease than his two escorts. He sent greetings especially to all of you. He feels such close identification with you fellows that I think he felt very distressed not to be able to give you direct personal support these weeks. I'll let you know when we hear from him. Or if you hear first, let me know!

Your letters have come, the three to AJ and the one to Davis. I have sent copies of all on to AJ so that he might keep up. I hope you have heard from him for I know that would mean a great deal. I keep hoping every mail will bring word of a settlement satisfactory to the men and the administration. It seems to me like such a reasonable request, and so logical, that I pray the administration will be led to see its homesty.

Did you know I still hear from the boy whom you met at West Street, the Mann Act fellow? Such letters! His fantasy life has certainly gone wild, though I continue writing business-like but friendly letters to Billy. Ah, me. And then last night I got into another complication with sepia society, a veteran, just discharged, who's been with "This is the Army" for the past couple of years. He met some friends of mine in Washington Square where they had a long friendly conversation, and they brought him to my house. I gather it's the first time he's been accepted on such a natural friendly basis in a home such as ours for several times he interrupted conversation to say he'd like to have a picture of this--all of us (about six); and that he'd just never had such an experience of talking so frankly with the colorless before. He's going to a CORE dance with us a week from Saturday. The complication enters in as I foresee his confusing friendly social relations with too friendly personal relations. The boy has had one year of high school, though he's in his thirties. Has been married, a couple of children, divorced. He's completely showman; professional dancer and entertainer. If I see you--and I'm sure counting on it--I want to get your counsel on problems of this sort. Too involved to try to write about!

Larry left. Margaret Ann leaves today for a summer camp job and then to Union Theological in the fall. Shizu suddenly left to go to her sister in Colorado the sister being critically ill; then to California to sell her furniture. I doubt if she'll return to us when she comes back. We're getting new people, some temporary, for the summer, but all in all we feel "upset."

'Bye now, and love,

Doris

Doris Grotewohl

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6/18/45

Dear Bayard:

I am writing this from Grand Rapids, Mich. where I am spending a couple of days with my father who will be 88 in Sept. and is still going strong! I'm on the way back to N.Y. where I expect to arrive Wed. A.M. As Doris may have written you, I've been at an Int. Rel. Inst. at Wichita, Kan., so mail has been pretty slow in reaching me. I have thought of you and the others at Ashland often.

First of all, I want to say that on the basis of the information I have I have no criticism to make of the course you men have been pursuing. I shall await developments with intense interest. I wish it were possible for me to have a

long talk with some of you. I do hope that the plans for Doris' visit materialize so that I may have a first-hand report from her. If at any time the situation becomes critical and you men think I could help, you know that I am at your command. My confidence and affection are with you all

I want to go on to put down some thoughts which I have long wanted to get down on paper. It would be so much more satisfactory if we could talk and exchange thoughts.

Both our faith and science support the contention that fellowship is the ultimate need of human beings and in so far as they achieve it they are in contact with reality. What draws together is real, what divides is illusion and evil. We can learn to have fellowship with human beings at a deep level, truly sensitive to what they are, only as we have strong and more than superficial relationships with certain people - parents, brothers, sisters, friends, lovers, wife, child. Whenever, therefore, two people are drawn together something very important and fundamental is taking place — union, that greatest

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of all goods - understanding - is being sought. That it should be attained is the essence and supreme value in life.

It is right that there should be spontaneity and passion in such love. There is always a sense that this attraction is inevitable, overpowering. it has to be, it was "written in the stars" etc. There is no love where such drive and passion — the sense of utter dependence of one on the other — does not exist. When it happens, we should welcome it, give ourselves totally to it. We should concentrate on the achievement of union with the other — the achievement of understanding, and all the release and joy this involves. Furthermore, in ~~to~~ard restraint, holding back, distrust, fear, there should never be.

Yet it is precisely the artist with the freest

vision, the most powerful creative urge, who submits to the severest discipline. That is the other pole around which life and creativity evolve and out of which beauty is born. The artist has to conform to the laws of the material in which he is working, has to wrestle with it — otherwise he becomes a tinkerer and doodler.

So love in its various forms is on the one hand not real, a poor substitute, if there is not passion, freedom and spontaneity in it. On the other hand, how great must be the discipline, the control, the effort to understand the other and to conform to the being and the need of the other. E.g. in the relations between parents and children. How utterly barren and horrible when not spontaneous; how utterly horrible and cheap when there is no discipline, no form in the relationship.

Now because of these factors, we do not know when love happens between human beings, where it will take them, what its expression will and should be. I am sure the love should continue, not be denied, held artificially in check. But that does not signify that between a man and woman, let us say,

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marriage has to take place or will. Certainly there should not be marriage where there is not love. But where there is, marriage may or may not take place. It may not because one or both are already married and the marriage (s) should not be broken. I do not mean to imply that in some instances divorce should not take place. I am sure that in some instances that has been the right way. But just as soon as that resort is taken, the question arises: if once, then twice, three times? And then, as I've told you in some of our talks, the issue of promiscuity arises and where that happens it seems to me we come close to the travesty and denial of love, for if love means depth, means understanding above the ordinary between two persons, means exchange

of spiritual life - blood, how can that happen among an indefinite number of people? Physical relationship, yes — as much as physical urges may dictate and physical endurance may permit, but this is not love. Since it involves an essential indifference toward the person with whom relations are had, an unconscious impulse to use and exploit rather than to understand and nourish, it is the opposite of love.

Where the effort between two human beings to understand — to effect union — to love continues, the result may be that marriage e.g. is entered upon or it may be it is not. But in this case, the decision not to marry is not experienced as a deprivation, as an injury to one or other or both. On the contrary, marriage in such a case would be the deprivation. Not marrying is experienced as the fruit of understanding and love, and therefore as beautiful and good.

In other cases one might think of physical separation, the ceasing of certain practices that might have seemed good and beautiful may also come about and with the same healing,

JUN 21 1

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constructive, beautiful results. The instinct that these practices must not be stopped, the urge to hold on to them at a certain stage is sound, is an expression of love. So is the refusal to stop until stopping is experienced as an expression of love, as meeting the real need of the beloved, not the need we imagined or the need as it appeared to a partial understanding. ~~Do~~ When such insight and such profound union is attained, certain actions may quite literally cease to be even possible.

Against this background, I want to refer back for a moment to earlier conversations. It was suggested that there were several possible reactions to a situation, so the question what to do about a certain relationship: 1) the course that might be characterized as abuse of restraint; 2) return

tion of the relationship but under restraint; 3) the continuance of a certain type of relationship. I still feel as I did months ago: in this case, I believe (2) is no solution, among other things because I cannot feel that in practice it would not degenerate into (1). The solution is, I still believe, in (3) by which I do not mean celibacy, though I think this is not excluded in principle and in <u>every</u> case.

My faith finally is in love, not in its denial and evasion. If we follow the path of love with enough concentration, far enough, we shall break out of our isolation into union and freedom. When we do not follow honestly and far enough we get into wrong places but it is better to go through them than not to love — and if in the end we love the highest, love truly, "much shall be forgiven because she loved much". I came across this from Havelock Ellis the other day: "We know what happens in a world ~~from which~~ when those who have possession have triumphed. When Love is suppressed Hate takes its place. The least regulated orgies of Love grow innocent beside the orgies of Hate. .. The things that fill men and women with beauty and exhilaration, and open them to action beyond themselves, are the things that are now needed."

Freeing to all kinds — not to effec-ones to form & ...

2929 Broadway
New York 25, N.Y.
June 18, 1945

Bayard Rustin
P.M.B. 2905
Ashland, Kentucky

Dear Bayard:

Nevin recently received a letter from Allen D. Hole who is in Paris at this time, along with Burns Chalmers. They recently spoke at a meeting of FOR people, about thirty present, in Paris. In doing so, Allen Hole writes that he told two stories about you, the taxi at Baltimore and the prisoners of war on the train in the middle west. He thought you would like to know that the latter story particularly impressed some of the group there. Allen asked that Nevin send you his (Allen's)greetings. He remembers you and John from your visits to Westtown.

No word of Larry yet. AJ's out in the middlewest, due back Wednesday. I am swamped with work and heat. Shizu left quite suddenly because of the critical illness of a sister in Colorado. Her absence is indefinite and therefore we can't count on her coming back. I think it's quite likely that Marion Coddington, who has been working with John this last year, is going to take my place. She is an extremely capable girl--AJ will be in good hands! I feel so relieved to knowthat it will be she for she already knows the organization and contacts and such things.

The heat is terrific--and for you it must be worse. I hope your strength is high in spite of the weather and the difficulties of these days. Thinking of you,

Doris

Doris Grotewohl

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June 20, 1945

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Mr. Bayard Rustin
PMC 2905
Ashland, Kentucky

Dear Bayard:

I trust that the letter I sent you from Grand Rapids came through promptly. I have for a good while wanted you to have the reflections I there put down. I know that you will let me have your thinking on those matters as soon as opportunity offers. I don't know whether the present situation conduces to leisure and quiet or ~~rather~~ if it is the other way around.

I have just gotten back into the office. Doris tells me that she has not yet had word about her visit to Ashland. I very much hope that the fact that you are in segregation will not result in a refusal of the permit, especially since it may be a long while before she has the opportunity again.

My main purpose now is to send you a most interesting and encouraging message contained in a letter which Nevin received a couple of weeks ago from Allen D. Hole from Paris. He ends up, by the way, with special greetings to you and John Swomley and refers to the profit derived from your visits to Westtown School. The message is contained in a report about a visit Allen Hole had with the family of Henri Roser and is as follows:

> "I have enjoyed immensely seeing again the Roser family. They certainly are the salt of the earth. They seem to have come through their physical trials better than one might have feared and to have emerged from a period of spiritual testing stronger than ever. They seem in good health all except the youngest, Evelyn, who has for the moment a case of measles! On June 21, Henri Roser becomes officially a pastor of the protestant church here. I have heard him preach most courageously and ably in one largish church and seen him also with a smaller group near his home. On one occasion he and a well-known figure in protest circles addressed a large mass meeting, (so large they had to speak to an overflow crowd also), Roser speaking on the subject of justice. I attended the meeting of the FOR which was a most stimulating and encouraging occasion. Burns Chalmers and I were the targets of many questions about the United States, the FOR, attitudes toward peace, etc. It was a wonderful experience to talk with those who had been right up against the real thing. One of the most touching moments of the meeting (this was on May 5) was Henri's summary at the end, pointing out that although the French group had had certain trials to bear, what they had had to suffer was as nothing compared to what friends in Germany had endured and were enduring. Burns brought a very fine spirit to

the meeting and was able to transmit the concern and affection of the FOR at home to the group here (about thirty present). He was asked particularly about the attitude of the churches towards pacifism. I told two stories about Bayard Rustin, the taxi at Baltimore and the prisoner of war on the train in the middle west when one of them had been insulted on the way back from the dining car. He might like to know that the latter story particularly impressed some of the group here."

In connection with the role played by our FOR people during the occupation in the resistance movement, you will be interested in the following passage about one of our FOR leaders, Jacques Martin:

"During the war Jacques Martin assisted in the procuring of food for certain groups in the maquis. He is now assistant to the director of a stocking factory in the south. He was arrested in June 1944 by French cooperating with the Germans. An example of the nerve-tension which they tried to produce in the prisoners is the fact that one night they opened the door and fired a revolver against the wall in the room. At the time of the arrival of the allies, the Germans said they would kill all the prisoners in this particular group rather than free them. The town where the prison was located was desperate for food, however, and the prefect negotiated with the maquis for 3000 sheep and asked what the maquis wished in return. They wanted Jacques Martin! The prefect sent for him in prison. Two hours later all the other prisoners were executed before the arrival of the Allies. Jacqueline, perhaps 300 kilometers away to the north, heard that all prisoners had been executed and it was only three weeks later that Jacques was able to walk in alive and unharmed."

Finally there is this bit about the Verniers:

"To continue with Philippe and Pierre Vernier, a little later they were in territory still controlled by the French who arrested them and imprisoned them. They were told they would be executed the next morning and a rope was even put in the cell in case they preferred to commit suicide during the night. They sang hymns and addressed themselves to sleep. By the next morning the Germans had arrived and the French jailor arrived sheepishly to set them free. Philippe went back to his Belgian parish in September 1940 and continued his pastoral work and assistance to all kinds of people in trouble."

Our thoughts and prayers are with you and all your friends at Ashland.

Yours in fellowship,

A. J.

A. J. Muste

AJM:jc

P.S. Doris Lee - as you undoubtedly learned - received permission for the visit. I am delighted to put it mildly.

2929 Broadway
New York 25, New York
June 20, 1945

Mr. Bayard Rustin
P.M.B. 2905
Ashland, Kentucky

Dear Bayard:

Permission came this morning for me to visit you next Thursday, June 28. So I now have my train ticket to Los Angeles, via Ashland. It will be so very good to see you again--see how much weight you've gained, if the sparkle is still in your eye, and how blue becomes you! Oh, there may be a few other major concerns, too!

I'm dropping a note to West Chester so your family will know I'm going to see you. I wish I could stop to see them on the way, but I don't quite see how I can work in those extra three hours. I shall be leaving here aaday or two earlier than I had expected, so all I have left to do will have to be compressed.

Betty Dodds is working with us temporarily, this summer, on Forerunners literature. She's a swell gal--asked about you.

No more probably until I see you on the 28th.

Love,

Doris

Doris Grotewohl

July 4, 1945
2921 B'way
N.Y.C.

Dear Bayard:

I am writing this at home on the aft. of Independence Day. When I was a kid of 6, 7, 8 in Grand Rapids, July 4 was the one day in the year when we had ice cream! Sometimes there was one other — the day of the Sunday School picnic. Lord knows why this comes back to me so vividly on this July 4.

You will surmise that I have been mulling over messages I have received from our friend. I am thinking aloud with you now — much as I would if I were sitting here beside you in the room. My love for you has suffered no change. What follows is written out of that love. This does not mean that I have not suffered some deep disappointment and that I am not greatly troubled. Yet somehow I am certain that "what can be loved can be cured" — as that remarkable passage from something W. H. Auden wrote nearly 10 years ago and a copy of which I am enclosing, says.

I start from what I wrote you a week or more ago – that I am convinced you have no choice except 1 or 3 – 2 will in practice mean 1. If I rightly understand what has been written to me, intellectually at least you agree that this is so. If it is a fact – and I firmly believe it is – that this is your choice, then you have to make a decision based on this fact. It is a decision which I think you should now make – without another long period of reflection and discussion. There comes a time when talk is not a preparation for but an evasion of action.

No historical or theoretical considerations have any bearing to do with a-typical relationships have any important bearing on this decision. If it were a question of a choice between 2 and 3, the case might be different. But for you this is not the question. How utterly unlike-plined and deceitful your past course has been you know and I know. In essence I doubt if there has been any decisive change in recent months. I don't believe you have either intellectual or emotional assurance that – unless the decision against 1 (and 2) and for 3 is made – the future course will differ essentially from the past.

There cannot be the slightest question as to what this means for your participation in the

pacifist or any other social movement which has any ethical implications — and which that you would be interested in hasn't? You are aware that I have a responsibility to discharge in that respect and I need not say to you that I would not hesitate to discharge it. Furthermore, since I am trying to set down all aspects of the situation, the impression that you are presently returning to leadership in various actions cannot be permitted to stand indefinitely unless of course you make a decision which makes this possible.

I do not think that your decision can wait or in a sense be conditioned upon the attitude the pacifist movement might take with respect to certain personal relationships. Again, if it were a question of a choice between 1 and 2, maybe yes — but as it is, this suggestion constitutes an erosion of the real issue. On the question of a typical relationships my position has not changed. I insist people cannot be understood and loved. I keep my mind open and objective: if people come to me and say, "Here is a relationship of such and such a character and it has such and such effects," I insist they prove the charge in the concrete instance, not in the abstract.

On the other hand, if "tho tell me", there are such and such relationships and they're fine or what the hell anyway", I am not going to take this statement at face value either, but will insist on concrete evidence as to the fruits of such relationships. To date I feel that we are very far from having made a case for the proposition that there is anything superior, beautiful, creative, healthy, about the thing under discussion or is likely to be in the future — and partly at least because ~~they~~ they haven't presented me with actual cases of the thing on a high level — the concrete instances turn out not to be, turn out to be ruinous to some of the personalities involved. (I'm not at all sure, by the way, that you have any idea — or if you have that you have faced how ruinous and searing your conduct has been to some — . . .)

A straight and a right decision on your part may be a factor in helping the peace movement to arrive at a correct evaluation of the whole problem — but not the other way around, that your decision in any way hangs on such group action. We don't have a problem of whether it's a good idea in general to cut off people's right hands. The problem is: If they right hand

offered thee, cut it off —

The thing to me goes a lot deeper than any question about your role in any movement. It has to do with you as a person. Don't you see that with your indiscipline, deceit practiced on your nearest comrades, superficiality, jumping about, arrogance, you are — in one sense — running away from yourself and — in another — destroying yourself? How often you have denounced Luke-warm people and workers against Jim Crow — people who wouldn't do and sacrifice something for the cause — oh, Bayard, Bayard. No one, no one, has any business being self-righteous — but to ourselves we do apply standards and there are some limits to self-indulgence, to lying, to being the play-boy, for those who undertake to arouse their fellows to moral issues.

I know there is that in you which shrinks from a decision here because you want personal security, love, warmth, being wanted. We all do and, God, what we don't do to get these things. But you are not getting them. This 2 meaning 1 in your case, this failure to fix upon an object — to dig down to where there

are so many ties that you are secure – is evidence of that. As I wrote you before, I don't know – no one can be aware in advance – what expression true love will find – what specific attachments to what specific people – but in you there are depths and gifts which will bring you security, warmth, exhilaration, ecstatic joy, if only you give up what amounts to a death-wish almost for insecurity, for attachment which never is attachment, but a surface tickling of yourself and an exploitation of others.

One other point needs perhaps to be touched upon. The danger against which the authorities need to guard is that they will judge the interracial action subjectively in terms of someone's personal delinquency. Your danger is that you will use it as an excuse for facing a personal problem. The fact that the authorities may err does not excuse you: as was the case last fall, so once again you have given them a handle – if for the moment and for the sake of the argument we talk in these terms. "That's how much you care for your cause." Now what this means in the present case as to your participation or non-participation in the action

I don't know. I was clear as to the practical measures that had to be taken in that regard last summer, but I'm not as clear to this and I trust you to decide what your duty is in this regard. In any case you have no business postponing or evading the other decision as to the other issue. Do you think "maneuvering" by the authorities, if it occurs, excuses your "maneuvering" with your own thoughts, your conscience, your work, your friends?

The way is in a sense hard. There is need of that breaking down of the ego at which we failed last summer — confession to oneself, to God — falling back in utter faith on God.

Write me. You are in my thoughts and prayers.

In fellowship,

A. J.

To Bayard Rustin:

July 5, 1945

Dear Bayard,

Hope you have received my letter of May 28. Kindly acknowledge my letters through Davis Platt. From five different sources I have been apprised of the situation at Ashland. All the power in the world to you - I am really proud. I have served as a sort of clearing house for the information, and have sent copies of my constructed version to the C.O. (although, unfortunately, too late for the July issue), the A.C.L.U., the N.A.A.C.P., Albert Deutsch c/o PM, the Amsterdam News, the Absolutist, and Fellowship.

I trust you already know that Larry Sara has been returned to West Ste. for violation of probation. Bob Currier is now in Danbury. Met Mathias Kanter last week.

Have sent you under separate cover The Responsibility of Peoples, an essay on war guilt by Dwight Macdonald I thought would interest you. Am enclosing for you and the others a PM sketch on Kenneth Patchen.

I am now back at my old stand, the U. of P. Classes began today and continue through Oct. when I get my degree. The semester is divided in two parts. In the first I take 4 hours in the Sociology of the Family and 6 in Modern Philosophy ("modern" in philosophy, as you know, is 1600-1800); in the second part, 6 hours of medieval history, 6 in the history of the Near East (this would probably be Latterthwaite's meat), and 4 hours of 19th Century English poetry. I live out in a room adjacent to the campus, but intend to go in N.Y. week-ends. We have a place on Atlantic Beach, Long Island for the summer. So far my eyes have been holding out.

Up to school and since I last wrote you, I continued

working for my father (and was, incidentally, made Sec'y-Treas of four corporations --- ah, capitalism), practiced on my recorder (can now play a possable Loch Lomond), saw one Philharmonic broadcast, two television Stadium presentations, Margaret Webster's Othello with Robeson, et. al., Bernstein's On the Town, and Voice of the Turtle. (2)

news: There were 1200 J.W.'s in Buchenwald; only 3 out of 800 given the chance copped out.

Bill Hefner must be getting short --- well, maybe. Am glad to see Arnie with you guys. Now, if Bill Richards ---

Love and kisses to all the boys and keep up the good work,

Sandy

Sander Katz
3727 Locust Str
Phila. 4, Pa.

(Fraunny says hello and they will write you soon.)

[Fairfields, Paoli, Pa.
July 20th 1945 (82)

Friend Bayard,

It was good to get your letter of last Friday, which Mrs. Weitz forwarded.

I had good fun looking for the three presents the other day. I could find no Lentheric "Miracle", and chose instead a bottle of Prince Matchabelli's "Pot pourri" toilet water, which I liked, & so did the whole family when I brought it home. Besides, it comes in a nicely shaped bottle with a frosted glass top, and is nicely boxed. Running around the box is the following sentiment: "Gather your roses as the dew is lifting, and spread them, with a handful of orange flowers... violets... and fragrant spices in the sun's fall gaze; and let Time bless this bouquet of petals as it does the love of true hearts." Does that sound suitable for the lady? I thought so.

For Ann Blair, nothing seemed better than a set of paints (water colors, boxed, with a brush). I also got three books of pictures to color.

Wanamaker's had some boomerangs, patterned after the Australian, and complete with directions. I thought Russell would like one of these.

For the baby I got an "educational toy" — a small wagon on a string, with five blocks of different shapes + colors, each of which fits into its own hole and no other. It's said to be designed for kids of 2-4, but the only alternative seemed to be rattles etc., and it seems these are generally outgrown by age 1.

This morning I finally got these things

P.S. Talked with Wentworth. Think perfume was appreciated. You don't need to mention that I had anything to do with it, though.

wrapped and mailed. Sorry all this took so long.

Yes, your Ma did mention the thought of visiting you, and asked me what the fare was. But she said then that she was just trying with the idea, and had no real plans to go. I think she is probably considering a visit in the [redacted], though she didn't say so. ... I think you are quite right to discourage her, for it is a long way (and probably under trying circumstances) for her to come for so short & mechanical a visit. I will do my best. Still, I know how mothers are, and there will probably come a time when she can no longer be put off. But she does not feel the need yet, though naturally she would like to see you, she feels.

When I said probably in August, I meant probably August, not July. The reason was so that I would have more time, as I was anticipating developments. As yet, however, there have been none. If your position has not basically changed, perhaps I might do as well to defer my visit even longer. Let me think about this for a few days.

The sewer at the work camp project is all lined with rock (they dug down 13 ft.) and looks very well done.... Wednesday evening the Golden Thread club (the energetic families who initiated the self-improvement campaign & bought the houses) tendered a chicken dinner to the work camp, & invited mother & Dad & me. It was to be in their picnic grove & Dad thought it polite to accept. But the ground was wet from much rain, so the dinner (as we discovered when we arrived)

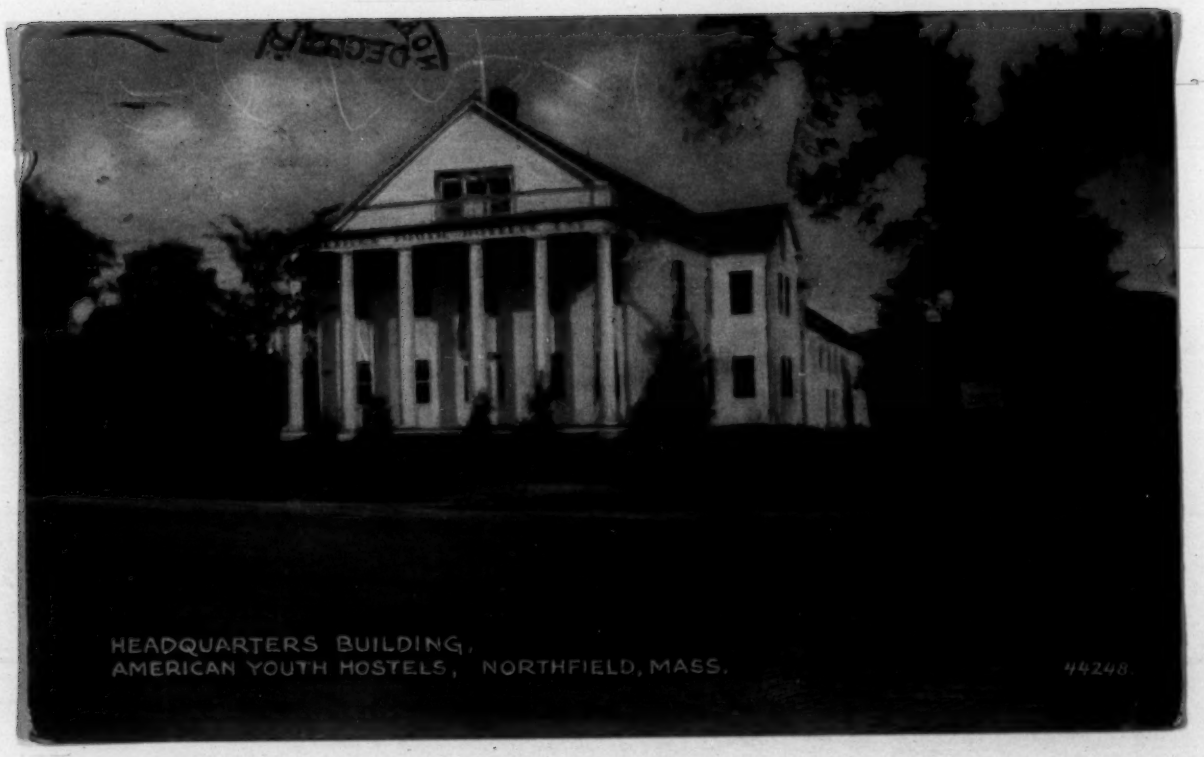
was held in one of the houses. Dad was very distressed (he never intended to dine in any colored people's house) but had to go through with it. We ate interacially, at two big tables. We had chicken (fried, excellent) string beans (undercooked) potato salad (good) all on paper plates. (Forks were paper, too, and collapsed at crucial moments.) Soft drinks were provided. Desert: watermelon. These are very simple people, and fit a good many of the stereotypes, sorry as I am about it. As for the odor, it was not much in evidence — surprising since the night was hot + the people still have no bathtubs or even wash-basins. (Some have kitchen sinks)

Pete Barry went over to see Mr. Hayman (mentioned in another letter) the other day + found him chiefly worried, basically, by intermarriage: if the camp girls are friendly, the local colored boys may get "ideas into their heads" about the local white girls. Pete drafted quite a good reply, which did somewhat dodge inter-marriage issue, however, and all campers participated, last night, in charging + polishing it. No one expects Hayman to be much influenced by it. I regret to say. I will correct editor of The Call... and I have not written Sandy. Franny has been in Rosemont with Leas... saw her today. We both agree you are too strong against PM. Of course it is dangerous to radical cause, and bad on analysis, but it is important nonetheless, and still offers much that even N.Y. Times doesn't. This is hard to check, which is bad. But one must read it to be well informed... And this goes for Dwight Macdonald, too.

All good wishes to you.

Your friend Dais

You remember what was missing in curator's sketch. How ironed out... vital to your line was. We agreed on this. I hope what you told Doris has been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From

Monroe Smith

(founder of
Amer. Youth Hostel
Movement)

THIS SIDE FOR CORRESPONDENCE

Published by The Colotype Co. Elizabeth, N.J. and N.Y.

Hon. Bayard Rustin
Box No PM B
15050 U.S. Penitentiary
Lewisburg, Pa

THIS SIDE FOR ADDRESS

THE FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION

"A fellowship of people who strive to build a social order which will suffer no individual or group to be exploited for the profit or pleasure of another."

OFFICE OF ACTION PROJECTS
1850 E. 81st Street
Cleveland 3, Ohio
Telephone: RAndolph 5717

NATIONAL OFFICE
2929 Broadway, New York 25, N. Y.
A. J. MUSTE
JOHN NEVIN SAYRE
Co-secretaries

GEORGE M. HOUSER
Sec'y of Action Projects
CATHARINE RAYMOND
Office Secretary

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December 5, 1945

Bayard Rustin
Federal Penitentiary
Lewisburg, Pennsylvania

Dear Bayard:

I hope this letter will reach you. Therefore I will stick entirely to business.

I am wondering what your plans are as far as work is concerned when you have completed your sentence. I am enclosing a mimeographed write-up about an interracial mass movement that our national CORE executive committee has discussed quite at length. Also I have talked with members of our CORE Advisory Committee, including A. Philip Randolph, George Schuyler, Roger Baldwin, and A. J. Muste. Randolph has agreed to call a small meeting of a few select people early in January to discuss the possibility of getting a new group committed to the interracial principle as well as to non-violent direct action started. It is be no means assured that this is a possibility at the present time. There is enough of a need for it, however, so that the discussion should be held. I am tremendously interested in seeing something like this started, using as a base where possible our already existing CORE groups. I think that we would run into some opposition from the NAACP, and that would have to be taken into account. I have written a couple of letters to Roy Wilkins, trying to find out if the NAACP would be interested in establishing a direct action department. Wilkins has replied to my first letter and indicated a half-hearted interest, but I am skeptical about their organization taking up this kind of approach.

If it should be possible to get a new mass group started now, then it seems to me that the FOR can do some valuable softening up work through work-shops, institutes, and summer projects. The whole question of how to work is a very real one for me, because this office will probably close up within the next six months. This has been decided for various organizational reasons, my feeling being that it is not sound to have a functional branch of the national office away from the general headquarters. I have to decidedwhere I am going to work. I am not entirely sure of continuing with the FOR. If a new organization along the lines of the memo should develop I would want to work with that if possible. But I wanted to write to you to find out if you were contemplating going back with the FOR, or just what has been in your mind. Do you feel that a new organization can get started now or in the future soon? If somehow or other it would be possible for us to set an aim of getting something new started, and then work for its establishment over a period of time if necessary, we might be able to get some place. At any rate I think that we might be able to work well together, and that is why I have wanted to clear with

you on general thinking. I hope that you will be permitted to write to me, and that you will write soon.

In my travelings around people ask about you always, and I give them what news I have. I hope that you are growing through the experience of these years, and that you will come out prepared to do the things that you can do.

Yours in fellowship,

George

George M. Houser

GMH/cr

BAYARD RUSTIN - CORRESPONDENCE 1947-52

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P

March 25, 1947

Ellen Paullin
American Friends Service Committee
20 South Twelfth Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Dear Ellen Paullin:

I am very happy to note that Melvin has been accepted to work with the Service Committee this summer. I am sure that he will do well. I will get busy to raise the $25.00. If I need any help I will let you know.

I met another Negro boy who seem to me quite talented and really delightful on my trip to Kansas. He attended the AFSC Institutes in Kansas which was held last week at McPherson College. He is Guy Allen, Box 206, K.S.C., Manhattan, Kansas. His home is also in Manhattan. I have given him your name, but also feel that it would be a good thing if you sent him some literature. Myra Lou Williamson who conducted the Institutes was very much impressed with him and shared my feeling that he would make good material for you. He is quiet; possesses great dignity; quite tall; fine looking; and very much concerned with social problems and possesses a good background. He speaks little, but his comments are weighty and I do not feel that I could recommend him too highly. Kindly let me know if anything develops on him.

My trip to Kansas was most delightful and I found the concern for socialism, democracy and race relations greater than I had expected. I shall probably return for a week in May.

Sincerely,

Bayard Rustin

BR/kfs

Bayard George

This letter from Nelli Morton is very important and fine both for its praise and its questions. The thing about possible failure to do enough prelim. work with FOR groups troubles me a bit, esp. that Henry Rearle was not contacted – if that is indeed the case – + I'd like to talk with you about

this. A few copies of the N. M. letter should be run off on this paper. Please see that I get one.

A L

The Fellowship of Southern Churchmen

". . . To preach the gospel to the poor, to heal the broken-hearted, to preach deliverance to the captive, and recovery of sight to the blind, to set at liberty them that are bruised, to preach the acceptable year of the Lord."

POST OFFICE BOX 577
CHAPEL HILL, NORTH CAROLINA

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HOWARD MCCLAIN, *Research*
EUGENE SMATHERS, *Rural Reconstruction*

May 5, 1947

Return to Bayard

Mr. Bayard Rustin
Fellowship of Reconciliation
2929 Broadway
New York, New York

Dear Bayard:

I cannot begin to tell you how delighted I was with your lecture here the other day. I think it revealed to the group present that there is no place for fears or timidities now. I was so terribly concerned that the Y and other groups come through with their invitations. I have a letter from Shaw thanking us for giving them the opportunity of hearing you.

You did here just the kind of thing we should like to have done at our summer conference, and I am wondering if you could put that on your schedule—July 28-August 1 at Pleasant Hill Academy, Pleasant Hill, Tennessee. Maynard Catchings has already written your office to see if you could have one or more representatives of the group at the conference. I am wondering also what about Joe Felmet and Conrad Lynn's coming. Maynard has already scheduled for his Christian Fellowship Commission a discussion of what the Fellowship can do as a follow-up of your efforts. I have spoken on seven campuses since you were here. The students at all of these not only ask questions, but are in the mood to do something.

While we have tried to clear and keep clear the issues involved in the episode in Chapel Hill, there are some points on which we have questions. Perhaps you would be interested in having these when you evaluate your trip together and think of what follow-up can be done.

(1) What reasons did you and Joe Felmet have for your moving up, and Joe's demand to be arrested? Your report of course indicates one reason. On the other hand, the attitude within the bus cannot be separated from the attitude of the larger group outside, and while you could not foresee everything, I am wondering about how you might have made the issues clear to those standing on the outside. Even now some of the cab drivers are not clear, and I have talked with seven of them separately. One of their wives wanted to know if the group was trying to get into the University, and after hearing the story of what happened and of your trip, she said, "You mean they got arrested just for obeying the law?"

(2) An intensive job of education needs to be done now with bus drivers, policemen, and owners of bus companies.

(3) More careful preparation should have been done with local F.O.R. groups. I understand not one single member of the Richmond F.O.R. was at the

Richmond meeting, and no white person at Petersburg. Henry Ruark, chairman of the local F.O.R. group here, had not had any direct communication about the trip, but he could have helped scatter the group and the responsibility so that more people would have become aware and sympathetic and the reaction would not have been caught by one person.

(4) And of course you think yourself that more Southerners should have been in the group.

The men on the trip were certainly grand individuals, and many, many important things have come about as a result of this trip. I should say the most important aspect of the trip is ahead of us in order that the values gained may not be lost and the issues may be kept clear and the action may be followed up.

You know our place is open to any of you any time you come back to Chapel Hill. We invited you to stay with us recently, but the Y felt that perhaps things were still too tense.

All power to you.

Sincerely yours,

Nelle

Nelle Morton

NM/cbl

Bayard

May 14, 1947

Miss Nelle Norton
Box 577
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Nelle:

Bayard showed me the recent letter which you wrote to him about our Journey. I'll leave it to Bayard to answer the main questions you raised since he was on the bus when the incident occurred in Chapel Hill, but I will deal with a couple of the other items that you brought up.

First, I think it would be fine if someone could attend your summer conference at Pleasant Hill the latter part of July. Maynard Catchings had written to me about this. I don't imagine that you are in a position to cover travel expenses for someone, so that it would be a matter of fitting it into a general travel schedule. It might be most easily possible for Joe Felmet to attend. Why don't you write to him directly about this? His address is 28 Richmond, Asheville, North Carolina. Conrad Lynn would make a real contribution if he could be there. His address, though I am sure you have it, is 271 West 125th Street, New York 27.

It is true that we didn't have as much backing from white liberals in our Journey as we should have liked. However, it wasn't because we didn't try to get such backing. I picked up as good a mailing list as I could from our FOR mailing list and from suggestions that people gave me, such as you, and followed up on these with a letter. We got the list of FOR contacts from N. F. Hanson, in our membership office. For some reason Henry Ruark's name was not included. It might be because I slipped up in not mentioning Chapel Hill because of my contact with you and Charlie Jones there. We tried to think of all the little details in contacting the key people in every community, but I am sure we missed some of the best people in each place. Part of this difficulty arose from the fact that we have no employed Secretary in the South from whom we could get help. This was my first experience in trying anything in an organized fashion in the South. In Richmond I got in touch with a number of FOR members. When I was in Richmond previous to the trip I called up the chairman of the FOR, who didn't happen to be at home, but I left a message. Then later I wrote her a personal letter and gave her the dates when we would be coming through. Unfortunately I never received even an acknowledgement. So all I can say on the question of getting white persons and FOR members to participate is that in the rush of getting this trip organized I tapped every resource I could think of. Naturally, after this experience it will be much easier next time.

We tried to get Southern whites as participants but when we didn't meet with immediate success I had to get persons who we knew would be good, no matter where they came from.

I certainly appreciate the way in which you wrote to Bayard, about this whole trip. From the letters which have been coming to the office from the South as well as from various places in the North, I am more than ever sure that this kind of approach is essential now.

Sincerely yours,

George M. Houser

GMH/cr

Ethel Perry

Reply to:
Fellowship of Reconciliatin
2929 Broadway
New York 25, N. Y.

July 29, 1947

Dear Ethel Perry,

I am very sorry to delay in answering your letter of July 16th but I have recently returned from a long tour to California.

The first question that you raised is concerning Paul Robeson. My feeling is that it would be a very terrific mistake to have Paul Robeson come. While I cannot say that he is an official member of the Communist Party, he follows completely the line of the Communists and as far as I can see he has done a very damaging job in the field of race relations in the past two years. I think it is a very bad thing that we have to deal with this issue, but it is before us. The antics of the American Communist Party make it absolutely impossible for the development of a liberal movement in this country. This is to differentiate from the red scare which fundamentally is not to catch Communists at all but to intimidate liberals. This also means that we must not get into the danger of thinking of the people of Russia and the American Communists in the same breath. Let me put it this way. The chief reason that I cannot collaborate with Communists is because they openly advocate the end justifying the means and secondly because it is absolutely impossible to depend on them in the showdown. Furthermore, Robeson would not come to give a song recital. He would stand up in the middle of the platform and give a political lecture. Therefore, unless you are willing to advertise that people are coming both to a concert and to hear a lecture advocating whatever at the moment Stalin is in favor of, I would propose that you not have Robeson.

There are these possibilities: Roland Hayes, Dorothy Maynor, and Carol Brice. I know Hayes personally. He is a gentleman and a scholar and a man who has a great deal to say

in the field of non-violence and race. He does not say it in our terms and is sometimes mistaken to be old-fashioned, but I cannot imagine anyone who would give a more stirring story, a kind of up from slavery story, and who at the same time could more artfully combine this with the intelligent peaceful demands for change.

As you may know, Dorothy Maynor is a member of the FOR. I have never heard her speak, but I do know that she is an effective singer.

I have known Carol Brice and her brother for some years. They are both people of refinement and she is a very great singer. Her voice as far as I am concerned, and apparently the conductor of the Boston Orchestra agrees, is equal to that of Marian Anderson. I do not know if she speaks, but her brother who accompanies her is fully capable of an intelligent discussion of the question of race and the entire family are southerners, having been reared, I believe, in North Carolina. This latter fact would need to be checked more fully.

I am writing today to our national office asking them to send you copies of all the lawyers who cooperated with us during the Journey of Reconciliation. The address of Crisis Magazine is Willkie Building, 20 West 40th Street, New York 18, N. Y.

The Politics Magazine which I sent to you at Chapel Hill were to have been passed out among students for the purpose of creating interest in this very wonderful and liberal magazine. I hope that you will do what you can to get rid of them among any interested people. Some of the articles in them are superbly done.

I know Herb King and he is an excellent speaker, dynamic, always goes over well, and I cannot think of anyone who would do better. He has a point of view which you would support unquestionably. He is a southerner.

I myself would be very happy to come down next year if you want me.

Sincerely yours,

Bayard Rustin

br/mt
enclosures

SKY VALLEY MUSIC CAMP
FOR BOYS AND GIRLS
ZIRCONIA, N. C.

July 14, 1947

Dear Bayard,

your visit to Chapel Hill was an inspiration to all of us. The advisory Board of the "Y" were very favorably impressed, and they all told me that they were glad you had come. Your talk really put "new life" into our Intercollegiate Council group. They have made ambitious plans for next year. We need your advice on some of them.

The executive committee at its last meeting decided to have ~~two~~ outstanding speakers or singers, one in November and the other in the Spring. They were all wild to have Paul Robeson give a concert for the full attraction. It would have to be at the auditorium at N.C.U. since Chapel Hill has reached the saturation point for one year and Durham, a rather Dukey, is pretty hopeless. The group hoped to make something by the concert over and above Robeson's fee, to be used in starting up a state or and possibly a regional conference of Intercollegiate council groups.

P

SKY VALLEY MUSIC CAMP
FOR BOYS AND GIRLS
ZIRCONIA, N. C.

In talking over our plans with Nelle Morton and Charlie Jones, they both raised the question whether it was advisable to have an outstanding negro like Paul Robeson who is an official member of the communist party. I think they have a point, and it may well be bad strategy; but would like to have your reaction on this before we act. Charles and Nelle both thought we should ask you about it.

If you think Robeson is a wise choice, could you help us get him? And could you give us some idea of his terms? If he is out of the question, do you think Colonel Hayes could do as well? What is his political ideas? Is he a person who could talk to our group as well as give a concert? Or you have any other suggestion?

About the plans for a state or regional conference, they are very nebulous as yet. Nelle said they were going to discuss the matter of a regional conference at the Fellowship of Southern Conference. I hope that Miriam Massey, a member of our executive committee, will be there to help

SKY VALLEY MUSIC CAMP
FOR BOYS AND GIRLS
ZIRCONIA, N. C.

with the plans. Nelle knows that our group is very enthusiastic and is anxious to work with the Fellowship of Southern Churchmen in any way they can to tie these isolated groups of liberal, Southern students together. Some of us would like to see a regional conference next spring if it could be worked up. If not, the next year would be good. Possibly the delegates could travel back to their respective schools sitting in a non-segregated pattern.

The group is planning one meeting, right before going vacation, on segregation. They are going to have a lawyer and Dunham (Mr. Taylor, Ethel) speak among others: and they are going to give out requests of your short report on the bus situation and its possibilities for constructive action. We would like that list of cooperating lawyers, if we could have it please! Also could you give me the address of "Crisis" magazine?

This letter seems full of demands, for which I'm sorry; but I would appreciate as early a reply as you can manage.

SKY VALLEY MUSIC CAMP
FOR BOYS AND GIRLS
ZIRCONIA, N. C.

One other thing; I received a huge stack of "Politics" magazines about 2 months before you came to Chapel Hill. A slip on the outside said - "hold for Bayard Rustin." I forgot all about them when you were there, but I've been "holding" them ever since! If you want them, let me know, and I'll mail them to you.

Sincerely,
Ethel Perry

Sec'y Intercollegiate Council for Religion in Life

P.S. Our selection for the speaker in the spring is Harry Ring of New York. Do you know him, and is he as dynamic as we hear he is? We may want to have you draw again if there is any state or regional conference. So keep that in mind!

Chairman
HENRY J. CADBURY

Honorary Chairman
RUFUS M. JONES

Executive Secretary
CLARENCE E. PICKETT

American Friends Service Committee

MIDDLE ATLANTIC AREA
Twenty South Twelfth Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Telephone, RITTENHOUSE 9372

October 22, 1947

Bayard Rustin
Fellowship of Reconciliation
2929 Broadway
New York 25, N.Y.

Dear Bayard:

The letter from Iverna Anderson has just arrived and we would very much like to change the dates from December 15 through 19 to December 1, 2, and 3.

You see, we are definitely committed to a meeting in Wilmington on December 1 and they would very much like to have you as the speaker. We also very much want you at the meetings in Niagara Falls on December 3. None of the places in the period December 15 to 19 have been decided on definitely yet.

We appreciate very much your willingness to make this change and hope that we can get a few more dates in sometime next year. I'll write to you about that when Spahr gets back to the office and we have a chance to figure out plans.

We'd appreciate it, too, if you would suggest some all over topic for a one-day conference and perhaps a title for an afternoon and one for an evening speech.

Sincerely,

Anita

Anita Poole
for Spahr Hull

Enc.

Answered 10/24/47 by card saying that dates December 1 to 3 are definitely on calendar. Sorry of inability to fill dates December 15 to 19.

Proposed One-Day Conferences
for HIGH SCHOOL AGE AND ADULTS

Auspices of the American Friends Service Committee, Peace Section

PURPOSE We would like to reach high school age young people, especially, but also adults, to stimulate their thinking on international problems and help them to understand their responsibilities and opportunities in the world today.

FACULTY LEADERS We are in touch with the following resource persons arranging dates when they will be available for such conferences: Dr. Eddy Asirvatham, of Madras University, at present at Boston University; Dr. Bernard Clausen, of the Euclid Avenue Baptist Church, Cleveland; James Farmer, of the Upholsterers' International Union; Mrs. Gladys Walser, former missionary in Japan; Edgar Jones, on the Editorial Staff of the Baltimore Sun; Toru Matsumoto, author of A Brother Is a Stranger; Stuart Nelson, of Howard University, recently returned from India; and Bayard Rustin, Race Relations Secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation.

PROGRAM SCHEDULE The day would begin with the faculty person addressing a high school assembly. All students who would like to participate would come together after school hours for a discussion. In the evening there would be a third session to which parents would be invited and any others in the community who are interested. At the final session the faculty leader would make an address followed by a forum.

If the speaker is used in an assembly the schedule might be as follows:

3:30- 3:45 p.m.	Orientation
3:50 - 4:50	Round table
5:00 - 5:30	Summary by students of discussion and wording of questions to be asked of resource person.
6:00	Dinner
6:30	Resource person answers questions
7:30 or 8:00	Evening meeting for adults and teen-agers. Address and forum.

If the speaker is not used in an assembly:

3:30 p.m.	Orientation
Title x 3:45	Resource person presents the topic for consideration
4:05	Round tables
5:15 - 5:45	Summaries and questions
6:00	Dinner
6:30	Resource person answers questions
Title x 8:00	Evening meeting for adults and teen-agers. Address and forum.

FINANCING THE CONFERENCE It is proposed that at the evening session an offering be taken for the work of the Peace Section of the American Friends Service Committee. We would undertake to pay the honorarium and expenses of the speaker and for printed publicity. The local community in turn would make arrangements for places to hold the meetings and for distributing the publicity.

If you are interested in holding one of these conferences in your community or would like further information get in touch with

Spahr Hull
American Friends Service Committee
20 South Twelfth Street
Philadelphia 7, Pa.

~~Dec 15-19~~
Dec 1-2-3

October
21 1947

Anita Poole
American Friends Service Committee
20 South Twelfth Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Dear Anita Poole:

In response to your letter of October 17, 1947, and the telephone call of Spahr Hull of October 17, 1947, Bayard has asked me to write that it will be impossible for him to give you both dates requested. He can give you either December 15 to 19 inclusive or December 1, 2 and 3. However, he is still holding the December 15 to 19 as they were his first commitment to you. Please let us know if you would prefer that he give you the other dates.

Cordially,

Secretary to Bayard Rustin

Chairman
HENRY J. CADBURY

Honorary Chairman
RUFUS M. JONES

Executive Secretary
CLARENCE E. PICKETT

American Friends Service Committee

MIDDLE ATLANTIC AREA
Twenty South Twelfth Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Telephone, RITTENHOUSE 9372

October 17, 1947

Bayard Rustin
Fellowship of Reconciliation
2929 Broadway
New York 25, N.Y.

Dear Bayard:

It was good to get the prompt card from your secretary saying that you are holding December 15 to 19 available for us. How about December 1, 2, and 3? We are especially persistant about these dates since Wilmington wants you on December 1 and we would like to have you for our teen-age conference in Niagara Falls on December 3.

We'll be looking forward to hearing from you whether these three dates are at all possible for you.

Sincerely yours,

Anita

Anita Poole
for Spahr Hull

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for HIGH SCHOOL AGE AND ADULTS

Auspices of the American Friends Service Committee, Peace Section

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American Friends Service Committee
MIDDLE ATLANTIC AREA
Twenty South Twelfth Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Telephone, RITTENHOUSE 9372

December 15-19

October 8, 1947

Bayard Rustin
Fellowship of Reconciliation
2929 Broadway
New York 25, N.Y.

Dear Bayard:

Spahr has asked me to write you further about the one-day high school conferences in answer to your letter of October 3. Dates which he would suggest as possible from the point of view of his schedule are December 1, 2, and 3 and December 15 to 19 inclusive. A conference for high school age is under way for Niagara Falls on December 3. Perhaps that could be worked in with the other engagements in New York or northern Pennsylvania.

Will you let us know just as soon as possible how these dates suit you? A card is enclosed for your reply.

Then we would like to have you suggest some subjects around which we can build a conference.

Sincerely yours,

Anita

Anita Poole

Answered 10/10/47 by return postcard informing that December 15 to 19 is okay.

15-19 — [illegible]

77

THE BELL TELEPHONE COMPANY OF PENNSYLVANIA

WEST CHESTER, PA.

THOMAS W. GOODWIN
MANAGER

October 23, 1947

Personal

Mr. Bayard Rustin,
2929 Broadway,
New York 25, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Rustin:

In answer to your letter of October 8, 1947 our investigation develops that we have an outstanding final bill in the name of Janifer Rustin in the amount of $16.70 for service formerly rendered on West Chester 1658W at 128 E. Union Street, West Chester, Pa.

When this bill is paid we will be very glad to ascertain the availibility of facilities to reestablish telephone service for Janifer Rustin. The established installation charge of $2.00 of course would apply. In addition, a deposit of $10.00 will be required which will be held during the period that credit is established.

Very truly yours,

T W Goodwin

Manager.

TWG:ma

December 1-2-3

7 November 1947

Anita Poole
American Friends Service Committee
20 South Twelfth Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Dear Anita Poole:

Enclosed are the only mats that we have of Bayard. They can be cut down to newspaper size and, if you think it necessary, the mandolin could be eliminated.

Sorry, it isn't a very good picture, but it is the only thing we have now.

Cordially,

Secretary to Bayard Rustin

enclosures

Bill - Please find out - Al

November 4, 1947

Dear Al Hassler:

Do you have any newspaper mats of Bayard Rustin? He is speaking for us at three conferences early in December and we would like a half dozen or so if you can spare them.

Sincerely yours,

Anita Poole

Anita Poole
Sec'y to Spahr Hull

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
20 SOUTH TWELFTH STREET
PHILADELPHIA 7, PENNA.

NOV 5 1947

4 November 1947

Spahr Hull
American Friends Service Committee
20 South Twelfth Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Dear Spahr Hull:

Bayard has asked that I write answering the questions in your letter of October 30, 1947.

In relation to drawing up an agenda of basis statements and questions, Bayard will prepare a memo and send it to you in rough form for you to tear apart as you see fit before it is mimeographed for distribution. If possible, Bayard will see you in Philadelphia before the conference for further discussion.

Yes, the mandolin will be with Bayard so that he can sing as you request. Also, he will be happy to speak in any high schools you wish.

As for the bibliography, as soon as I return to New York I will send it on to you. We are at present in Washington, D. C., where the Interracial Workshop or "Laboratory on Human Relations" is being conducted. From here Bayard goes on to Ohio, with the Friends there. As soon as he returns he will send the outline mentioned above.

Sincerely,

Secretary to
Bayard Rustin

Chairman
HENRY J. CADBURY

Honorary Chairman
RUFUS M. JONES

Executive Secretary
CLARENCE E. PICKETT

American Friends Service Committee
MIDDLE ATLANTIC AREA
Twenty South Twelfth Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania
Telephone, RITTENHOUSE 9372

October 30, 1947

Bayard Rustin
Fellowship of Reconciliation
2929 Broadway
New York 25, N.Y.

Dear Bayard:

We now have definite plans for December 1 and 3 and are hoping to have a conference in Syracuse on December 2. The Niagara Falls people have really had a number of good sessions in planning their conference. They passed out questionnaires in the high school to discover what the kids wanted to talk about and they want to discuss in the conference: the Marshall Plan, displaced persons, Palestine, and Universal Military Training. They have given as their general topic: "Peace Plans- War Worries" and are suggesting for the evening meeting (in which you will have both teen-agers and adults) "Whose Business Is Peace". We are enclosing a copy of the announcement which we have forwarded to Niagara Falls for their approval. It follows the time schedule they suggested.

Yes

I am hoping that in these conferences we will be able to send the youngsters into their discussion groups with enough of a warm-up so that they really go into the topics. To help out on this I wonder if you would find it possible to draw up an "agenda" of questions, basic statements, and perhaps a brief available bibliography which might be forwarded to teachers and pastors for use before the conference. That was another thing they wanted. If you would send it on to us we would get copies not only to Niagara Falls but also to Wilmington, Delaware, and Syracuse - or wherever else we have the conference.

will

It is awfully hard in a letter to make clear what we are aiming at and the techniques we hope to employe but you and I have talked enough about them so that I think you have the general idea. If, however, you are going to be in Philadelphia anytime in the near future I would like the chance to talk the whole thing over with you.

There is one other angle, too. We are hoping that there will be a chance for our resource people to speak briefly in one or two high school assemblies before the conference. In a small town it is possible to reach all the high school students with one or two talks. But in Niagara Falls it will be impossible to reach them so that we are saving the real warm-up talk for the conference opening. However, they do want you to come to the schools

Yes

and I wonder if you would come prepared ~~with your mandolin~~ and some of the Elizabethan lyrics to ~~talk and sing for a couple of assemblies~~.

It will be good working together again. I am looking forward to it.

Sincerely yours,

Spahr

Spahr Hull

SH: ap
ENC.

P.S. Can you send us a biographical sketch - Anita

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

1201

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LC = Deferred Cable
NLT = Cable Night Letter
Ship Radiogram

1939

(561)

JOSEPH L. EGAN
PRESIDENT

DUPLICATE OF PHONED TELEGRAM

The filing time shown in the date line on telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

1947 NOV 25 PM 4 46

PF464

P WQB32 PD=WQ PHILADELPHIA PENN 25 35P
IVERNA L ANDERSON FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION=
2929 BROADWAY NYK=

RESERVATIONS ALREADY MADE FOR 11:55 FROM NEW YORK FOR
BAYARD=
SPAHR HULL

2670

Um 4-

Address 4318

OPN 340 TO BE Mail
Called to 2-3
Will call after 4 Thursday

11:55

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

NOV 12 1947

X

Engle

ATLANTIC GREYHOUND CORPORATION
1100 KANAWHA VALLEY BUILDING
CHARLESTON, WEST VIRGINIA

OFFICE OF PRESIDENT

November 10, 1947

Mr. Bayard Rustin,
c/o The Fellowship of Reconciliation,
2929 Broadway,
New York 25, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Rustin:

Mr. Hill has forwarded to me your letter to him of September 26, 1947 and a copy of his response to you of October 9, 1947, in which he suggests that I write directly to you concerning the subject matter of your letter.

As you no doubt know, the Atlantic Greyhound Corporation conducts intercity motor carrier passenger operations through several southern states, which either have on their statute books segregation laws applicable to intrastate passengers traveling on public conveyances, or where such segregation is required by established custons and practices. We operate in both interstate and intrastate commerce, and our buses transport both types of passengers at the same time. We feel that we have no alternative but to comply with these State statutes or customs with respect to intrastate passengers. The practical difficulty, if not impossibility, of following one rule as to intrastate passengers and another as to interstate passengers at the same time on the same bus must be readily apparent to you.

Your specific question concerns the reason why we have failed to follow the Morgan decision of the Supreme Court. As I understand it, in that decision the Court held that the Virginia segregation statute was invalid as applied to interstate passengers, but remained in full force and effect as to intrastate passengers. In view of the practical operating situation outlined above, we have been compelled to effectuate a system-wide rule designed to accomplish both fairness and uniformity in our treatment of all passengers, which, I am advised, is a lawful practice that has had the approval of the Supreme Court in other cases.

I think that you and your organization should thoroughly understand that we welcome negroes as passengers and encourage in every possible way their use of our facilities. We use great care to treat them without discrimination, and to furnish them as comfortable and convenient accomodations and service as we do other passengers. But under existing circumstances we feel that, in the interest of the safety, comfort,

and convenience of all concerned, we must continue in effect the type of carrier regulation I have mentioned. I trust that we may be favored with your sympathetic understanding.

Very truly yours,

George S. Engle

George S. Engle
President

Sunset magazine, August, 1947

WHAT'S WRONG WITH THIS PICTURE ?

ELECTRICAL WIRING can be overloaded too!

Sambo's desperate problem in overloading has nothing on the wiring system of the average home, which taxes endurance to the breaking point.

Cooking speed is cut when you want to hurry most, wires overheat, fuses blow, you get less electricity for your money . . . and there comes a time when circuits will not operate a single new appliance.

The answer to this problem is . . . Certified Adequate Wiring. If your home was wired for electrical uses 20 years ago, modernize for electrical living today. If you are building a new house, insist on a Certified wiring job . . . plenty of circuits of large enough wire, and enough conveniently placed outlets and switches for present and anticipated appliance and lighting needs.

NORTHERN CALIFORNIA ELECTRICAL BUREAU

1355 MARKET STREET SAN FRANCISCO 3

December 24, 1947

COPY TO SUNSET MAGAZINE

President,
Northern California Electrical Bureau
1355 Market Street
San Francisco, California

Dear Sir:

The August edition of Sunset Magazine carried an advertisement of your company picturing a Negro stereotype carrying a watermelon with a farmer chasing him with a pitchfork. The wording of the advertisement begins: "Electrical wiring can be overloaded too!" and continues, "Sambo's desperate problem in overloading has nothing on...."

You will note from the heading of this letter that I am interested in better racial relations and while I am positively certain that obviously no harm was meant by the nature of your ad, I am confident that unknowingly harm is done by such advertising. For in the world today there is a great struggle shaping up between totalitarian powers and democratic forces and repeatedly the totalitarian powers point out in their effort to undermine America the mistreatment of Negroes, the very stereotypes and attitudes which are in part represented in the kind of advertisement which you have used. I have been keeping for some time clippings from the New York Times concerning the attitude of Russia to the United States and note over and over again the way in which we have lost a great deal of moral leadership because of our attitude to minority groups. This merely indicates that there is some relationship between stereotypes and international problems.

But I would urge you to discontinue this kind of advertisement for another reason. It is because in continuing these stereotypes we are gradually causing individual members of minority groups to be mistreated and causing widespread ignorance among many white children whose only association with Negroes is through advertising, moving pictures and radio. I am myself a Negro and therefore am somewhat familiar with the damage that stereotypes bring and of the terrific sensitiveness of Negroes to this kind of picturing of themselves.

I trust, sir, that I will hear from you. I want you to know that I am not indicating that any harm was meant by this advertisement. I am an

I am enclosing a picture which might illustrate what can be done in the way of stimulating friendliness and understanding between racial groups by one who is sensitive to this problem

THE HORTONS
KATHERINE ROBERT
CHARRY LOU
EWART ROBERTA
ANNOUNCE

C H R I S T M A S 1 9 4 7

This is a combined birth announcement and Christmas card. (Scotch, aren't we?) Katherine regrets that Bob couldn't get in the picture, since he took it, but she says he looks just as young as he did ten years ago! Our new son, Joey Dick, was airborne (fortunately, not air-born) when his mother flew from Corning to Rochester in a Piper Cub eight hours before his birth, and nine days later came home via the Capital Airlines.

This is our second interesting year at Grace Church, Corning, New York. We started out the fall season with an evangelistic Crusade with the Lacours, whose heavenly music and sincere consecration made a lasting impression. Now we are doing all we can in the promotion of CARE packages for Germany, since the need seems greatest there. Does anyone want to adopt a German family? We have a list.

CHRISTMAS GREETINGS and wishes for a HAPPY NEW YEAR

from B O B and K A T H E R I N E

Joy at our house -
  A son is born
To make our home complete.
His name is Joseph Richard -
  With song his birth we greet.

He'll rule the roost with smile and tear
  And make us all his slave,
But what care we,
Since now we three
  A tiny brother have.

October 9th he came to earth -
  A flying trip he made -
Healthy and strong,
Twenty inches long,
  Seven pounds, five ounces he weighed.

Joy to the world - we hope that he
  Will live to see the day
When war shall be
Past history,
  And peace shall come to stay.

Bayard R.

December 28, 1947

Dr. Daniel A. Poling
Baptist Temple
Philadelphia, Pa.

Dear Dr. Poling:

One of my correspondents called my attention to a recent column of yours about India. It dwelt on the forced migrations and the accompanying cruelties, following upon the achievement of independence and suggested that Gandhi had "confessed the possible failure of his life's guiding principle, non-resistance".

It is true that Gandhi at one point expressed extreme grief over the violence and dissension which had broken out among his people. At no time, however, has he expressed any doubt about the basic soundness and the ultimate triumph of his life's guiding principle.

Furthermore, in Calcutta, his method achieved a notable triumph at a most critical moment. I am enclosing herewith a memorandum which describes the instance.

Recently I have heard a first-hand report about these incidents from Dr. Stewart Nelson, dean of the Divinity School of Howard University who was in Calcutta at the time. Dr. Nelson not only confirms the report about the complete peace which descended upon Calcutta but expresses the personal conviction, based , by the way, upon more than a year's residence in India, that it was Gandhi's action in Calcutta which prevented the outbreak of communal violence all over India. As you know, the violence was largely confined to two provinces and even there seems to have subsided.

If one compares the situation in India with the violence which has accompanied independence in practically every instance in history, it would seem that non-violence, even when the recent deplorable instances are taken into account has pretty completely justified itself.

It occured to me that you might some time want to comment

o

on "Operation Calcutta".

Hoping that the New Year will be a truly blessed one for Mrs. Poling and yourself, I am,

Sincerely yours,

Enc.
AJM: NB

A. J. Muste

India's Lesson: Freedom's Price

Daniel A. Poling

THE small civil war in Kashmir—small at this writing, though apprehensively we face the future—is an inevitable aftermath of India's successful struggle for "freedom." "Freedom" is in quotes because it may be, for India, little more than that—in quotes.

Dr. Poling

Twenty years ago, and ten years ago, my Anglo - Saxon friends — some educators and missionaries particularly—told us that until Britain got out of India there would be no peace for Indians. Well, Britain is out, or nearly so, and India is in pieces. Certainly the prophets of an immediate Utopia, when foreign controls were withdrawn, are false prophets. There is no Utopia now, and even the semblance of law and order seems remote.

The world must face the realistic and brutal facts. Mahatma Gandhi's non-resistance was convincing when used against the British. They would not crush out the lives of men and women who stretched themselves across the roads. But even the Mahatma, greatest of all Indians, and of all time one of the supreme personalities, has confessed the possible failure of his life's guiding principle, non-resistance, now that Indians, in the frenzy of their fanatical faiths, tear at each other.

Life must go on. Liberty will never remain quiet while chained. But the price being paid by the innocent Moslems and Hindus for what their leaders so casually envisioned is almost more than human society can suffer.

Chiefly this is the lesson we learn. Freedom is the goal, but leading to it there is no easy path, and those who would claim it for others or have it for themselves should know well that the price it demands may be the life of a whole generation.

AJ – note ref
ae

OPINION *and* REVIEW

The World is his Parish

Dr. Poling Holds Three Key Positions, Travels 50,000 Miles a Year

THE whole world is Rev. Dr. Daniel A. Poling's parish, says Hartzell Spence, writing in this week's Saturday Evening Post under the title "Nonstop Preacher."

Literally, Dr. Poling's ministry is on a global scale; there are few places, from Madagascar to Norway to Wahoo, Nebraska, that have not listened to his evangelism, and his sermons often reach his hearers through an interpreter. The pastor of Philadelphia's Baptist Temple and author of the "Americans All" column in The Bulletin, is profiled as "one of the greatest forces of Protestant Christianity."

Dr. Poling's power in the Protestant church is derived from three key positions which keep him busier than a circus ringmaster, according to The Post. They are the pastorate of the Baptist Temple, one of the most illustrious evangelical churches in

the country; president for 20 years of the World's Christian Endeavor Union, and president of the Christian Herald Association, which dispenses millions of dollars in non-sectarian philanthropies. He travels about 50,000 miles a year.

"Dr. Poling is incapable of either compromise or silence" on outstanding public issues, Mr. Spence says. "Three times . . . he followed his conscience . . . although convinced at the time that his stand would ruin his career."

AS a young preacher in Ohio, Dr. Poling made the first big decision. He became a leader in the prohibition movement, and several prosperous eastern churches which had been scouting him, lost interest.

In 1944, although a Union League member and a consistent Republican, he endorsed President Roosevelt for a fourth term because he felt that Roosevelt had become a symbol of hope to a large part of the world. Before making public his views, Dr. Poling resigned from his church, the Christian Endeavor and the Union League; the church and Christian Endeavor refused to let him resign.

"Dr. Poling's third impactive decision may yet shatter his influence with the youngsters whose guide he is, and of this again he is aware," Mr. Spence writes. "He weighed the decision carefully before he threw his weight to the cause of universal military training. The 2,000,000 boys now in Christian Endeavor societies would be among the first called up under any system of compulsory education in the arts of war. For those 2,000,000 lads, Doctor Poling has embraced his new crusade. During the war he saw men die because they were improperly trained. He also saw fighting men go astray for lack of moral training. And he believes passionately that if today's youths are not affiliated with a militarily powerful state, they may never have an opportunity to lead adult lives in a free world."

DR. POLING has an amazing capacity for work, according to The Post article, and "everything he does has the urgency of a mission [illegible]

(X) Pope

Read

Calle Cayey #364 (Sótano)
Santurce, Puerto Rico
December 29, 1947

Dear Bayard Rustin:

At long last I'm sending you the report that I wrote about long ago. This is a report of my parents' reactions to our having had a Negro attendant in our wedding.

We of course weren't taking down in shorthand what we heard; we wrote from memory a few days later. Therefore, though the report is reasonably accurate, it is not absolutely ~~ver~~ verbatim. Scene VII was reported to Lillian by her mother (unsolicited); though it also is reasonably accurate, it is — by virtue of the fact that it was set down in writing by us, who had not been present at the scene — less nearly verbatim ~~than~~ the others.

We realize that several times we did not do or say just what we should have. In this report, however, we have written what we actually did say rather than what we wish we had said.

If you should decide to use this material in any way, please omit or change all last names (this to protect the feelings of my parents). If you do not wish to use it, please let us know, as someone else would perhaps be interested in having it. Thanks.

Every good wish.

Sincerely,
Bob Pope

Reaction of White Parents to Participation of Negro in Son's Wedding:

Mr. and Mrs. Pope have been residents of Houston, Texas, all of their married life. Mr. Pope was born and reared in Anniston, Alabama. Mrs. Pope was born in Brenham, Texas, and spent her childhood in small towns in Texas. Mr. Pope completed the 6th grade in school; Mrs. Pope graduated from highschool. Mr. Pope is 58, Mrs. Pope 53. Both have been active members of the Southern Baptist Church since childhood. Mr. Pope is an employee in the office of a subsidiary of a large oil corporation. Bob is their only son.

I

(At College Station, Texas, Oct. 9, 1947, at the reception immediately following the wedding of Lillian and Bob. The reception, as the wedding itself, is outdoors. While Mrs. Pope, Lillian's brother, who was the officiating minister, and two or three guests are in the group talking, Lillian and Bob walk by.)

Mrs. Pope: Robert, this other girl in your wedding party--What's her nationality?

Lillian: American. (She leaves group.)

Bob: Yes, of course, she's an American.

Mrs. P.: But--that's not what I mean; --uh--is she a nigger?

Bob: She's a Negro, yes.

Mrs. P.: Oooh, Robert, when did you meet <u>her</u>?

Bob: Oh, we've known her a long time. (Bob leaves group.)

II

(At Houston, Texas, Oct. 16, in the afternoon, in the Pope's living room. Lillian and Bob have just returned from their wedding trip. They are in conversation with Mrs. Pope.)

Mrs. P.: There's one thing I've just got to get off my chest; I guess you know it.

Bob: What's that, Mother?

Mrs. P.: Having a nigger in your wedding! I was never so humiliated in all my life. I just never heard of such a thing.

Lillian: Well, she's one of my best friends.

Mrs. P.: I don't believe in that. We don't have to have niggers for our friends. With all the white friends you have, why did you have to have a nigger in your wedding?

Bob: Mother, we didn't have to have anybody in our wedding; we just asked the friends we wanted. We didn't choose them because of their complexions; we chose them because they were our friends. As a matter of fact, you didn't even know Malvina was a Negro until after the wedding.

L.: Well, it's not a thing we were trying to cover up. It's not a thing to be ashamed of.

Mrs. P.: Oh yes it is a thing to be ashamed of. I'm just praying to God that none of my friends will find out.

Bob: We figured that our wedding was the beginning of our married life together, and so it ought to be like we wanted it. We didn't want to start off our married life making compromises.

Mrs. P.: It was just like a slap in our faces! It wouldn't have hurt us as badly if you had knocked us down and trodden on our bodies; we could have gotten over that. I'm just glad none of my friends from Houston were there. I'd never have lived it down. I just hope they never hear of it. It was just a personal insult to your mother and daddy.

Bob: Oh no, Mother, we had no intention of hurting you.

Mrs. P.: I was never so humiliated in my life. If I'd known there was going to be a nigger in your wedding, I wouldn't have gone one step, and your daddy wouldn't have been there either. It was certainly an insult to us.

Bob: What was there about it that insulted you, Mom? I don't understand. Do you feel insulted because we invited you to the wedding? Maybe I should have t old you ahead of time about Malvina's being in it so you wouldn't have had to come.

Mrs. P.: Don't ever tell me again that you are a pacifist! This is the worst blow I ever had in my life. Knocking your own mother and father down and stepping in our faces! I didn't think my own child would ever do that. I haven't slept a wink since.

Bob: Why for goodness' sake, Mom! Why haven't you slept?

Mrs. P.: For worrying about this.

Bob: But, Mom, there's nothing to worry about.

Mrs. P.: I'm just afraid somebody will find out. There's not a one in the family that doesn't feel like we do about it. Hettie* says she won't be able to hold up her head if it ever gets out in her office. She's scared to death it will come out in the Informer. That's a nigger paper, but it comes to their office because the company advertises in it. If anybody sees it, she'll have to quit her job. All the family feels that way about it. I don't see how you could hurt your mother and dad like this. You knew how we'd take it.

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*Mrs. Pope's first cousin.

Bob: Well, as a matter of fact, Mom, we thought you might take it OK. When you were in Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands, you all behaved yourselves very decently. In the Virgin Islands there was a Negro priest in the hotel with a room just next to ours, and in the morning Dad spoke to him very cordially. And once in Puerto Rico on a bus Dad sat in a seat next to a Negro lady when he didn't have to. You all didn't embarrass us once before our friends in Puerto Rico, so I thought you would be able to take this without too much difficulty.

Mrs. P.: But we don't feel that way about it. That's the way they do there, but we don't act like that here. We don't believe in mixing socially with niggers. Of course, you all love niggers, but we don't. No, we didn't embarrass you in Puerto Rico, and we didn't make a scene at the wedding either. We didn't even say anything about it on the way to Hearne*, because we didn't want to spoil your honeymoon.

(Telephone rings. Lillian answers..She returns to explain that her mother wants her to come to see her where she is visiting in a Houston suburb. She leaves the living room to change her clothes.)

Mrs. P.: Having a nigger in your wedding! There's only one thing that would have beenworse, and that is if you 'd married one. Who was it that decided to have Malvina in it? Was it you or was it Lillian?

Bob: Both of us; we chose our wedding party together.

Mrs. P.: Tom and Isabel*have the same views you do, don't they?

Bob: Yes, I think their views are about the same.

Mrs. P.: Well, they didn't have a nigger in <u>their</u> wedding.

Bob: No, I don't think they have any close friends who are Negroes.

Mrs. P.: Well, that's <u>one</u> thing in their favor anyhow. And now I guess you'll raise your children to grow up and marry niggers!

Bob: I hope that any children that we have will choose their life mates for more important things than the color of their skin.

Mrs. P.: You mean you wouldn't even care if they <u>did</u> marry niggers?!

Bob: I don't think that one's race is of any importance.

Mrs. P.: Of any importance! It makes all the difference in the world! You'd let them grow up and marry niggers! I'd looked forward to you and Lillian marrying and having children, but it would it would kill me for my own grandchildren to marry niggers.

Bob: I'd say you are starting to worry a little early, Mom. You don't even have any grandchildren yet, and it'll certainly be a long time before any are old enough to be getting married.

(over)

(Lillian enters, and Bob leaves with her t o escort her to the bus line.)

III

(Oct. 16, in the evening, in the Pope's living room. Mr. and Mrs.Pope and Bob are seated reading the newspapers.)

Mrs. Pope: Robert has certainly changed. I can remember when he was sick when he was a baby and how he cried when the nigger maid put him on the pot and took him off instead of me. He was scared of niggers then, but now he loves them!

(Having finished the newspaper, Mrs. P. starts looking through a magazine. Mr. P. and Bob cont inue to read t he newspaper. There are several moments of silence.)

Mrs. P.: I'll never get over it! A nigger in my own child's wedding!

Mr. P.: That was certainly a dirty trick the way you double-crossed us. I wouldn't have taken a step to i t if I had known there was going to be a [redacted] durned nigger in it.

Bob: Dad, I'm sorry you all are taking this as a personal insult to you. We had no intention of hurting you.

Mr. P.: Hiding her till the wedding and then bringing her out!

Bob: Hiding her!?

Mrs. P.: Yes, hiding her! Why wasn't she at the house like the others before the wedding?

Bob: She was.

Mrs. P.: Where was she? I didn't see her.

Bob: She was in the front bedroom. Unfortunately, she was late arriving, so most of the time beforehand she was busy dressing.

Mr. P.: She was hiding. You didn't want anybody to see her till she marched up.

Bob: No, Dad, on the contrary, if it hadn't rained, she and Lysle would have been out ushering beforehand. But, of course, as it turned out, that wasn't possible. The rain changed our plans.

Mrs. P.: Was Malvina Lillian's best friend? Why couldn't she have had white bridesmaids?

Bob: She had two attendants. One happened to be white and one Negro. It's difficult to decide which is one's best friend, which second best, which third best, and so on. Theoretically Isabel was her best friend, because she was the matron of honor, and Malvina was her second best, because she was the

other woman attendant.

Mrs. P.: She wanted Malvina to be in it because she was a nigger. You all were determined to spite us.

Bob: That's a lie! We chose her because she was a good friend and not because she was a Negro.

Mr. P.: Don't you call your mother a liar! Take it back right this minute.

Bob: Sit down, Dad.

Mrs. P.: Don't strike him, Parks; sit down.

Mr. P.: I'm not going to strike him. But he's going to take it back.

Bob: Dad, Mother said something that isn't true. I can't take it back without telling a lie, and I won't do t hat. We chose Malvina because she was one of Lillian's closest friends.

Mrs. P.: What I'd like to know is, how a nigger gets to be your friend in the first place.

Bob: How does anybody get to be your friend? You meet a person, you like him, you discover common interests, soon you're friends. After all, Lillian has known Malvina longer than she has known me. They've been friends for years and years.

Mrs. P.: That's no reason. You didn't have to ask a nigger. White folks and niggers aren't supposed to associate with each other. If God had intended them to, He'd made them all the same color.

Bob: And do you think blondes and brunettes a re not supposed to associate with each other either?*

Mrs.P: That's entirely different. There is no similarity at all.

Bob: It's another physical difference betwe en people.

Mrs. P.: Oh, God, forgive me if I've ever tau ght my son to associate with niggers.

Bob: You needn't try to bring religion in, Mo m. The Sermon on the Mount and Paul's letters all teach love for one's fellow-man.

Mrs. P.: Jesus never said you had to love niggers around the neck.

Bob: Mom, you and I have different views about race, of course. But that's beside the point. This was our own wedding, and so we chose the attendants that we wanted. Certainly we had a right to do that.

Mrs. P.: Certainly you did not! Not when you knew how it would hurt us.

---

*Mr. Pope is a blonde, Mrs. Pope a brunette.

Bob: Mother, certainly you don't think that we were going to discriminate against someone because of his race. To Lillian and me that would be dead wrong.

Mrs. P.: It wouldn't have been discrimination. She wasn't Lillian's only friend. There were white girls she could have asked.

Bob: But she was the logical one to ask. Malvina and Lillian are close friends. And she would surely have been hurt had she not been asked.

Mr. P.: Was Lillian in her wedding?

Bob: Yes, she was.

Mr. P.: A white girl in a nigger's wedding!

Mrs. P.: My estimation of Lillian has certainly gone down.

Bob: Mom, you all are making a mountain out of a mole hill.

Mrs. P.: To us it's very important.

Bob: But, Mother, you yourself didn't even know she was a Negro until you asked me after the wedding, so it couldn't have been very important.

Mrs. P.: I thought I knew, but I wasn't sure. I thought maybe she was Portuguese or something.

Mr. P.: The minute I saw her I knew something was wrong.

Bob: As a matter of fact, she's half Negro and half white.

Mrs. P.: That's even worse.

Mr. P.: I'll bet her husband's as black as the ace of spades.

Bob: No, both of them are half Negro and half white, and so are their parents. Malvina's mother is half French, I think. I'm not sure. To Lillian and me it just doesn't make any difference. They're nice people, and we like them; they're our friends.

Mrs. P.: Did Lillian's mother know there was going to be a nigger in the wedding?

Bob: I'm not sure. Lillian had told her that Malvina was going to be in it, but I don't know whether she knew she was a Negro.

Mrs. P.: She feels like we do about niggers, doesn't she?

Bob: I don't know exactly; more or less the same, I guess.

Mrs. P.: I bet she's as heart-broken as we are. Did Lillian's brother know?

Bob: Yes, he saw Malvina at the rehearsal.

Mrs. P.: But he didn't know she was a nigger. You should have seen how surprised he looked when you admitted she was a nigger. A nigger in your wedding! And we're respectable people! Oh, if anybody outside the family finds out, we'll never live it down. (She starts crying.)

Mr. P.: Tannie, you mustn't cry. After all, this is Son's last night here, and it must n't end up like this.

IV

(Oct. 16, later in the evening, in the Pope's living room. Lillian has just come back from visiting with her parents. She, Bob, and Mrs. P. are seated. Mr. Pope is in the kitchen getting a drink of water.)

Lillian: Oh, Bob, I've got the pictures of the wedding!

Bob: Good! Let's see them!

Mrs. P.: I don't want to see them. I want to forget the whole thing.

(Mr. P. enters.)

Mrs. P.: They've got the pictures of the wedding party. I don't want to see them; do you?

Mr. P.: No, I don't.

V

(Oct. 17, early in th e morning in a bedroom i n the Pope's house. Lillian and Bob are packing. Lillian's pa rents, who have arrived just a few minutes earlie r, and Mrs. P. are seated.)

Mrs. G.: There's only one thing we don't like about the house you're going to build, and that's the location.

Mrs. P.: Oh, but it's a beautiful location! It's right on the water; across the bay over on a bluff you can see the lights of San Juan. (We were there at night.)

Mrs. G.: Oh. but that's not what I mean. I mean because Puerto Rico is so far away.

Mrs. P.: I don't know. I used to think so, but now I think maybe that's the best place for them, with views like they have. You know there're lots of niggers down there, and they sit down by you in the buses, and eat in the same resturants with you.

Mrs. G.: Well, I'll tell you. Mrs. Pope, that's not my way of doing either, but I guess it's like lots of other things: we

just don't all see alike.

Mrs. P.: Well, I guess I shouldn't be bringing up this nigger business ~~this morning~~ again this morning, but I just can't get over their having a nigger in their wedding. I haven't slept a wink since it happened.

VI

(October 17, a few minutes later in the morning, in the Pope's living room. Lillian and Bob have finished packing, and the best man and the matron of honor have just arriv ed to say good-bye. Lillian, Bob, Tom, Isabel, Mr. and Mrs. Gorzycki, and Mrs. Pope are seated.)

Bob: Here are the pictures of our we dding, Tom.

Tom: They're very good; aren't they?

Mrs. P.: I don't know. I haven't see n them.

Tom: Oh, you haven't seen them! Here!

Mrs. P.: Oh, no, I don't want to see any pictures of ~~your~~ the wedding ~~party~~ party. If there's a picture of just Lillian and Robert, I'll look at it, but I don't want to see any of them that have the wedding party in it.

VII

(October 17, a few minutes later, in the Pope's livin g room. Isabel and Tom are leaving, and Lillian and Bob have gone with them to the car. Only Mr. and Mrs. G. and Mrs. P. are present.)

Mrs. P.: Mrs. Gorzycki, are you as heart-broken over this thing as I am?

Mrs. G.: Heart-broken over what?

Mrs. P.: Over this nigger business. Having a nigger in their wedding! Parks and I are so humiliated we'll never live over it. It was just like a slap i n our faces. I t was like they had knocked us down and trodden on our bod ies. But we could have gotten over <u>that</u>. Did you know about it ahead of time?

Mrs. G.: No. I met Malvina a number of years ago, but I'd just forgotten what she was. You know you can't tell by looking, and Lillian has friends of so many different nationalities, so I just didn't know.

Mrs. P.: It was perfectly disgusting. I'm just thankful that nobody was there from Houston but the family. Mrs. Gorzycki, did you approve?

Mrs. G.: Well, I'll tell you, Mrs. Pope, it was <u>their</u> wedding and I guess they planned it like they wanted it.

Mrs. P.: But would you have had a nigger in <u>your</u> wedding?

Mrs. G.: Well, I didn't have a nigra in my wedding, so I guess I wouldn't.. But this wasn't my wedding. I had my wedding like I wanted it, and my mother didn't tell me what to do.*

****

*There had been some objections to Mr . and Mrs. Gorzycki's marriage because one was a Catholic and the other a Protestant.

"SOMETHING HAS SPOKEN,"

from the Boston Globe, January 31, 1948

For Socrates, the hemlock; for Christ, the Cross; for Gandhi, the bullet. In life, a saint; in death, he receives the martyr's crown. Could any end more completely assure the perpetuity of his life's work? He dies not by the hand of a Moslem, but by one of his own people, the Hindus, whom he has led to political liberation. The paradox of nonviolence is that it brings violence on the heads of it votaries; they all know this when they embark upon that high voyage; it is the fee which they are prepared to pay, well knowing that to him who is willing to pay, it is well worth what it costs. "Nothing is here for tears," but something is here for awe. Halfway through this violent 20th century, the great man of peace, this world figure, the "Great Soul," which is what "Mahatma" means, has fallen by an assassin's bullet.

His venture of faith embraced this peril from the start. It began in South Africa early in the present century. But its origins were powerfully deep, remote, and obscure. One was the New Testament, another was Thoreau's "Civil Disobedience," written out here in the town of Concord; a third was Leo Tolstoy, who, as a young student in Kazan, was ill in a hospital. A Hindu lay in the bed next to his. He had fallen among thieves in the Caucasus and had been beaten almost to death.. He owed his life, he told the young Tolstoy, to "the law of love," nonresistance. There that idea lay in the memory of a man of genius for half a lifetime, then Tolstoy wrote his books on nonresistance and one of these fell into the hands of a young lawyer in Johannesburg, South Africa. His name was Mohandas Gandhi.

"Behold the beautiful economy of the spirit," said Romain Rolland, telling this story. "It flashes from Asia to Europe, from Europe to Africa, from America to India. To it continents are nothing. It is above, beyond, outside of time and space."

That Gandhi should have died by violence will surprise only those who do not know the history of mankind's liberators. What is amazing is that such a figure could have existed in this 20th century at all. In an epoch of mass-slaughter, of power politics, of mechanized destruction, of universal conscription for military service, he taught love, peace, kindness, simplicity of living and mutual aid. A close parallel to the New Testament saga has been reenacted before our eyes on a world stage, for Gandhi has been not a, but the, great spiritual leader of our time during the past quarter of a century. To the eyes of the flesh his death by violence may look like defeat; actually, as the history of Christianity shows, it is victory. "The blood of martyrs is the seed of the Church."

Are we to suppose that the murder of Gandhi is something which will affect only an alien people. far off, in Asia, where religion is politics and politics is religion? Let us not so delude ourselves.

Socrates was condemned to drink the poison of hemlock by a citizenry whose previous record for sustaining freedom of thought and speech had been illustrious; but Socrates enlightened youth and taught them to think in an era when the Athenians were maddened by the prolonged sufferings of a losing war.

One of his slayers was nationalism. Christ, too, was a victim of his own people, and of the most respectable ones among them. Gandhi's fast only a week ago was to compel his own people, the Hindus, to stop attacking the Moslems in their midst, even while it dissuaded the Moslems elsewhere from molesting the Hindus.

To execute Gandhi's assassin would be an ironic violation of Gandhi's lifelong teaching of nonviolence. What we are left with is a 20th century "Book of Revelation." On the one side, a world in arms and the apocalyptic vision of the atom bomb; on the other, a liberator, a saint, and now a martyr. That this should have come just when it did lays on the hearts of men a hush of awe. Something has spoken.

UNCLE DUDLEY

Lucien Price

FROM LETTER BY ALFRED ANDERSON (Feb. 17, '48)
About BR's Ohio Conference Speech, February 8, 1948

1. Creative contributions to the world "don't just happen", they are the result of determined and persistent courageous insistence that a vision of a better world shall be to some extent realized. (With this I heartily agree.)

2. This cannot be done so as to assure that no one will "get hurt". —(I believe that it is sometimes my responsibility to coerce another; if he insists on anxiously entrenching he will "get hurt" — but if he chooses rather to be humble and courageous this can be avoided. The choice rests with him and my responsibility may be completely uninvolved after a certain point.)

3. Non-violent approach. —(This is an ambiguous phrase. (1) Some mean by it refraining from the use of force. Would they then refrain from pushing someone from the path of a car? or pushing a man's arm as he was about to shoot someone—or himself? To me this definition seems dangerous of misunderstanding. (2) Some would include the idea of refraining from threatening talk or actions. (If the threats are designed to appeal to a man's cowardly fears they are invalid, but if they are designed to point out to him what he can expect from me—or someone else—as an empirical fact, then I see no objection.) (3) Some would make the criterion no "rough stuff" of one kind or another. (I would say that this is included but not the heart of the meaning in its best sense.) (4) Finally, some put the emphasis on attitude of mind — good-will or bad-will toward the one coerced, an attitude of compassion, sympathetic understanding and "love" as against a holier-than-thou, judging, unsympathetic, hateful, fearful, vengeful attitude. (It is with this latter view that I confess my sympathy. What a man can do in a nonviolent attitude, in this sense, can result in nothing but good—<u>even though</u> people may still get temporarily hurt. There is one explicative supplement I would add to this and that is that the nonviolent attitude and act must have the complete sanction of conscience.)

4. There are cases of injustice of man to man which become institutionalized and stereotyped; thus perpetuating injustice as long as said are unquestioningly adopted and approved. (This fact seems obvious , and presents a convenient front for attack—for these cannot remain without our continual affirmation and support—even though they offer the docile individual a degree of excuse.)

5. "Be of good cheer", for there are forces for good in the world which cannot be stayed nor long denied. (Now I consider this a very important recognition. He who fails to observe the good of his life, and of life in general, has a streak of unappreciativeness, methinks. Whatever "evil" there may be in the world in the form of injustices, etc., the forces for good are far more powerful in that they are by nature more cooperative and integrative. We all have much to be grateful for if we but consider. I have never met a man, in or out of prison, about whom I couldn't have faith that God saw to it that he got a chance for happiness, despite the extent to which he was denied pleasures and privileges more generally taken for granted. I feel that you would agree, Bayard, that life has gems of many varieties. Perhaps you find it difficult to be sympathetic with the loneliness and spiritual depravity of a discriminating southerner seeking pseudo values and fearfully hiding behind <u>pseudo-dignity</u>. As you pointed out, the one who discriminates is as much in need of help as the one enslaved. <u>One</u> is living by fear and pseudo-values and thus, in his loneliness, deprived of the higher-order values of "belonging", loving and being loved, trusting and being trusted, sharing and being shared with. <u>The other</u> suffers inconveniences, is denied access to values others pursue greedily. But his conscience can be silent, his love great, and his belovedness great—thus his happiness unsurpassed. To be denied power is to be free of temptation and responsibility. I found it easier <u>by far</u> to live close to God—and the resulting happiness—in prison than out in <u>free</u> life. To feel that one is carrying one's share

of the burdens, necessary that we bear for one-another in a world of free (and sometimes inconsiderate) beings, is to be worthy of free conscience and the feeling of God's approval and presence. And nothing can be more blessed than this--in my experience. This is not to condone apathy or appeasement. We must not bow before false gods--nor be resolved in martyrdom fashion to a supposedly inevitable fate. The one unjustly treated feels the responsibility to affirm the dignity of that which he and God have built together and which he knows to be better than trash --worthy of some respect, perhaps much respect. To fail to do this is to misrepresent God's worth and his--and further, the responsibility is somewhat to the offender who must be granted the benefit of the doubt! How? The man may not be so wrong in his moral choice as in his beliefs as regards your worth and the worthiness of things in general--he may see life as a whole as meaningless, mechanistic, and impersonal. To affirm higher values to such a man is to give him empirical evidence of the meaningfulness of life--and from one who could choose to seek vengeance.

All these things you perhaps agree with, and all were somewhat implicit in your poem. I state them here because you may have some value in them explicated in this way and also. . . in order that you may know the thoughts of a man you might choose to serve in regards to teaching at Wilberforce.

As I see it, Bayard, my capabilities lie (fruitfully) in helping people to think straight about truths and values. My feeling is that our good world can be improved, or kept good, by my affirming my beliefs in God's reality and love-- thus in that of good in every man--and in values beyond the popular up-and-down values--affirming this by my encouraging straight, persistent, and courageous thinking, as well as acting. I hope I will not flinch from taking action as I see it can be taken "non-violently", but sound and courageous thinking can prevent much anxious and wasteful action. I would like to teach at Wilberforce because it is near Yellow Springs. We have fixed up a barn there behind Mrs. Riedel's house where we can live very cheaply. We hope to be able to stay there. I have no compassion to teach at a Negro college, but I would not avoid it. I see no reason for feeling that the minority groups are more in need of what I have to offer than the majority. However, I would like to help balance the scales in favor of making it possible for the minority groups to have as much opportunity for the powers of intellectual achievement as other groups. Further, I would like to affirm values which the revolting minority might overlook in its "righteous indignation". When the revolutionary communists got into power they found administrative duties and burdens they tended to overlook as outside critics. (In short, I want to affirm my faith in "non-violence".)

FEB 17 1948

Alfred F. Anderson
~~R.R. #1, Yellow Springs~~
or. 1814 N. High, Apt. F, Cols., O.

Dear Bayard,

Connie and I were both quite pleased with the spirit and maturity of the conference in Columbus. We were particularly moved by your concluding talk. Yours is a deep and profound power, Bayard. We both felt it unmistakenly. You have drunk deeply of life and know the smell of Hell.

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COLUMBUS 10, OHIO

Being a philosopher by nature I cannot avoid analyzing such a talk. Although I realize that an analysis can be only of abstracted parts whose synthesis can never reproduce the original unanalyzed whole — the whole is a poem, and its own excuse for being. Nevertheless, beyond this it revealed some rational thinking and beliefs which no doubt have great influence on your work. As I grasped these ideas inherent in your poem I asked myself about them — have, in fact, decided to write to you about them. These ideas, as I grasped them, are as follows:

1. Creative contributions to the world 'don't just happen', they are the results of determined and persistent courageous insistence that a vision of a better world shall be to some extent realized. (With this I heartily agree)

2. This cannot be done so as to assure that no one will 'get hurt'. — (I believe that it is sometimes my responsibility to coerce another; if he insists on anxiously entrenching he will 'get hurt' — but if he chooses rather to be humble and courageous this can be avoided. The choice rests with him and my responsibility may be completely uninvolved after a certain point.)

3. Non-violent approach. – (This is an ambiguous phrase. ① Some mean by it refraining from the use of force. Would they then refrain from pushing someone from the path of a car? or pushing a man's arm as he was about to shoot someone – or himself? To me this definition seems dangerous of misunderstanding. ② Some would include the idea of refraining from threatening talk or actions. – (If the threats are designed to appeal to a man's cowardly fears they are invalid, but if they are designed to point out to him what he can expect from me – or someone else – as an empirical fact, then I see no objection.) ③ Some would make the criterion no 'rough stuff' of one kind or another. (I would say that this is included, but not the heart of the meaning in its best sense.) ④ Finally some put the emphasis on attitude of mind – good-will or bad-will toward the one coerced, an attitude of compassion, sympathetic understanding and 'love' as against a holier-than-thou, judging, unsympathetic, hateful, fearful, vengeful attitude. (It is with this latter view that I confess my sympathy. What a man can do in a non-violent attitude, in this sense, can result in nothing but good – even though people may still get temporarily hurt. – There is one explicative supplement I would add to this and that is that the non-violent attitude and act must have the complete sanction of conscience.)

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5. 'Be of good cheer', for there are forces for good in the world which cannot be stayed nor long denied. (Now I consider this a very important recognition. He who fails to observe the good of his life, and of life in general has a streak of unappreciativeness methinks. Whatever 'evil' there may be in the world in the form of injustices, etc. the forces for good are far more powerful in that they are by nature more co-operative & integrative. We all have much to be grateful for if we but consider. I have never met a man, in or out of prison, about whom I couldn't have faith that God saw to it that he got a chance for **happiness**, despite the extent to which he was denied pleasures & privileges more generally taken for granted. I feel that you would agree, Bayard, that life has gems of many varieties. Perhaps you find it difficult to be sympathetic with the loneliness and spiritual depravity of a discriminating sort-cover seeking pseudo values and fearfully hiding behind <u>pseudo-dignity</u>. As you pointed out the one who discriminates is as much in need of help as the one enslaved. <u>One</u> is living by fear and pseudo-values, and thus, in his loneliness, deprived of the higher-order values of 'belonging', loving & being loved, trusting and being trusted, sharing and being shared with. <u>The other</u> suffers inconveniences, is denied access to values others pursue greedily. But his conscience can be silent, his love great, and his beloveliness great – thus his happiness unsurpassed. To be denied power is to be free of temptation and responsibility. I found it easier <u>by far</u> to live close to God – and the resulting happiness – in prison than out in <u>free</u> life. To feel that one is carrying one's share of the burdens,

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necessary that we bear for one-another in a world of free (and sometimes inconsiderate) beings, is to be worthy of free conscience and the feeling of God's approval and presence. And nothing can be more blessed than this — in my experience. This is not to condone apathy or appeasement. We must not bow before false gods — nor be resolved in martyrdom fashion to a supposedly inevitable fate. The one injustly treated feels the responsibility to affirm the dignity of that which he and God have built together and which he knows to be better than trash — worthy of some respect, perhaps much respect. To fail to do this is to misrepresent God's worth and his — and further, the responsibility is somewhat to the offender who must be granted the benefit of the doubt! How? The man may not be so wrong in his moral choice as in his beliefs as regards your worth and the worthiness of things in general — he may see life as a whole as meaningless, mechanistic, and impersonal. To affirm higher values to such a man is to give him empirical evidence of the meaningfulness of life — and from one who could choose to seek vengeance.

All these things you perhaps agree with, & all were somewhat implicit in your poem. I state them here because you may have some value in them explicated in this way, and also .... in order that you know the thoughts of a man you might choose to serve in regards to teaching at Willberforce.

As I see it, Bayard, my capabilities lie (fruitfully) in helping people to think straight about truths and values. My feeling is that our good world can be improved, or

kept good, by my affirming my belief in God's reality and love — thus in that of good in every man — and in values beyond the popular up-and-down values — affirming this by my encouraging straight, persistent, and courageous thinking, as well as acting. I hope that I will not flinch from taking action as I see it can be taken 'non-violently', but sound & courageous thinking can prevent much anxious and wasteful action. I would like to teach at Wilberforce because it is near Yellow Springs. We have fixed up a barn there behind Mrs. Riedel's house where we can live very cheaply. We hope to be able to stay there. I have no compassion to teach at a negro college, but I would not avoid it. I see no reason for feeling that the minority groups are more in need of what I have to offer than the majority. However I would like to help balance the scales in favor of making it possible for the minority groups to have as much opportunity for the powers of intellectual achievement as other groups. Further I would like to affirm values which the revolting minority might overlook in its righteous indignation. When the revolutionary communists got into power they found administrative duties & powers they tended to overlook as outside critics. (In short, I want to affirm my faith in 'non-violence')

My hope is to teach such courses as "Introduction to Philosophy", "Ethics", "Logic", "Philosophy of Religion". I have now

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a B.S. in mechanical engineering, and after six years out of school went back to study philosophy. By this September I will have a M. A. in philosophy, with a sociology minor. I would welcome any inquiries they might want to make. Dr. Avey is the chairman of the philosophy department, and my advisor; he would no doubt give out information as to my qualifications.

Connie and I are both very grateful to you for your offer to investigate the possibilities at Wilberforce. We would very much like to remain in Yellow Springs, and we hope that we can.

We are with you in spirit in your work. Personally, I tend more toward individual, spontaneous, very personal action in race relations and social change in general. I have my effect indirectly and slowly. Thus, you will not see me participating much in organized programs, although I have no universal criticism of such.

If you should want to look us up in Yellow Springs sometime, we live almost accross from the Swanns, and they can direct you.

Thank you again for your spiritual contribution to our souls,

In fellowship,

Alfred F. Andersen

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Postscript

I have since talked to Dr. Wesley on the phone. He said he was interested and asked me to drop him a line. But I suspect that I don't know the whole story. He said "it is probable that we might need someone.

Evidently philosophy is taught on the state side, but some of the reports I have of the situation concern me some.

I am going to investigate further. In the meantime, whatever you can find time for will be very much appreciated. I would value your evaluation of the entire situation, for instance. Evidently there is pressure on Wesley to hire only negro professors and teachers. Also there are politics involved.

In any case, any decision I will make on alternatives should be within a couple of months.

Thanks again Bayard

Chairman
Henry J. Cadbury

Honorary Chairman
Rufus M. Jones

Executive Secretary
Clarence E. Pickett

American Friends Service Committee

Twenty South Twelfth Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania
Telephone, RIttenhouse 6-9372

June 7, 1948

Bayard Rustin
2929 Broadway
New York 25, New York

Dear Bayard Rustin:

I have just returned from a much needed vacation of two months. Hence the delay in sending you the letter of invitation from the India Committee to attend the World Pacifist Meeting to be held in that country in January, 1949. Enclosed are two letters of invitation, one written before and the other after Gandhi's death.

In the letter of invitation the India Committee agrees to meet all the expenses of those they invite to the Conference, including their travel expenses and their expenses in India. With Gandhi enthusiastic about the conference it would not have been a difficult matter for the India Committee to have met this obligation, but with Gandhi's death I know first-hand that while the India Committee still wants it clearly understood that it will undertake to meet the expenses of everyone it will be difficult for them to do so. Therefore, each American delegate and each American organization represented ought to bear as much of the expense as possible.

I am delighted to know that you are planning to go. I am sure it will be a wonderful experience. I wish more people could share in it. Will you please drop me a note in which you outline your plans for going — when you leave the United States, means of transportation (ship or airplane) you expect to use, what stopovers enroute you expect to make, when you expect to arrive in India, how much time you can remain in India, how many of the plans of the India Committee you expect to fit into while there, when and how you expect to return, and other such information that you think would be helpful?

In order to help prepare for the World Pacifist Meeting we will plan to hold conferences in this country with those going to India. I will try to arrange such conferences in the fall. Would you be willing to send me your schedule (i.e. when and where you can be reached from the date you get this letter until December) in order to facilitate arranging the necessary conferences. If you are leaving the country this summer perhaps we can get together before you go.

With every good wish,

Sincerely,

Ray Newton

Ray Newton

RN:cn
Enc.

TELEGRAM: "QUAKERSERV"

PHONE: PK. 397

WORLD PACIFIST MEETING

SANTINIKETAN — JANUARY 1949

HONY. SECRETARY:
HORACE ALEXANDER

HONY. TREASURER:
B. KANORIA.

JT. HONY. SECRETARY:
HIRALAL BOSE.

OFFICE ADDRESS:
1, UPPER WOOD STREET
CALCUTTA 16

9th April 1948.

Dear Friend,

During the past two years, plans have been developing for a meeting in India of religious pacifists and of those who are giving major attention to the conditions needed for bringing peace to the earth. Such a meeting was intended specially as an opportunity for men and women from the west and from all over the world to spend a week with Mahatma Gandhi and a few of his associates. Mahatma Gandhi had entered fully into the proposal, and given much thought to it. He approved the letter of invitation, which was about to be sent out to a selected list of men and women, including yourself. Now he is dead.

Are we to abandon the whole project ? We do not think so. Those who have known him well can almost hear him say: "I shall not be able to attend in person, but does that matter?" To us, of course, it matters intensely: but something else matters still more, and that is, that we should strive as never before to carry on the work he has begun.

India without the living form of Mahatma Gandhi cannot be the same, but we believe he has left an indelible mark on the country; and we believe it may be possible to gather together a group of his close associates who, among them, can share with those who come from other lands something at least of the burning truth concerning the way of non-violence which has led Mahatma Gandhi to his death.

Therefore, we enclose the invitation as first drafted, and as approved by him. We beg you still to treat this as an invitation to what, if you and others respond, can be a meeting of real significance in leading mankind out of the present darkness. The plans made for the meeting next January may be slightly modified. In particular, after the meeting in Santiniketan we hope to arrange for further meetings at such places as Sevagram, where some of Mahatma Gandhi's special constructive projects are centred.

So we go forward in faith, grieving, indeed, that we can no longer ask you to come and meet Mahatma Gandhi face to face, but begging you, if possible, to take the necessary time from your work to confer with men and women from all the continents, and to seek for more light and strength and courage to find and to follow the way of life for mankind.

Yours sincerely,

Rajendra Prosad
Rathindranath Tagore
Horace Alexander
Bhagirath Kanoria
Hiralal Bose

TELEGRAM: "QUAKERSERV"

PHONE: PK. 397

WORLD PACIFIST MEETING

SANTINIKETAN — JANUARY 1949

HONY. SECRETARY:
HORACE ALEXANDER

HONY. TREASURER:
B. KANORIA

JT. HONY. SECRETARY:
HIRALAL BOSE.

OFFICE ADDRESS:
1, UPPER WOOD STREET
CALCUTTA 16

Dear Friend,

We very cordially invite you to take part in a meeting in India in the winter 1948-49 of men and women who are dedicating their lives to work for the peace of the world. It is intended to hold the main meetings at Santiniketan in the second week of January 1949. Mahatma Gandhi, though not among the signatories of this invitation, is in full accord with the purpose of those who are planning the meeting and intends to be present. The authorities at Santiniketan are willing to make the necessary arrangements for the meeting, which they consider to be in line with the life-work of the founder, Rabindranath Tagore, and of his beloved friend and colleague, the late C. F. Andrews.

The first initiative for this meeting came from members of the Society of Friends (Quakers) in England. Impressed by the need for resisting the mighty forces of military power and domination and fear, which threaten to destroy humanity, they saw that nothing less than a mobilisation of the powers of the spirit of man, directed by the spirit of God, was needed. They therefore suggested that a group of men and women from all the continents should meet in India, to have searching discussions and intimate conference with Mahatma Gandhi, who has stood for the renunciation of force and the principle of non-violence throughout his career. When this plan was mooted, it was found that groups in India and America were thinking along similar lines.

It is intended that the central conference or meeting shall be a small gathering of some fifty persons, with a minimum of settled agenda, and shall continue for about a week. It is hoped that men and women who have passed through the fires of suffering and persecution for their pacifist faith, in Europe and elsewhere, can share their experiences, and the faith born out of these experiences; so that the pure streams of pacifist witness, whether coming out of the tradition of the West or of the East, may flow together to form a river of life that can do all that may be possible towards saving the world from its present distresses.

We believe that you can make an important contribution to such a meeting, and we therefore beg you to spend part of next winter in India. Although the main conference will be private and informal, we hope the visitors who come can stay long enough in India to take part in some public meetings in Indian cities, and to make contact with many other individuals and groups, beyond the few who will be associated with Mahatma Gandhi in the central meeting.

P. T. O.

We do not suggest that such a conference will lead to immediate tangible results in the political world. What we trust is that it may generate new spiritual power in the world, and spread new faith and assurance in men's capacity and destiny to live as one family under heaven.

Funds are being raised in India, America and England to pay the expenses of those who are able to attend. Please regard this invitation as involving us in a promise to cover your expenses both coming and going and in India, unless it is easy for you to get the funds you need from some organisation in your own country. We cannot offer luxury travel, but we hope that you will travel in reasonable comfort. Kindly let us know as soon as possible whether you are able to accept, what date you expect to leave home, how long you can stay in India, and what help you will need from us in conection with the journey. All correspondence should be addressed to the Secretary, World Pacifist Meeting, 1, Upper Wood Street, Calcutta, India.

Yours sincerely,

Horace Alexander (Calcutta)
Nausher Ali (Calcutta)
E.W. Aryanayakam (Sevagram)
Asha Devi Aryanayakam (Sevagram)
Alice Barness (Coimbatore)
Hiralal Bose (Calcutta)
Nirmal Bose (Calcutta)
Nargis Captain (Bombay)
Amiya Chakravarty (Calcutta)
Ranjit Chetsingh (Delhi)
Gopabandhu Choudhuri (Cuttack)
Malati Choudhuri (Orissa)
Horace Collins (Calcutta)
Gangeshananda (New Delhi)
S. K. George (Santiniketan)
Sudhir Ghosh (New Delhi)
Donald Groom (Hoshangabad)
Muhammad Habib (Aligarh)
W. M. Hume (Calcutta)
Zakir Hussain (Delhi)
Chotalal Jain (Calcutta)
S. Jesudason (Tirupattur)
Bhagirath Kanoria (Calcutta)
Amrit Kaur (New Delhi)
Abdus Samad Khan (Baluchisthan)
J. C. Kumarappa (Wardha)
Gurdial Mallik (Santiniketan)
Kishorelal Mashruwala (Wardha)
Sosa Mathew (Lucknow)
G. L. Mehta (Bombay)
Saudamini Mehta (Bombay)
J. K. Mehta (Bombay)
Miraben (Wardha)
H. C. Mookerjee (New Delhi)
Kalidas Nag (Calcutta)
Sushila Nair (Wardha)
Nityaswarupananda (Belur)
Jamshed Nusserwanjee (Karachi)
Gladys Owen (Lucknow)
Rajendra Prasad (Patna)
Pyarelal (Wardha)
S. Radhakrishnan (New Delhi)
G. Ramchandran (Sevagram)
Daniel Ratnam (Madras)
Renuka Ray (Calcutta)
Sujata Ray (Calcutta)
K. Sayidain (Poona)
Hafiz Sayyid (Allahabad)
Teja Singh (Bombay)
S. H. Suhrawardy (Karachi)
Marjorie Sykes (Madras)
Rathindranath Tagore(Santiniketan)
V. H. Sword (Gauhati)
A. V. Thakkar (Wardha)
D. Velayudhan (Madras)
Sophia Wadia (Bombay)

----------:0:----------

Status of the Delegation from the Western Hemisphere

The status of the delegation from the Western Hemisphere seems to be as follows:

Latin America: We are hoping to get two from the Latin-American countries. So far Heberto Sein from Mexico has said he felt he could go.

Canada: We had hoped to get two people. They probably will do well to get one.

United States: The Brethren are sending Leland Brubaker and Rufus Bowman.

The Mennonites may send one, or possibly two, representatives.

The Fellowship of Reconciliation is sending Nevin Sayre.

The American Friends Service Committee has funds in hand and no doubt will be able to decide upon someone to go.

Bayard Rustin, a young Negro pacifist now working for the Fellowship of Reconciliation has agreed to go.

Ruth Seabury, a Congregationalist, who is well and favorably known on our college campuses, has agreed to go.

Among those who have been invited and from whom we are awaiting definite replies are Robert Calhoun of Yale Theological Seminary, Gerald Heard of Trabuco College, California, and Allan Hunter, writer, lecturer and pacifist minister from California.

Schedule in India

The dates for next year's meeting may be arranged as follows according to word received from India:

Santiniketan	- 7th to 13th January	- 7 days
Calcutta	- 14th to 17th "	- 4 "
Noakhali	- 19th to 20th "	- 2 "
Wardha	- 22nd to 27th "	- 6 "
Delhi	- 29th Jan. to 5th February	- 7 "
Bihar	- 7th and 8th February	- 2 "
Bombay	- 10th to 13th February	- 4 "
		32 days

Enclosure for letter written by Ray Newton, June, 1948

June 25, 1948

Selma Platt
R.F.D. #2
Newton, Kansas

Dear Selma Platt:

I am sending you, under separate cover, a memo which I drew up for suggestive thinking on discrimination in Kansas restaurants. I hope that you will be able to use it.

I called to the attention of A. J. Muste the information you sent and would suggest that you write him immediately. I feel that the project is very significant. I was very much interested in the enclosed material which I am sending back to you.

Sincerely,

Bayard Rustin

br/rhk
Encl.
Sent 6/28

JUN 21 1947

June 18, 1948

Dear Bayard,

Yesterday I sent you an envelope full of enclosures. I just discovered that my letter to you was still lying on the table. I hope you get the two together without difficulty. How would it be to blame our Studebaker- we don't know whether we're coming or going.

Sincerely,

Selma

JUN 21 1947

R.F.D. 2
Newton, Kansas
June 17, 1948

Bayard Rustin
2929 Broadway
New York

Dear Bayard,

I have finally received more information regarding the possibility of securing visas for children from Asia and Europe. The prospects for obtaining visas formchildren from India does not look very hopeful although the policy has eased up some.

I met A.J. Muste in Wichita last February. There was no time to introduce my idea to him. I did mention it to Marion Coddington, but according to a card I received from Ruth Steinburgh in March, I concluded that Marion understood that I wanted merely to get in touch with some organization which deals in Foster Parent Work. I shall write to A.J. Muste if you think that the best procedure.

However, after you look over the enclosed government information, you decide that the problem of securing children from any of the darker races would be too great, please do not hesitate to say so. I am aware too that the present world situation makes very heavy demands on all of you. I am sure that many of these more pleasant projects must be abandoned because so many problems press for immediate attention.

Last week Dwight and I attended the International Relations Institute in Wichita. The more I heard Elmo McKee talk about his work work in Germany, the more I longed to go back there. It is difficult for me to be satisfied with the little tasks that lie within the bounds of possibility when there is so much to be done.

Next week I shall begin a small part time job as librarian for the Mennonite Western District Conference Traveling Library. I am also undertaking the job of state chairman for the F.O.R. The Kansas F.O.R. does not show much life except in the area of racial problems. If you have any suggestions for state work, please let me know. I suppose our first task should be to get a good delegation from Kansas to attend the Estes Conference.

We have a Negro couple, Mr. and Mrs. Edgar Moore, living in our upstairs apartment now. The Reimers moved to a farm. If you can ever come this way again, I am sure the Moore's will give you the large room upstairs where you'll be undisturbed any time of the day or night. What's more, OsaVera Ethridge will have no reason for jealousy because you spend too little time with the Negroes.

Sincerely,

Selma

Selma Platt

MEMORANDUM RE: DISCRIMINATION IN KANSAS RESTAURANTS

1. Discrimination against Negroes in Kansas restaurants seems to be widely practiced.

2. The policy is supported by the Kansas Restaurant Association.

3. A concerted drive in a number of Kansas cities against the practice in all restaurants would be more likely to succeed than a campaign against one or two restaurants at a time.

4. I propose the following general outline of such a campaign:

   a. The drive would be carried on by local groups in each city or town, with no overall organization, but with provision for exchange of ideas and news of progress.

   b. An attempt would be made to get the managers of all local restaurants to discuss feasibility of all taking down "We Reserve the Right to Refuse to Serve——" signs at the same time. In this way none would be risking more than the others.

   c. If managers refuse, the campaign should be carried on through church, Y, veterans, and campus groups.

   d. Petitions could be circulated to get signatures to desire of citizens that restaurants be opened to all.

   e. Ministers, Y leaders, and other prominent citizens could issue a stream of statements pointed at this lack of democracy. Debates and public discussions could be set up.

   f. Newspapers might take up the crusade. If they would carry news of what is being done in other Kansas towns, this might start a rivalry to be the first town to take this step toward democracy.

   g. If a substantial campaign did not result in their changing their policy, a boycott petition might be circulated, getting committed people to agree not to eat in any restaurant which would not change its policy. If a substantial number of citizens in the community took this position, possibly organizing their own co-op restaurants, it would bring a lot of pressure. If one or two restaurants changed their policy, this information could be widely publicized, with agreements not to patronize others until they changed.

   h. Various ways might be found to get the issue raised in meetings of the Kansas Restaurant Association.

   i. Non-violent direct action projects might be undertaken to get one or two restaurants to change their policy.

THE FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION
RACIAL-INDUSTRIAL DEPARTMENT
2929 BROADWAY
NEW YORK 25, N. Y.

BAYARD RUSTIN

MEMORANDUM RE: DISCRIMINATION IN KANSAS RESTAURANTS

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THE FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION
RACIAL-INDUSTRIAL DEPARTMENT
2929 BROADWAY
NEW YORK 25, N. Y.

BAYARD RUSTIN

Chairman
HENRY J. CADBURY

Honorary Chairman
RUFUS M. JONES

Executive Secretary
CLARENCE E. PICKETT

American Friends Service Committee

Twenty South Twelfth Street

Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Telephone, RITTENHOUSE 6-9372

(XI) India

September 1, 1948

Dear Friends:

To those who have been invited to attend the World Pacifist Meeting in India the attached proposed program will be of interest. Ray Newton wanted me to mention that this was a first draft and will be subject to modification both in India and after discussion when the delegates get to India.

With every good wish,

Sincerely,

Catherine Naysmith

Catherine Naysmith
Ray Newton's secretary

CN

Enc.

COPY

WORLD PACIFIST MEETING
THE PROGRAMME

The World Pacifist Meeting will commence on the 15th of January, 1949 at Santiniketan and continue for a week. It is expected that all invitees will be able to arrive by the evening of the 14th of January, when a formal reception will be held.

There will be two sessions every day.
Morning - from 9 a.m. to 1.p.m.
Evening - " 4.30 p.m. to 7.30 p.m.
Each morning at 7.30, a group prayer, silent orotherwise, will be held for about half an hour.

Breakfast - 8 a.m.
Lunch - 1 p.m.
Tea - 4 p.m.
Dinner - 8 p.m.

15th January: Chairman - Dr. Rajendra Prasad

Morning: 1) Introductory speech by Dr. Rajendra Prasad (15 min. approx.)
2) Talk on THE PEACE MOVEMENT IN INDIA by Sri Vineba
3) Talk on ECONOMICS OF NON-VIOLENCE by J.C. Kumarappa.

Discussion

Evening: Continuance of morning discussion.

16th January: Chairman - Muriel Lester

Morning: 1) Brief introduction by Muriel Lester.

2) Talks on PACIFIST REPLY TO ARMED AGGRESSION by representatives of the following countries (about a quarter of an hour each)

Finland
Norway
Denmark
Belgium
Germany
France

Discussion.

Evening: Talks on the morning topic by representatives of China, Java and other countries in similar circumstances.

Discussion

17th January: Chairman - (an American)

Morning: 1) Talks on DEVELOPMENT OF PEACE MOVEMENT IN EUROPE AND AMERICA by representatives of the following organizations: -

	Probable Speaker
1. War Resisters International	Reginald Reynolds (England)
2. Fellowship of Reconciliation	A.J. Muste, U.S.A.

Also a talk on INTERNATIONAL PEACE MOVEMENT by Gerald Bailey.

PROGRAMME of the World Pacifist Meeting - continued

Evening: The morning topic continued.

1) Quaker - (Marjorie Sykes, England)

2) Mennonites - (A speaker from the U.S.A.)

3) Brethren - Do.

The group will now be divided into 6 sections or commissions.

18th January:

The following topics will be allocated to the commissions, one each, who will work on them and submit reports: -

- 1) Practical Application of Pacifism and Non-Violence in Everyday Life.
- 2) Education for Peace.
- 3) Pacifism and Imperialism, Old and New.
- 4) Race and Colour Problems and their Solution.
- 5) Pacifist Approach to World Government
- * 6) Planning for a World Union of Pacifists.

19th January:

Mo-ti-lal
Jo-har-lal -

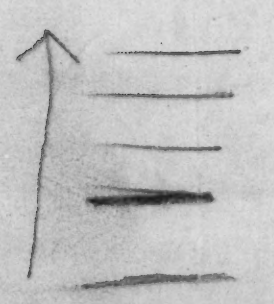
A visit from Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.

20th January:

Discussion on Reports of the Commissions

21st January:

Continuance of Discussion of the previous Day.



September 3, 1948

Mrs. Selma Platt
Route 2
Newton, Kansas

Dear Selma Platt:

I was glad to get your letter of August 25th. It was good to know that your brother, mother and dad signed our FOR membership blanks. I would not be at all surprised if you finally turn the entire community into FOR members one of these days.

You no doubt have heard on the radio the terrific responses we got all over the East in picketing the draft centers. The material was carried on the radio and in all of the daily papers and so far the government has made no effort whatsoever to crack down. There was some talk that the federal attorneys in Philadelphia were going to bring action, but so far no such action has been taken. In Boston our pickets are picketing the draft board and some Catholic veterans are picketing our picketers so that it is a very dramatic situation.

In reference to your remarks on the Chicago conference, I also felt it was a wonderful experience as I always do when I am associated with people who take an all out position. Also, I believe we have to get used to the idea of being told that we must be careful and that we should not act lest we create more harm than good. Essentially, accepting our position basically depends on the concept of social change that we have. For example, you and I believe (that it is the "now group", the group which insists that change for the better must take place immediately and far- reachingly), that it is that group which because of its insistence activates at less direct levels many other more conservative people who would not become activated unless we were insisting upon change coming immediately. In a sense, the radical who insists upon far-reaching and immediate change has throughout history been proved the gadfly which has stirred men into action. Nevertheless, we must be prepared to be looked upon as queer and although I would not compare ourselves with such men as Socrates, Luther, Lincoln, Thoreau, etc., these men in a sense played very much the same function and were looked upon by their

contemporaries as foolish, unrealistic, idealistic, premature, and doing more harm than good.

In reference to the enclosed card, I think there are many people like Rachel in the world who feel intellectually with us but who cannot withstand the emotional strain necessary to carry on. I believe in such cases it is our fundamental function to continue to challenge those people. The fact that she wrote the kind of card she did ought to be looked upon by you as a real indication of your influence in the community, for she admitted that your now action had stimulated her thinking and her desire for action.

I certainly would like the opportunity of speaking at Bethel on the subject which Dwight has mentioned. If I come that way again it will be in part to accomplish this task if it can be done. I believe that even this subject can be dealt with in such a way as to leave behind one the same number of friends that he had before, although I would be the first to recognize that it would be impossible to talk upon such a subject without leaving some people intellectually separated from us.

Your observation on fasting is very interesting because of a similar situation which I faced in prison. My first fast there was a four day fast which I did alone and which I could scarcely get through. However, when I fasted with a group of men, I discovered that I went on for twenty eight days with no difficulty. There is in the community of such a situation an extraordinary carrying power and I recognized this only on the second occasion.

The check which you enclosed I believe would be best turned over to the camp fund which is at the moment attempting to send underprivileged Negro and poor Irish children from East Harlem to camp for a week. The camp closes the second week in September. If you have any objection to using the money for that purpose, I trust that you will let me know about this as quickly as possible. I suppose a part of my desire to use the money in this way grows out of the fact that it is good to see some positive and immediate results at times as against the long range peace education that we so often engage in.

On the general policy of the use of one's money, I believe that it would be for me best to use my money in some project in which I essentially also used my body and mind. That is to say, the orphan project which I still feel has great potentialities may still be a possibility and in a sense you may want to continue working on that.

It is a good thing to see your sense of community extending even into the field of finances which even among substantial FOR people seems to be the last place that it reaches. I have heard of the discourse which Dwight refers to but have not read it. I will put it on the list of things I am collecting to read when my vacation comes. We are in the midst of a reorganization on the Jimcrow army business, so I will close. Hoping to hear from you in the near future,

Sincerely,

BR:SP

Bayard Rustin

Route 2
Newton, Kansas
August 25, 1948

Bayard Rustin
~~ln~~ 2929 Broadway
New York 25

AUG 30 1948

Dear Bayard,

On our way home from Chicago we stopped at Merom, Ind. I think you'll be interested in knowing that Ellen and Shirley Freeman, whom we saw there, have been looking for a Negro baby sister for their own two white sons. They realize now the present impossibility of finding an available Negro child and of getting any child welfare board to approve such an adoption.

My brothers, mother and dad signed F.O.R. membership applications Sunday. I think F.O.R. seems mild and respectable to them now that Dwight and I have been active in the non-registration movement.

Austin Regier from Moundridge is the only boy I have found around here who has made up his mind not to register next week. Ralph Bargen, at present working in a mental hospital on the west coast, I think will not register. Gordon Kaufman, son of the President of Bethel College, seems to be leaning toward registration with a protest letter.

The Chicago Conference was a thrilling experience for us. It seemed a relief for me to be with a group who were unafraid and were not continually saying, "Be careful, be careful." The ~~only~~ attack ~~however~~ which is most difficult for me is that which my brother uses frequently whenever ~~my~~ desire for action seems to conflict with the Mennonite pattern. He asks, "Are you sure that such radical action does not do more harm than good to the cause?" No, I'm not sure. If I waited on complete assurance I'd never do anything. How I value the support of like-minded friends, even though far away, at such times!

I think I'll enclose a card I received this week which, I think, will explain better than I can how some folks here feel. Don't bother to return the card. This note to me was written after a series of events. Rachel Kreider seemed anxious to sign the non-participant commitment. She said that commitment sounded as if she wanted someone else to do the dirty work but she just was not ready to become active in the movement. After I left she and her chemist husband talked until the wee hours trying to decide why he and other Bethel professors did not want to sign. She returned the statement with her own signature but not her husband's. Then later she came to me asking to have her name crossed off because she had not realized that her name might be printed in a local paper.

Dwight keeps saying that he wishes Bayard Rustin would come to discuss

non registration with the Mennonites here. He commented last night that you might lose some of your popularity here if you discussed that subject but because people here do like you, they will listen to you. Dwight says to tell you that you have a mission to perform here.

The ordeal of fasting seems easy, at least in the first stage. I think, however, I'd better not publicize this first brief attempt. People here do not seem to doubt my sincerity; therefore I hesitate diverting their attention from non-registration to fasting which I fear would appear only ridiculous to them. In fact, I think I'd better take a little nourishment this afternoon, so as to have plenty energy for the interracial meeting tonight. Am I merely rationalizing? I think I could enjoy a week of fasting if I could go off into a wilderness or could join the group in New York.

Use my enclosed check for that which seems most pressing at the moment. I am not too comfortable about my money situation; I feel like a capitalist with money invested even in "co-ops." I have been hoping to use it for some project in which I can also invest my time and energy. Should much of it go to Peacemakers and Core etc. or should it be saved for an ~~possible~~ orphan project? It is fun

too to be able to give myself a salary for doing the work that I love to do and that so few will do because there is no financial future in such work. I won't bother you anymore with this personal problem. But I do wish you would call on me in any emergency. I could have quite a sum of money ready on rather short notice. One difficulty is that dad and mother give me money and then they watch too closely as to what we do with it. They are inclined to think I am not too appreciative. I do thoroughly appreciate, however, being able to put my time into this work and at the same time being free from financial worries as far as obligation to my children is concerned.

Sincerely,
Selma Platt

P.S. Have you read La Boétie's "Discourse sur la Servitude Volontaire" which comes to us from the sixteenth century? I haven't read it but Dwight ~~found~~ read to me a clipping from The New York Times Book Review March 29, 1942, p. 21 about La Boétie's influence on Thoreau. There is a translation of La Boétie's essay by Harry Kurz entitled "Anti-Dictator" (Columbia University Press #1).

Dear Selma,

I have felt so uncomfortable the whole afternoon, for I can hardly live with myself when I think I have in any way helped to make a friend feel let-down or discouraged. I hope you don't feel so, but it would be most natural too if you did. Like Voltaire, I'll defend you spiritedly on your position (We talked about the principle in S. S class but only Anna, Hulda, and I knew about the specific instance) but I still feel that the wisest procedure on an overall-national scale is not necessarily identical with that in a given community. In this instance, considering what has gone before and what all is involved locally. I feel it is no doubt more

profitable to go at it in a little different way. I'm not dead-sure about it but so is my feeling at this point. But your service (even if I don't change my mind) in stirring up this matter and in challenging ~~me~~ all of us! to do something is very valuable.

But do forgive my voice raising way of getting excited when I try to discuss anything seriously!

Most sincerely,

Rachel

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Mennonite Youth

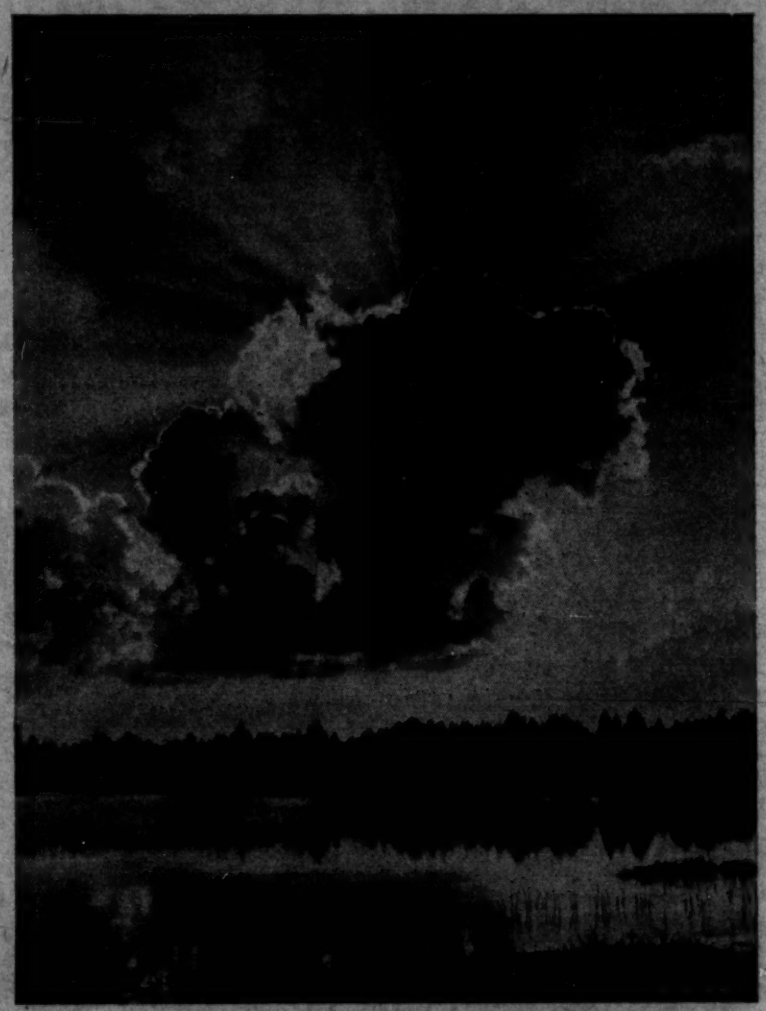
"A United Mennonite Youth in Christ"

Sponsored by the Young People's Union of the General Conference

Editor
Esko Loewen
Topeka, Indiana

God Walks in My Garden

BY DWIGHT PLATT



Who makes a garden learns the art of kneeling;
Develops comradeship with sun and wind;
Grows tall beneath the sky, that frescoed ceiling
Whose changing artistry is never done.
Renews his faith in childhood fairy stories
Each time he bends to plant a sleeping seed.
Discovers in a root a world of glories;
Learns silent perserverance from a weed.
Who makes a garden lifts between his fingers
Eons of history reduced to sod;
Grows reverent the while his fancy lingers
Upon the mystery and majesty of God.

—Caroline Cain Durkee

Gardening is an art which can help a person to grow both physically and spiritually. Its great benefits physically have been discussed again and again. The outdoor exercise and the low-cost, more nutritious, and more flavorful food it provides are good reasons for adopting it as a hobby. However, I am interested in gardening as a means for spiritual growth. In nature one can see God at work, and in gardening one works with God in a more real and obvious sense than in most other endeavors. I believe we all need some contact with nature if it be only in tending a few houseplants. As James Russel Lowell said in his poem, "Under the Willows":

" ..... the brain
That forages all climes to line its cells,
.....
Will not distil the juices it has sucked
To the sweet substance of pellucid thought,
Except for him who hath the secret learned
To mix his blood with sunshine, and to take
The winds into his pulses."

In our mechanized Western civilization, we are apt to view our scientific progress and think of man and man's works as ends in themselves. Many people work in factories, live in large cities, and go to movies and other manufactured forms of entertainment in their spare time. Even their brief contacts with nature are for the excitement of exploitation, such as the thrill of shooting a rabbit. Because of this lack of real contact with nature and this preoccupation with man's material world, many tend to forget God. They become restless, frustrated individuals who are worried and fretted by all the little problems of everyday life. They want more and more excitement and murder stories to take up their spare time and find it boring to be alone with God in nature. These are the kind of people who make possible the present war panic and preparation which could lead to our doom. Whittier in the prelude to "Among the Hills" describes that kind of people:

"..... sour and sullen men,
.....
With scarce a human interest save their own
Monotonous round of small economies,
Or the poor scandal of the neighborhood;
Blind to the beauty everywhere revealed,
Treading the May-flowers with regardless feet;
For them the song-sparrow and the bobolink
Sang not, nor winds made music in the leaves;
.....

Church-goers, fearful of the unseen Powers,
But grumbling over pulpit-tax and pew-rent,
Saving as shrewd economists, their souls
And winter pork with the least possible outlay
Of salt and sanctity; in daily life
Showing as little actual comprehension
Of Christian charity and love and duty,
As if the Sermon on the Mount had been
Outdated like a last year's almanac:"

Gardening or a contact with nature would not be a cure for these people, but rather it could be a means through which a cure could be effected. That kind of people do not want spiritual growth, and for them gardening is a chore which if done effects a saving in their food bill. But if their eyes could be opened and they could be turned in the right direction, gardening could be a means of helping them grow.

But what are the rules of the art of gardening which will make it of most help to us. One essential characteristic of a good gardener is an eye for the beauty and wonder in nature. This sense is in us all, but it is very weakened by disuse in most people. For how many people see the beauty in an English sparrow, a weed field or an ant hill? And yet Minot J. Savage says in his poem. "Earth's Common Things":

"In wonder-workings, or some bush aflame,
Men look for God and fancy him concealed;
But in earth's common things He stands revealed
While grass and flowers and stars spell out his name."

We see beauty only in the spectacular in nature, such as the brilliant sunset or the flashing red of a cardinal and even then we do not most of the time truly appreciate it. If we cultivate this sense of seeing beauty in common things we will be surprised at what new enjoyment we can get out of life. A second essential is an experimental attitude toward discovering and appreciating God's laws. We must try to discover the laws that govern the growing of plants and then work in harmony with them. Perhaps if we learn to build up the soil in accordance with God's laws, we will greatly reduce the damage done by insect and disease pests. For there was not such great damage before man rudely upset the balances in the soil and in nature. And finally we must have an appreciation of the earth and nature. We must not consider the earth as a ball of mud into which we will put a few seeds which will grow into plants but rather as a balance of chemical and biological forms which are essential to healthy plant growth. When this soil gets out of balance, the plant life suffers. It is our job, with a great appreciation for the soil and these great natural processes, to work in harmony with them and keep the soil balanced and fertile.

If then with these ideas in mind we undertake gardening as a sparetime hobby, it can give us a sense of restfulness and peace which could, cure the hysteria and tensions of our day. It could help put our problems into their right perspective and give us a truer sense of values. In this way one could come into closer contact and deeper appreciation of our world and the forces that run it. It could bring us into closer communion with God. As Thomas Edward Brown says in the poem, "My Garden":

"A garden is a lovesome thing, God wot!
Rose plot,
Fringed pool,
Ferned grot—
The veriest school
Of peace; and yet the fool
Contends that God is not—
Not God! in gardens! When the eve is cool?
Nay, but I have a sign;
'Tis very sure that God walks in mine."

Resolutions of Middle District Young People

Wayland Iowa, April 22, 1948

Be it resolved:

1. That we thank the people of the Wayland church for their gracious hospitality and reception during the conference.

2. That each young people's society be reminded of their responsibility in sending at least one delegate to the conference, in order to effectively carry on the extensive program of our Middle District Young People's Society.

3. That the future of the publication of the **Vine Press** be discussed at the conference, with consideration that its material be transferred to other Mennonite publications.

4. That the continuation of the missionary project at Paint Rock be discussed at the conference.

(a) Since it is felt that those supporting it were not well enough acquainted with it to have an active interest in it.

(b) If approved, continue the allotment of $1000 of the MDYPU budget for this cause.

5. That the budget allotment for traveling expenses be increased to $200.

6. That we become better acquainted with our treasury of the General Conference Young People's Union as our share of the 1948-1949 budget.

7. That the MDYPS show a united concern in opposing actively the crisis on Peacetime Military Conscription by writing to government officials.

8. That we become better acquainted with our church leaders, societies, publications, schools, missions, and other institutions, and that we support them with our prayers.

9. That we as individuals and as members of our Middle District Young People's Society accept our responsibility in realizing "A United Mennonite Youth in Christ", which would include:

(a) Helping each individual to live a consecrated Christian life;

(b) Encouraging and helping to spread missions and Christian education, and to promote peace, and the coming of His Kingdom on earth.

or nine miles long. Professor Drake estimated that there are 150,000 people living in this area for whom there are not proper housing facilities. The recent Supreme Court ruling made it impossible for real estate owners to restrict the residence of negroes; and therefore this large group of people is expected now to move into other parts of the city. Professor Drake challenged the Seminary audience to relate themselves to this great problem by whatever means are consistent with their Christian convictions. "To ignore such a terrific problem," he said, "would be fatal."

President S. F. Pannabecker went to Bluffton this week-end to inspect some books which have been offered to the Seminary. He will be on the program of the Central District Conference at Danvers, Illinois, during the latter part of August reporting on the status of the Seminary and delivering a message on the topic, "The Bible Today."

The Seminary is expecting some visitors during the next few weeks on their way to the World Conference sessions at Goshen and Newton.

Don. E. Smucker will teach the Bible course and present the evening messages to the Oklahoma Young People's Retreat and Bible Conference to be held at Camp Hydro, Oklahoma, July 26 to 30. Director of this retreat is Waldo Kaufman, Pastor of the Bethel Mennonite Church of Hydro; Assistant Director is Henry Hege, Pastor of the Bergthal Mennonite Church of Corn; Registrar is Albert J. Unruh of the Grace Church of Enid; Dean of boys is Abe Peters of the Geary Church; Assistant Dean is Curt Boese of the Greenfield Church in Carnegie; Dean of Women is Mrs. Eva. Harshbarger of North Newton, Kansas; Music Director is Harold Dirks of the Ringwood New Hopedale Church; and Professor Walter H. Hohmann of Bethel College is teaching a course in music.

Discuss Draft

Moundridge, Kansas, July 26.— On the afternoon and evening of July 25 young people from various Mennonite churches met in the Moundridge city park to consider problems that grow out of the coming draft. A large audience had gathered. Many people had come a long way to attend the meeting.

Rev. Loris Habegger the chairman of the afternoon session pointed out that our fathers paid a price for our faith, and now we are called upon to pay a price to keep this faith.

Mr. Paul Goering of Washington, D. C., explained the selective service law in so far as it relates to conscientious objectors. He pointed out that the law makes provision for two types of conscientious objectors. (1) Non-combatants will be inducted to do work which the President will define as non-combatant service. (2) Men who feel that they can have no part in military training will be deferred.

The agencies and regulations to implement the draft law have not been completed. The registration is to begin on August 30. Men twenty-five years of age will probably have to register first. Classifications will be determined by local boards. If the classification is unsatisfactory men may appeal to an appeal board for re-classification.

Rev. Albert Gaeddert, former director of C.P.S., spoke on "Lessons from the Past." He mentioned two lessons which we may take from Mennonite history in general. (1)We must never lose sight of the evils conscription alwas brings with it. Conscription leads to totalitarianism. (2) Unless we express our faith we lose it. Alternative service helps to keep our faith alive.

Our alternate service experience during the recent war reveals eight lessons for the future. (1) We need to keep as clear as possible the line between the state and the church. (2) It is profitable to the personality of a conscientious objector to give a positive witness. Just to object is not good for his soul. (3) Let the church be clear in expressing its convictions. The attitude of the church has a great influence upon the individual member. (4) The church needs to take an active interest in helping its young people with counsel and guidance. (5) We have learned that we can work together with government officials, and that we can make a witness to them. (6) In a governmental work project. it will be well for the church to have to say more than was the case in the recent experience. (7) We have observed that men came out of the C.P.S. camps very much the same as they came in. The experience fortified them in their attitudes; it did not change them. (8) We have learned that where we voluntarily give of ourselves we can make our best witness.

Dr. R. C. Kauffman in his message on "The Witness of Our Church to the Way of Peace" pointed out eight unique aspects of our Mennonite faith. (1) Belief in baptism upon confession of faith at an age of responsibility. (2) The Holy Communion is held as a symbolic rite. It is faith which makes this sacrament meaningful and a blessing. There is no magical power in it. (3) Voluntary church membership. Each individual must by his faith qualify for membership in the church fellowship. (4) Mennonites hold that the New Testament is of greater authority for a Christian than the Old Testament, especially the Sermon on the Mount. (5) They follow the ethics of positive love. (6) They hold to the separation of the church and the state. (7) They emphasize simplicity in speech

and conduct. (8) They insist on freedom of conscience. We must obey God more than men.

Our original faith was radical and completely different from the thinking of the ordinary people in many respects. We reject force as a means. Our gospel is remarkably simple and can be stated in simple words. War is wrong. There is no complicated reasoning behind this. It is based on the fact that God is love, and we are His children.

During the discussion period the question was raised, "What of the young person who feels that he is not good enough to take the C.O. position?" In answer it was suggested that we counsel such a person (1) that no one is perfect. No conscientious objector was ever perfect. And (2) in every one's life there come times when a person must say, "From here on I want to do better." A person should make his decision not on the basis of his past but on the basis of what he should be in the sight of God.

Dr. H. A. Fast reported on the statement which the M.C.C. will soon release. This will no doubt be published. One of the significant leads which the M.C.C. gives is that young men who are conscientious objectors shall be given opportunity to give one year's service in some service project. When they are deferred this will give the opportunity to witness by life to the Christian way of life.

Mr. Erwin Goering challenged people to take the peace position. He pointed out that we now have an opportunity which may change the course of our church. We can now prove that we are willing to do more than just object. An army colonel who visited a C.P.S. camp challenged the men by saying, "You fellows have the opportunity to demonstrate whether your plan works or doesn't work. If you are really sincere we will see evidence of that men when the war is over." Upon the consecration of our youth today depends the welfare of the church of tomorrow. The future of the church rests upon the young people. Our parents left all to be true to Christ. Will we be true?

"Bringing in the Sheaves" in Africa

C.I.M. Mutena, via Tshikapa, Kasai District
Congo Belge
July 1, 1948

Dear Friends in Christ:

Greetings with the words of the Psalmist "Make a joyful noise unto the Lord all ye lands." But how can a people make a joyful noise unto the Lord of whom they have never heard? Ours is the blessed privilege of implanting the "song of the Lord" in the hearts of those who have been without knowledge of Him for hundreds of years.

We praise the Lord for the 137 souls that came forward during a series of evangelistic meetings during the month of May. The native pastor Ksadi Matayo was wonderfully used of the Lord as he proclaimed the Word of Life during these meetings. Some of those who came forward wished to become right with God again having wandered back into sin, but by far the majority were such as wished to accept Christ as their Saviour. Please, uphold these new-born babes in Christ in prayer, and may we be found faithful shepherds in nurturing them in the Word that they might become stalwart men and women in Christ.

June 8 marked the date of our moving to our new station, Mutena, from Kalamba. Now once more our entire personnel is located at one place making it possible to make a more concentrated effort in evangelizing those for whom we are responsible. Not all the phases of our work have been completely organized as yet, but we are grateful to God for what we have been able to accomplish, by His strength, in the year and one half that has elapsed since the beginning of building up of Mutena.

On the first of June we began a special refresher course for some of our teacher-evangelists in an effort to raise the standard of our workers. Selected subjects such as personal evangelism, the duties of a pastor. French, music, and general teaching principles and methods are being taught. This course is to last nine weeks after which the teachers will again return to their respective villages. Even though it often proves quite a hardship for a teacher to come in for such a long period of time, they often express their joy and gratitude for such an opportunity of improving themselves.

Miss Slagle, our nurse, is often perplexed these days as to where to place the many patients that come to her and need to be hospitalized. The temporary quarters that were set up and were thought to be abundantly adequate until permanent buildings could be built often prove to be entirely too small. This is especially true in the O. B. department.

We are in the midst of our dry season. The air is filled with smoke and soot from the many grass fires round about us. During this season everybody is eager to go hunting. As the grass burns the animals are forced to come out from their hiding places making it easier for the African to kill them. Thus their perpetual craving for meat is satisfied. This is also the season for preparing fields to be planted when the rains begin again. During this time of the year the building of new houses is also a very common sight. Therefore the African, who is ambitious, has not much time to idle away.

We are also thankful for the response of the children as Mrs. Dick arranges special services for them. The attendance often is near the one hundred mark.—Sincerely in Him, Elmer J. Dick

Jottings

—**Deep Run, Pa.** Claude Boyer, a student from Bluffton College, filled the pulpit one Sunday for Rev. Herbert Fretz, while attending the Men-O-Lan Retreats, and Arthur Keyser a former student took his place another Sunday.—Mae Gross, Corr.

—**Spring Valley Church, Newport, Washington.** Rev. and Mrs. Schmidt returned July 8 from Missouri, where Rev. Schmidt was confined to a hospital for

September 3, 1948

Miss Zona Platt
R F D 2
Newton, Kansas

Dear Zona:

Thank you for your letter of August 19 and I want you to excuse my long delay in answering but we have been quite busy here. I read your story on the animals and politics and liked it very much. You should continue to write stories, for story writing is like everything else--the longer and more we do it, probably the better we do it. I was very sorry to hear about the young boy drowning at the retreat, but in these things I suppose God knows best. Your mother is not as close to the animals as you are, that is why she cannot understand why you think that A. J. Muste looks like a rabbit. I often think that all people look like one kind of animal or another. I have an uncle who looks just like a chipmunk and when he darts around the house very fast and then turns quickly with his head on the side, I am sometimes tempted to go get nuts for him.

I was thrilled to hear of Dwight's gathering over 90 pounds of honey from one hive. I must watch him do it next time I come out because I am sure if I tried to do it the bees would probably sting me and having once been stung by a bee on the top of my bald head when I was a little boy, I do not think I would like to go through the experience of being stung again. But as you can see, I got over it.

I have been waiting to hear something from Mr. Vanderviesle, but he has not yet come. I am sure he will be able to tell me a good bit about what the pacifists did in Holland during the war. Tell your mother that I am very happy to know that her article is to get into the September issue and I am sorry that it did not get into an earlier one, but the problem will still be an important one for many years yet to come.

Give my love to all the family and all the animals and to the trees and bugs and to the rocks and the vegetables, for they all need our love very much.

Sincerely,

BR*SP

Bayard Rustin

Matt

R.F. D. 2
Newton, Kansas
August 19, 1948

Dear Bayard,

I wrote a story that I thought you might like to read when you have time. Mother can't understand why I think A. J. Muste looks like a rabbit.

Dwight is at a Mennonite retreat this week. A boy drowned in the lake the first morning of the retreat.

I've sung some of the songs in Little Songs on Big Subjects in five different states.

Dwight has gathered over 90 pounds of honey from 1 hive so far.

Mother
Tedy
Wags
Togie
Teena
Tina
Tooka
Cream
Sugar
Pepper
Sindy
Buster
all the chikens
all the sheep
and I

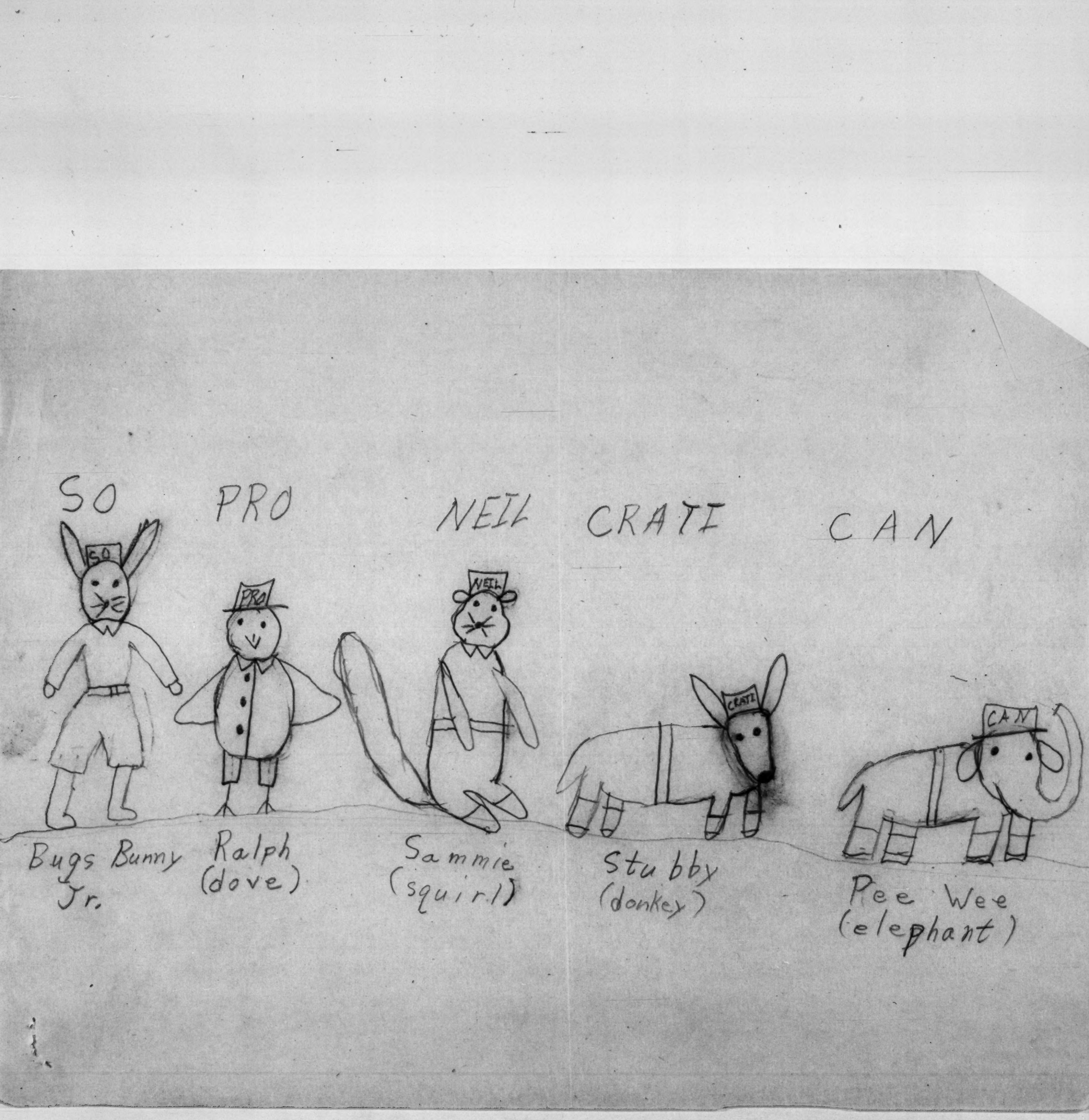
send our love to you.

Sincerely
Zona

P. S.

Mother asked me to tell youthat she hopes Mr. Vandervissle, the head of the Mennonite peace group in Holland, finds you when he is in New York. Mother gave him the F. O. R. address. He is a F. O. R. member and Mother thinks he was at the head of the F. O. R. in Holland before the war. His sudden release from concentation camp is an unusual story. He is very different from the typical U. S. Mennonite, even discussed tax refusal with these good old Republican Mennonites,- so says Mother.

Benny Bargen just called to say that Mother's article "Mennonites are Challenged" cannot get into the Mennonite until the first issue in Sept. Since it is on refusing to register, Mother wishes it could get in this month, but there is nothing she can do about it. Anyway it is to come out on wed. or Thurs. after registration week. Mother is happy the article has been accepted.


SO
PRO
NEIL
CRATI
CAN
SO
PRO
NEIL
CRATI
CAN
Bugs Bunny Jr.
Ralph (dove)
Sammie (squirl)
Stubby (donkey)
Pee Wee (elephant)

SOPRONEILCRATICUN
(Socilist, Progressive, Mc Neil, Democratic, and Republiccan parties)

Bugs Bunny Jr. is Muste (because he looks like a rabbit)
Ralph is Ralph Kaukman (the dove is for peace which Wallace's party stands for)
Stubby short for stubborn (because donkeys are stubborn)
Pee Wee is P. W. Enns (the elephant stands for the Republiccan party)
Sammie is the Sam that's on the program The Breakfast Club

SOPRONEILCRATICAN

In their hideout in the forest were gathered the little animal friends, Bugs Bunny Jr., Ralph, a little dove, Stubby a baby donkey, Pee Wee, a baby elephant, and Sammie Squirrel, who always was eatting. They were trying to think what they'd do the next day.

All at once Junior exclaimed, "Let's be like people andhave election day tomorrow!"

"What we gonna' elect?" asked Pee Wee .

"President," answerd Junior.

"Who are our canidates?" asked Pee Wee.

"We'll be," declared Sammie.

"O boy! I'm gonna' vote for myself then!" exclaimed Pee Wee.

Ralph cried out, "You shouldn't do that. Any way why don't we vote for the canidates people have?"

"Who are they asked Sammie with his cheeks full of nuts.

"Oh there's Truey and Dumen and Wallace andThomas and Mc Neil," answerd Ralph.

"Where did you find out all this?" asked Pee Wee.

"At the edge of the woods there's a camp. They have a little box that sounds like people inside talking. That's where I heard about the canidates, " answerd Ralph

"But how will we know which one to vote for?" asked Pee Wee.

"Dopey, we'll go down there this afternoon and listen to the box. Then we'll come back here and decide things," declared Sammie between bits.

All the little animals went down to the edge of the forest. Music was coming from the box then, but they decided to listen to it. After the program, to the animals luck, the anoumcer said all the canidates would speak. It was very much to there luck for there hardly ever is a program like that. Truey talked first, then Duemen, then Wallce, and then Thomas. When the program was ended Sammie asked, "Didn'tyou say there was a canidate by the name of Mc Neil?"

Ralph answered,"Yes, but you have to listen in the morning to here him."

"I think I'll listen in the morning cause I didn't like any of these,"declared Sammie.

The animals chattered on the way back to there hideout.

"Let's meet tomorrow at three o'clock to have our electbon," said Junior.

"Ya' and let's make speeches like they did,"said Stubby.

Away they all ran to get their speeches ready.

The next afternoon at three o'clock sharp all the little animals appeared.

As soon as they were all there Pee Wee said, "Ralph can be first, Sammie next, Junior next, Stubby next, and I'll be last.

At that Ralph flew to a branch in a big oak tree and started his speech. "Getlemen,I vote for Wallace! If we vote for him we will have peace and happiness. We will have no more wars and the world will be a world of love for each other."

"Sammie your'er next," said Pee Wee.

Sammie ran on the branch where Ralph had been. "Gentlemen put Mc Neil at the wheel! Then there'll be a Philco in every kitchen. We'll have plenty to eat then. Vote for Mc Neil.

"Your turn Junior," yelled Pee Wee
Emidately Junior jumped on a log and yelled, "Gentlemen , I vote for Thomas! He stands for socialism, like co-ops and such. I vote for the perfect man for president Thomas!

"Stubby it's your turn," yelled Pee Wee.

"Gentlemen," yelled Stubby. "Vote for Duemen! He says there shouldn't be any discrimination. He is a wonderful president!"

Pee Wee ran to the front. "Gentlemen, I vote for Truey! He believes in preparedness, so if anyone comes to fight we can fight back. Vote for Truey!"

Junior got up. "We all voted for different people! Let's have another election tomorrow at three o'clock.

And let's vote for anyone wecwant to," said Ralph.

Sammie spoke up, "Do we have to make those dumb speeches?"

"No let's not," Pee Wee answered.

"Na'," said Stubby.

All the animal appeared at three o'clock the next afternoon.

Pee Wee got uppand spoke. Let's speak in the same order we did yesterday," he said.

"I vote for Wise Old Owl," said Ralph.

"I vote for Wise Old Owl too!" exclaimed Sammie.

"I vote for Wise Old Owl," said Junior.

"I vote for Wise Old Owl," said Stubby.

"I vote for Wise Old Owl," said Pee Wee.

Junior exclaimed, "Wise Old Owl is the best leader!

"Ya' why don't people get a good leader like Wise Old Owl and keep him. Wise Old Owl,has all the good things those canidates have. We've had peace and happiness and no wars since we'we had Wise Old Owl as leader," spoke up Ralph.

"We don't have a Philco in every kitchen with him but whatdo I care for I don't know what the thig is anyway and we got plenty to eat, said Sammie.

And I don't know what socialism or co-ops are and Ithink Wise Old Owl is a better leader than any of those canidates anyway," piped up Junior.

Duemen says we should be kind to everyone but the different races should be seperated. Wouldn't it be terrible if we couldn't play together. Wise Old Owl let's us play together," said Stubby.

"We don't need to be prepared in this forest. Nobody is allowed to shoot any animals here. We're all friends here too.," said Pee Wee.

Ralph said, "Everything that's good in those canidates Wise Old Owl has and the five parties are Socialist, Progressive, Mc Neil, Demicratic, and Republicean so let's call our little party for Wise Old Owl SOPRONEILCRATICAN!"

September 10, 1948

Miss Anita Poole
102 E. Manoa Road
Havertown, Pa.

Dear Anita:

I will sing "The Lord's Prayer" and "Oh Promise Me". I will use the regular key for soprano or tenor and trust that that is the music you have given Mrs. Hesketh.

It will be possible ~~for me to~~ get to Brookline by 2 p.m. on Saturday the 18th.

I will be sailing on the 22nd for India and I am very happy that the wedding comes prior to that date. I will get a kick out of seeing my little Anita married off to a good man in a respectable setting. Now about the children--I would suggest that you have a girl first. The common idea that boys should come first to take care of their sisters is a lot of traditional noise. It is very important to have a girl a year or so older so that she can teach her brother the wiles of women, how to dance, etc. Take this advice very seriously. Now after the first girl and then a boy, I would suggest twins, a boy and a girl so that you would not have to dress them alike. Catharine Raymond has just told me that they have brother and sister outfits--that would be an abomination, so we'll count the twins out.

All my love,

Bayard Rustin

BR*SP

102 E. Manoa Rd.
Havertown, Pa.
September 9, 1948

Dear Bayard,

Please forgive me for not writing to you sooner. Ray was down this past weekend and first I had to give him the bad news that you were sick and then a few hours later the good news arrived that you were still hoping to be well enough to sing for us on September 18. We're delighted. I do hope you are entirely well by now (for more than just selfish reasons).

Can you let me know just as soon as possible what you are going to sing beside The Lord's Prayer? I'm giving the organist, Mrs. Hesketh, the music to that and also Oh Promise Me; but if you decide on another in place of the latter just let me know and it will be okay.

Can you get to Brookline by 2 p.m. Saturday, September 18 in order to practice with Mrs. Hesketh? The wedding party is rehearsing Friday evening at 7 p.m. but I don't suppose that is at all convenient for you and the early hour on Saturday I thought would probably suit you better and is all right with the organist.

Let me hear from you soon on these two questions. It will be good to see you on that special day.

Sincerely,

Anita

Chairman
Henry J. Cadbury

Honorary Chairman
Rufus M. Jones

Executive Secretary
Clarence E. Pickett

American Friends Service Committee

Twenty South Twelfth Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania
Telephone, RIttenhouse 6-9372

September 15, 1948.

Bayard Rustin,
The Fellowship of Reconciliation,
2929 Broadway,
New York 25, N. Y.

Dear Friend:

From your letter of September 13, which has been referred to this office for reply, we note with great interest that you are planning a European trip and would like to have the addresses of Service Committee centers in several different countries, among them Belgium and Egypt, (where we have no workers.)

You will note, however, from the attached mimeographed list that there are Friends International Centers in France, Switzerland, Holland and Denmark. Next to each Center we have put down the name of the person or persons in charge and the telephone number of the Center.

With reference to Germany, it is the suggestion of the German Desk here that you contact Charles Read at:

Gouvernement Militaire de Bade-Freiburg,
Section Sante, Affaires
Sociales,
S. P. 50.366 B.P.M. 517,
via France

in reference to Friends' centers to visit in the British and American Zones. He is at present setting up a central administration office for Germany, and will be able to put you in touch with Quaker centers in these zones.

Robert Forsberg and Jane King are AFSC workers in Rome, and the AFSC address there is as follows:

AFSC
44 Via Anton
Giulio Barrili,
Monteverde,
Vecchio,
Rome, Italy.

We are letting these centers know that you are planning a trip to Europe. They will no doubt want you to speak if possible. (I have heard you speak several times and know how enthusiastically you will be welcomed by Friends and others abroad.) In most cases the centers would probably prefer to arrange a meeting in advance. Will you let us know if this might be done?

You probably are quite familiar with conditions in Europe, and know that living accommodations are tight in European cities. Usually centers are unable to put up guests other than AFSC workers. In Geneva, for example, we understand that hotel rooms are almost impossible to get and two weeks advance notice is advisable. We just sound this note of warning so that you won't rely on centers' help in putting up up, and then find yourself bedless.

Sincerely,

Dorothy Titus

Dorothy Titus

(enclosure)

dt

FRIENDS INTERNATIONAL CENTERS

Centers Desk

Jointly sponsored by FSC and Centers Desk, AFSC, with the help of local Friends:

Quaker International Centre
17, rue Notre Dame des Champs
Paris 6e, France
Phone: Littre 81-48
Edna Pusey and Samuel Legg

International Friends Center
10 rue de la Madeleine
Geneva, Switzerland
Phone: 5 72 75
Algie and Eva Newlin

Friends' Centre
169 Yuan Ming Yuan Road
Room 507
Shanghai 0, China

Friends' Centre
1 Upper Wood Street
Calcutta, India

Sponsored by local Friends with the help of FSC and Centers Desk, AFSC:

Quakercentrum
Raphaelplein 2
Amsterdam Z, The Netherlands
Phone: 94238
Jo Hofman

Jointly sponsored by Jamaica Yearly Meeting, AFBM, FSC, and Centers Desk, AFSC:

Kingston Centre
11 Caledonia Avenue
Crossroads
Jamaica, B.W.I.

Sponsored by local Friends:

Scandinavian Quaker Center
Vendersgade 29
Copanhagen IV, Denmark
Phone: Palae 8248
Inger Clausen

Sponsored by FSC:

London International Centre
32 Tavistock Square
London, W. C. 1, England

Myrtle A. Wright
Tuengen Alle 9
Vinderen i Aker, Norway

*Louisa Roberts
c/o C.B.S.R.A.
HQ. Vienna Area
APO S/564
British Troops, Austria

**Lucy Burtt
Yenching University
Peiping West
North China

*Ranjit Chetsingh
Quaker Centre
24 Rajpur Road
Delhi, India

---

* with help from Centers Desk, AFSC

** with help from Centers Desk, AFSC, and contributors in United States to special Lucy Burtt Fund.

9/27/48

Gandhi Gram, Ambathurai, So. India,
Sept. 17, 1948

Dear Friend:

Yours of Sept. 8th just arrd. I fear this reply will not reach you in the USA.

I am happy you are to be with us in India and hope to meet you.

I gladly send on suggestions as to how you may make good use of your time in India:

At Bombay try to meet my good friend : Prime Minister B.G Kher. He has strong tendencies towards non-violence, is a most sincere man, and is eagerly seeking his way thru on the question of police power during emergencies. He may give you helpful suggestions of what you might see and who you might meet in or around Bombay.

Proceed conveniently to Wardha the hdqs. of much of Gandhiji's Constructive Prog See and have a good talk with another good friend: J.C. Kumarappa, Sec. All-India Village Industries Association, Magaonwadi, Wardha. You might well stay with him while at Wardha. He will tell you who to meet and where to go.

But you will go to Sevagram; see Gandhiji's hut; meet Mr. and Mrs. K.N. Aryanayakam, Secretaries of Basic Education in India and in charge of Basic Ed. Training School at Sevagram. Stay with them when at Sevagram. There you will find the Spinning Center, the Go Seva (Cow Protection) and other work centers. The Aryanayagams will tell you whom to see there. Try to meet and talk with K.G. Mashruwala, present editor of Gandhiji's paper, "The Harijan". He is a very careful thinker re the elements of non-violence. Tends to be academic but his mind is fairly good on the subject and he is a remarkable personality. Very humble about his English.

I wish you might come to the south and meet some of Gandhians here: Dr. S. Gurubatham, Minister of Rural Development of Madras (Christian) G. Ramachandran, Minister of Rural Development of Travancore, at Trivandrum; K.K. Chandy, young and equivinced pacifist just returned from England, at Manganam Ashram, Kottayam, Travancore; Dr. S. Jesudason and Dr. E.F. Paton and others at Christukula Ashram, Tirupattur, N. Arcot Dist. a pioneering cell of Christian non-violence, one might call it. You would visit our center and meet some of our youthful pacifists here at Gandhi Gram. Near Madras, you would like to meet M. Arunachalam, in a little village center just outside of Chidambaram(Koolambongaladi) Mills, S.I.R. station; You ought to meet Ravindra Varma of S India, but Pres. of one of the strong sections of the India student movement. He has a strong tendency towards the non-violent way of life. I mention him because of being one of our strong student leaders. A student worker is K. Jayardhanan and his hdqs is Trivandrum. Naturally these student men will be generally on the trail.

In N. India you should try to meet Krishlani, will probably come to Santiniketan. E.K. George will be there, one of our strongest Christian pacifists. Also Balendra Prasad. If you get to Delhi you should meet Devadas Gandhi, editor of Hindustan Times, son of Gandhiji's and a very solid person.

Perhaps you will also meet at Santiniketan a young student, recently completed his B.A., Chitta Ranjan Das. Nephew of E.K. George. He represents the best of our students who are in the Gandhian non-violent way.

I do not know N. India so well. But you will enquire as you go along. You will get more helpful suggestions from J.C. Kumarappa and the Aryanayagams. Gandhi has a good center in Bangal and he is a good man to meet of the older group. If you go thru Bangalore meet Vishwanath, Gurukula, Kengeri and R.K. Gurjali, Seva Ashram, Nallaswara an old worker and doing a good work. Vishwanath is a there pacifist

Gurjali is a substantial Gandhian worker and very honest. Thus he will not easily go all the way with pacifists but he is a better pacifist than most of us.

Going thru Madras, go to my good friends--editors of The Guardian (A.N. Sundarisanam) Kilpauk, Madras who hold the Pacifist standard high in journalism for Christian India.

They will have much to say, if I am not mistaken about the Pacifist Cong.

You must try to come to the south altho we are a long ways away. If you cannot include us in your earlier trip try to make a trip thru the south when leaving India and leave from Colombo, Ceylon. You ought to see some of our Christian Ashrams--and some of the Gandhian centers here. I wish you could give us a few days and I'll take you about a bit in this area.

I do hope this will help you to get to the heart of the Gandhian Mvt. in India. May rich blessings go with you as you travel on your way.

Sincerely,

Dick Keithahn

c/o Ross Thomas,
International Business Office,
248 Hornby Road
Fort, Bombay 1
(Will give your mail instructions in Bombay this for the American Express Co. office)

first fold here

BY AIR MAIL
AIR LETTER
(ANYTHING WRITTEN HERE MUST BE PRINTED ON ORDINARY PAPER)

INTERNATIONAL FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION
INTERNATIONALER VERSÖHNUNGSBUND—LA RÉCONCILIATION

Chairman of the Council :
J. Nevin Sayre
Chairman of the Executive Committee :
F. Siegmund-Schultze
Treasurer :
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Secretarial :
Percy W. Bartlett
Muriel Lester

38, GORDON SQUARE,
LONDON, W.C.1

Tube Stations : Euston, Euston Square, and Russell Square

Telephone No. 1 Euston 6966

24th September, 1948.

Dear Friend,

Preceding the Friends House meeting on October 18th, of which a notice is enclosed, we hope to have a little tea party at 38, Gordon Square, at 4.45.p.m. for 5.o'clock on the same day for those more intimately associated with the work of the International Fellowship who would be glad of the opportunity of meeting Nevin and Kathleen Sayre, Muriel Lester and Bayard Rustin, both to thank them for the work that they have been doing within recent months and to look forward to what is ahead. After tea and talk, there may be a little opportunity for a quiet time together.

I do hope that you can manage to come by 5 o'clock, or very soon after.

Yours sincerely,

PERCY W. BARTLETT.

Route 2
New ton, Kansas
October 22, 1948

OK

Dear Bayard,

In the letter I wrote to you yesterday I referred to a newspaper article in which the statement was made that Mr. Randolph "placed the major portion of the blame (of the confusion in the public mind) upon a religious pacifist nucleus within the league, intent on using the movement to resist military segregation as a front for ulterior purposes." I was disappointed that Mr. Randolph should stoop so low as to accuse you and A. J. of having secret, low or base motives. This morning on awaking I began to ponder about the meaning of the word "ulterior". I was chagrined to find that the word has no moral connotation. I want to give Mr. Randolph credit for using the dictionary definition and not mine. I agree with Mr. Randolph that you had motives which were beyond that which was manifest to the public. I'm glad that he was less cruel than I had thought. How tricky words are, and how easily misunderstandings occur! I am sorry that he used the word because I think there are others to whom the word "ulterior" means "base".

Today we received a report on the Oklahoma workshop which we attended at Norman last spring. Although slow in getting out their report, they evidently have been making progress. We were glad to hear that Arkansas and Oklahoma graduate schools have both opened their doors to Negro students. Recently, however, I heard a report over the radio that the Negro professor at Norman is required to sit in a classroom by himself. How perfectly stupid! I'd like to enroll in Oklahoma Uni. and insist on sitting with the professor.

I thik I failed to mention in my report on the Gandhi meeting that we had an audience of about two hundred people.

I

Sincerely,

Selma

Selma Platt

FOLD SIDES OVER AND THEN FOLD BOTTOM UP AND SEAL
OTHER ENVELOPE SHOULD BE USED.

Route 2, Newton, Kansas
January 27, 1949

OK

Dear Bayard,

Mabel Fletcher gave me a clipping from the Star Tribune (from Minneapolis I think) with a picture of you in Indian drapes and a write up on your warm reception and stirring speeches in India. Wouldn't you get by swell if you wore that Indian garb over here!

The article quoted you as saying that you had been sentenced in North Carolina to serve a month in prison and that you lacked funds to take the case to Supreme Court. Just how much would it cost to take the case to the Supreme Court? What about the publicity value? Would the testimony be better if you went to prison for a month or if you took the case to the S. C.? If taking the case to S. C, is really worth the cost, surely we should be able to secure funds for that purpose. I am writin g a note about this to George Houser too, because I have little idea when this letter will reach you.

We are gradually learning about court procedures. We went two days over ice and snow to Wichita to attend court when Dr. Warren appeared before the district judge. He will have a jury trial in March in Hutchinson. Austin Regier, the Moundridge lad who had his trial in Minnesota, was given a year and a day. I am having difficulty making contact of any kind with three boys here in the state who were arrested. I have had one letter returned, one addressed to the parents or friends of the boy has been unanswered and so far I was not given permission at the jail to see one of the boys. I may be able to get in during visiting hours. The U.S. Marshall was very gruff when he told me that the Campbell boy could have no conscienious reason for evading the draft because he served in the last war. The newspaper notice said the boy had gone by several different names. I am determined to find out more about the boy.

My niece who attends Bluffton has been telling us about Chuck Richert and Larry Gara at Bluffton College, a Mennonite scool in Ohio. Chuck gets eighteen months. Larry Gara, the professor who was arrested for counseling is to be on trial on February 24. Mary Lou writes, "This is a funny world. The court fines a man fifty dollars for killing a pigeon, puts a man in prison for killing another man and puts some men in prison because they refuse to have anything to do with killing their fellowmen. We have been having weekly prayer meetings here in the dorm - some of us girls who are interested in this problem."

The president of Bluffton College, Lloyd Ramseyer, is a second cousin of mine. He talked against the non-registration position last summer when he was here, but now he seems to be giving the two culprits good support. It is marvelous how such an experience can change folks. Perhaps in time Mary Lou will have an influence on her father and mother. My doctor brother is a pretty good sport. In a discussion on non-registration or race relations he will always support me. But he will not take any active part himself, the old pill.

My brother Willis is taking treatments in California now to retrain nerves and muscles. There has been no cure found for sclerosis of the nerves, but the specialists there seem to be certain that they can help him, especially in walking.

Day before yesterday I wrote to the Attorney General. I am sending out copies of the letter and showing it to friends here. That way I do not feel my time is entirely wasted because some friends may be challenged although our letters in Washington get only a cursory glance.

I am anxious to know whether you found out anything about the possibility of the orphan project. I scarcely dare to hope, because I am puzzled now as to where Zona should go if Dwight and I find ourselves in prison one of these days. What would I do if I had a dozen? There's another way, however, to look at that; sending a woman who has a dozen dependents to prison for non-registration counseling might make a real impression even on the

FOLD SIDES OVER AND THEN FOLD BOTTOM
NO OTHER ENVELOPE SHOULD BE USED

people who have been apathetic. Anyway I hope we are being led in all such matters by a God who knows what is best for all.

I wrote a letter and am sending some of my articles and your William Penn speech to the Honorable O. B. Gerig, a "big shot" in the United Nations. When he was my history teacher at Bethel, he was an ardent pacifist, but from what I hear the pressure of his job keeps him in line with the rest of the gang. Perhaps he is like some of the rest of us pacifists who see the futility of passive non-resistence in a world of rank injustice. I hope he will be challenged by the Gandian philosophy.

We were happy to receive your card and have been anxiously awaiting the promised letter. Will you be able to be in Chicago for the Peacemakers Conference?

Sincerely,
Selma
Selma Platt

SECOND FOLD

AIR LETTER

VIA AIR MAIL
PAR AVION

BUILD YOUR FUTURE WITH AIR MAIL
WISELY, SAFELY
U.S. SAVINGS BONDS

Selma Platt
Route 2
Newton, Kansas

NEW YORK, N.Y.
FEB 15
1-AM
1949

Bayard Rustin
c/o Percy Bartlett
38 Gordon Square
London, W.C. 1
England

IF ANYTHING IS ENCLOSED, THIS LETTER WILL BE SENT BY ORDINARY MAIL

FIRST FOLD

OPEN UP AND

Rt. F. D. 2
Newton, Kansas
Jan. 6, 1949

Dear Bayard,

We had an interracial pot luck supper here at our house Tuesday. Mr. and Mrs. Faust (Rev.) were the honor guests. They are leaving to go to Racine, Wisconsin next week. Mr. Faust is going to preach in the First Congregational Church there. We had over 40 here for the supper.

Grandpa, Grandma, Mother, and I made trip during the last part of November and the last part of December. We went through Iowa, South Dakota, Minnesota, and Mother went to Chicago for an O. H. Conference.

Mother and I gave programs out different places. Mother read the poem The Bomb That Fell on America and I sang a couple of the songs out of Little Songs on Big Subjects.

We have three new lambs and are expecting a new kid or kids any time.

Dwight goes out every once-in-a-while to see.

Dwight took five people to a Mennonite Inter-college conference in Chicago during Christmas vacation.

Grandma Platt is here making me some new clothes.

I'll be interested to hear about your trip when you come back.

With love,
Jona

MOUVEMENT INTERNATIONAL
DE LA
RÉCONCILIATION

INTERNATIONAL FELLOWSHIP
OF
RECONCILIATION

Présidents :
J. NEVIN SAYRE
F. SIEGMUND-SCHULTZE

Secrétariat :
PERCY W. BARTLETT
MURIEL LESTER
A. & M. TROCMÉ

Les membres du mouvement de la Réconciliation croient que l'Amour de Dieu, tel que Jésus-Christ l'a révélé et manifesté dans sa vie et dans sa mort, est la seule puissance par laquelle le mal puisse être surmonté.

Adresses :
P. W. BARTLETT
38, GORDON SQUARE,
LONDON W. C. 1

A. & M. TROCMÉ, Pasteur
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C. C. P. Lyon 222563

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Le Chambon November 16th, 1948

Dear Bayard,

Many, many thanks for your good letter of November 9th. We all have been so very happy to receive news from you and hope you will continue to stay in contact with us here. Your (too short) visit to Le Chambon has been a real source of joy to all of us and we do hope and insiste upon you coming back to Le Chambon in spring after your trip to India. Please tell us in time the date for which we shall expect you.

With our very warm greetings and wishes,

Yours in fellowship

Magda Trocmé

M. Trocmé

Bishop S. K. Mondol
1st Vice-President
Hyderabad

Dr. R. B. Manikam
Executive Secretary

Secretaries
Dr. E. C. Bhatty
Dr. L. W. Bryce (part time)
Mr. J. W. Sadiq
The Rev. R. W. Scott

Mr. B. L. Rallia Ram
President
Lahore, West Pakistan

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OF
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The Rev. D. S. Wells
2nd Vice-President
Calcutta

Mr. G. Ross Thomas
Treasurer
Bombay

Telegraphic address
AIKYA
Telephone number
331/171

Mr. Bayard Rustin
C/o. International Fellowship of
Reconciliation
London, W.C.1., England

November 17, 1948

Dear Mr. Rustin:

Having come to know that you are likely to be in India about Christmas time, I am writing to invite you to the Christian Youth Conference which is being held at Allahabad, United Provinces, from December 24-28 under the auspices of the Christian Council of India, Pakistan and Burma. In this Conference all Christian Youth Organizations will participate. This is the first venture of its kind and coming after Oslo and Amsterdam will we hope, bring a great challenge to the Christian Youth in India and Pakistan. I am enclosing a copy of the programme. This programme will be slightly changed later but it will give you some idea of what the Conference is about. If it is possible for you to come, we shall ask you to give a message at the Conference. You can be sure of a very warm welcome from India.

With all good wishes,

Yours sincerely,

J. W. Sadiq

J. W. Sadiq
Secretary

THE RACIAL RELATIONS GROUP

(An independent group associated with the Institute of Sociology).

Chairman: Mr. A. FARQUHARSON.

Hon. Secretary:
Mr. F. LAMBERT, 22 Ulverscroft Road,
East Dulwich, S.E.22.

Hon. Overseas Correspondent:
Mrs. JOHN JONES, 24 The College, Bromley, Kent.

Editor of Bulletin:
Mr. E. J. TURNER, C.B., 22 Grosvenor Court,
London, W.3. (Phone: ACOrn 4711).

Aim: to explore available sources of information relating to the history of races and their contacts, with the ultimate purpose of improving racial relations.

From

Dear Dr Rustin, I am very glad you have so kindly consented to speak to us on Wednesday (24th) though my Committee's idea of the purpose guiding you seems to have been altered from my original intention in writing to you - which was to learn from you about any Societies in U.S.A with which we might correspond - at the beginning of the war one of your members Dr Rose went to U.S.A to work, & he sent me magazines from two negro associations but owing to war conditions we made

no contacts.

I shall still as overseas correspondent of our R.R. group be glad to hear any likely contacts I might make through you - but hardly you too much for any addresses -

I am looking forward to meeting you again the day you speak next Wednesday.

Yours sincerely

(Mrs) Edith Jones

Sunday:-

Dear Bye:-

I hope this will catch up with you. How are you? We are all well here. We were glad to get your letter. I bet you are having a swell time. Anyhow it sounds like it.

Did you get to the "Folies Bergere" in Paris? You didn't mention that in your letter to Bessie - but I bet you did.

Jan. is fine & has been here twice & twice in W.C. since he enlisted. He really seems to like it & is taking it seriously. I certainly miss him & will be so sorry when he goes away from Fort Dix. His basic is almost over now & they usually get sent away soon after

that. Anne is as bad and cute as ever. She said to tell you hello & be a good boy.

Mama seems to feel fine this year & I hope she keeps that way. Lucien is his usual self & Bessie & Pierre are fine!

Write us again when you get the chance. Nice long letter. No airmail. Must close now.

Love
Ruth

March 16, 1949

Dwight, Selma and Zona Platt
R. R. 2
Newton, Kansas

Dear friends:

I was very happy to receive the statement which Dwight mentioned Ralph Bergen. It was a very wellwritten report and gave me immediately a clear picture of how things had gone. The judges in these cases are in a very peculiar position for as I have often pointed out the education which they attempt to achieve by the Nuremburg trials is lost and invalidated. Our judges are saying over and over again to the German people. 'You should not follow unjust laws because in doing so you aided indirectly if not directly the placing of Jews in lye pits and concentration camps.' But now they say to our young men—even if you consider the law unjust you must obey it, and if you don't we must punish you. This is a terrible situation and leaves the whole system of law in the United States in a very precarious and inconsistent position. If anyone you know is writing to Ralph Bergen, please send him my deepest regards.

I am enclosing press releases which will explain why I will be out of circulation for more than a month beginning next Monday, March 21st.

Also I am enclosing a copy of a picture which was taken in India. The explanation of who the personalities are is on the back of the picture.

I want to thank Zona particularly for the nice letter I received and apologize for not being able to answer it before now. I hope that it will be possible for me to see you on my way to California, in April.

All my love,

Bayard Rustin

r/e
Enclosures

R. F. D. 2
Newton, Kansas
March 7, 1949

Dear Bayard,

You will probably be interested in the enclosed statement of Ralph Bargen's. His trial will be next Friday. You remember he was the boy with whom you had quite a discussion on smoking.

We have been trying to get a round-table or forum on the Russian situation for the time you are here. We wanted to get Milton Eisenhower but he is not interested in speaking on the same platform with someone who opposes his views. Would you be interested in being on such a forum if we could get a speaker for the militaristic position.

There will probably be two carloads from Kansas to go to the Peacemaker's Conference in Chicago.

Sincerely,
Dwight

Copy

Ralph Bargen's statement to Mr. Cleveland of the F.B.I. on February 15, 1949.

February 6, 1949

I am not a brave man. Like most other people, I fear uncertainty, the isolation, and most of all the loneliness that comes in failure to communicate. It would not be true to say I am not afraid of what will come, or even that I am confident of myself in writing this. I do care what comes of this, and I am afraid. And it is this fear and care that I want to communicate.

It is no simple matter, ever, for a man to give a full accounting of himself, for this concerns the whole of life. In accounting he must cope with the dynamics; account for more than fact. He must speak of uncertainties as well, of motives and values. He must probe in the spiritual substances of life.

I attempt this task with fear and trembling; with a knowledge of my foolhardiness.

The bare facts are probably well known: that on September 8, 1948 I did not register, and this by choice, not negligence; that it has been the same with me each day since; that this is a violation of the draft act of 1948, and a federal offense that carries a severe punishment; that it will not be long before I am arrested, then sentenced, and sent to prison; that in our society right and wrong are matters measured by the weight of numbers, and hence, by definition, that I am guilty, and admit this.

There are other facts, perhaps also known: that since I was eighteen years old I have not stopped to think and talk about this matter; that I was a conscientious objector to war, and in the Second War served nineteen months in the Civilian Public Service Program; that long before this act was passed, I thought and talked with others of its possibility; that I encouraged others to think through all the implications of this law; that since September 8, wherever I have been, I have readily answered questions where I thought others might be deceived about me; and that in all of this I have not tried to hide my position, or escape the responsibility of my action.

But these are only surface matters; there is more, perhaps not known so well. And this is most important.

I have a great sadness.

I have knowledge that we are all involved, each to the fulness of his being, none more nor less than another. I sense that what is happening to us has tragic dimensions. My sadness is for this separation of man from man, this brother against brother. I am sad that we are growing further apart; that life itself is being broken into fragments; that we are becoming more and more lonely; and that this is happening not just here; and not only to me, and those around me, but happening everywhere in many ways.

I am not speaking of myself. What is happening to me is not significant; only illustrative, an example. My sadness is for

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LE PLAY HOUSE BULLETIN.
RACIAL RELATIONS SECTION.
No.63. November 1948.
Issued for the Racial Relations Group, Institute of Sociology. All communications to the Editor, Mr.E.J.Turner, C.B., 22 Grosvenor Court, Acton, London, W.3. Telephone: ACOrn 4711.

THE Racial Relations Group will meet at the Friends' International Centre, 32 Tavistock Square (not far from Russell Square Station) at 3.15 p.m. on Wednesday 24th November. Refreshments at a nominal charge will be served until 3.45, when Mr. Bayard Rustin, Joint Race Relations Secretary of the American Fellowship of Reconciliation, will speak on the question, "Is there a need for a British Institute of Race Relations?" A number of other organisations have been invited to send representatives to this meeting, and it is hoped that they will send Colonial as well as British representatives. It will be helpful if some of our members will bring Colonial friends with them.

AN article on the Psychology of Anti-Semitism by H.J. Eysenck (Director of the Psychological Department of the University of London Institute of Psychiatry) in this month's "Nineteenth Century and After", gives some of the results of recent researches carried out in this country, with some reference to similar work done in America. Our members should read the whole of this short article the following extracts are intended to sharpen their appetites.

"IN a typical middle-class English group we found 12 per cent who agree that Jews corrupt everything with which they come into contact, 32 per cent who agreed that Jews in their dealings with others are an absolute menace, money-grubbing and unscrupulous, and 4 per cent who believed that the Jews are the most despicable form of mankind which crawls on this earth. On the other hand 6 per

cent believed that the Jews have survived persecut' because of the many admirable qualities they show." "Anti-Semitic reactions are highly correlated with a variety of other social attitudes...The Conservatives (in a group of 750 persons questioned by a research party in this country) were definitely more anti-Semitic than Liberals, and Liberals more anti-Semitic than Socialists.. Anti-Semites believe that coloured people are innately inferior to white people; that war is inherent in human nature; that persons with serious hereditary defects and diseases should be compulsorily sterilised; that our treatment of criminals is not harsh enough;.....that no sex education should be given at school....." "It is universally found that education tends to work against anti-Semitism." It has been found that males "tend to be more anti-Semitic in their outlook than females." "Among the religious there was a very much greater prejudice than among others."

REASONS are also given for believing that anti-Semites are characterised by "a general trait of neuroticism,i.e., lack of emotional maturity and stability," but similar traits are also said to be found among people "distinctly pro-Semitic (a very small proportion of the total number, of course)."

It is important to note that the article says, "It will be clear that the work reported here is only a beginning," and that in the main the findings "should be looked upon rather as spurs to more careful and detailed work on this problem in the future - work which would have to be carried out on an altogether larger scale than has been found possible so far ...." Also: "Until a good deal more fundamental research is undertaken, it must be doubtful whether methods of combating anti-Semitism that have any grounding in fact rather than emotion can be developed. The discovery of new methods of measurement and their validation, the thorough exploration of the whole field of study and the development of worth-while hypotheses are the necessary stepping-stones for the inauguration of a scientific programme devoted to the reduction not only of anti-Semiticism in particular, but of racial prejudice and the reduction of group tensions in general."

IN reading this article it has to be borne in mind that hitherto more work on race relations has been done in other fields than in that of psychology.

SOUTH AFRICA'S STEPCHILDREN, by H.Sonnabend and Cyril Sofer. Society of Friends of Africa, Johannesburg. 1/-.

A SHORT statement of facts about the Cape Coloured, with the moral that "since social influences have made the life of the new race what it is, social influences can change it."

THE writers tell us that until about thirty years ago there was a growing proportion of these Coloured people in the middle and industrial classes, but this tendency was then reversed. Now more than half of them are said to be living below the poverty line.

THE question of the number of light-skinned individuals that have escaped into the European group is discussed shortly and inconclusively on page 23.

TWO introductory chapters give some elementary information on the general question of race crossing and its biological results.

THE WEST INDIES: TOWARDS A NEW DOMINION? By H.V. Wiseman. Fabian Publications Ltd. 2/-d.

GIVES the main facts, economic and political, about the West Indies and discusses probable future developments.

FROM press reports it appears that there are now about 8000 coloured people in Liverpool - mostly West Indians - many of whom are finding it difficult to get jobs in that city, where there is said to be a good deal of white unemployment. The majority are said to be willing to work elsewhere, but, says the Manchester Guardian, "Although 120 men were recently placed in work in Birmingham, Coventry,and other fortunate

centres where there is a demand for labour, some larger industries which could contribute to this process of assimilation cannot do so because of trade union objections and general fears of redundancy."

A LETTER from Maurice Webb (South African Institute of Race Relations) published in the "Friend" of 8th October says: "South Africa has moved far since the General Election at the end of May. That the general direction would be towards arrogant nationalism tinged with Nazism, anti-British, oppressive towards the non-European sections of the population, was to be expected from the declarations of the leaders of the new Government during and before the election. In view of the very small parliamentary majority and the minority of the electorate, slowness and caution were expected. The speed and assurance with which changes have been made are disconcerting. They indicate well-prepared plans and confidence in the backing of the electorate. South Africa was going slowly forward towards a liberal goal. It is now moving swiftly in the reverse direction ....."

THE University of London Institute of Education announces the following series of Monday lectures to be given in its Assembly Hall, Malet Street, W.C.1. Admission is free and without ticket.

15 Nov. - Education for International Understanding. G.B. Jeffery.
22 Nov. - " " - the Moslem World. H.E.Bowman.
29 Nov. - " - China. E.D. Edwards.
6 Dec. - " - Africa. K.L.Little.
13 Dec. - " - Central Europe. Corder Catchpole.

321½ East 56th St.
Los Angeles 11, Calif.
April 24, 1949

Dear Bayard Rustin,

I met you some 5 or 6 years ago when you visited Chilao CPS Camp. I have heard you speak on several occasions. This morning at People's Independent Church, I was struck by the power of the ideas you presented. Your presentation of the proposition of overcoming evil with good in the various areas of human conflict seemed to me to be an accurate expression of the approach Jesus took himself and recommended to others.

You stated that it was the drawing of a line between oneself and certain others which permitted one to drop bombs on the others, or lynch them, or hate their guts while submitting Uncle Tom-ishly to their violations of the dignity of human personality. This observation strikes me as a very acute one. It implies that all of the conditioning that has gone into each of us, as a product of the supremely efficient system of segregation which exists perhaps everywhere in the world, stands between each of us and that sense of belonging to a universal family which is an essential setting for the flowering of the concept of overcoming evil with good. Perhaps each of us, in addition to our activities in combatting the patterns of segregation, must also educate out of ourselves the sense of belonging primarily to one "group" and secondarily to the human family. Perhaps the "groups" have really no validity to them at all, except that everyone believes they are real, and legal, economic, and social patterns express this belief.

My own thinking follows very closely along the lines you suggested. I would have felt happier if Jesus had decided to do it the hard way as a result of some experience common to all of us, rather than because the dove spoke to him. Everything else you said gave to us as listeners something we could take hold of and use, but ~~to~~ maybe we will miss the boat if we wait for assurance from the dove.

It was quite a jolt to me to have Rev. Russell funnel the sweeping observations you had made into a drive for new members in the Church. I think much of what you said was different from the ideas promulgated in just about any church I can think of, not excepting Rev. Russell's. So the Rev's apparent adoption of your approach really meant a castration of it.

From the notices I have received, I gather that your schedule is pretty full while you are ~~at~~ in these parts. However I would enjoy discussing What to do about it? with you. Perhaps there are others whose inclinations run in the same direction. I might say that the usual Inter-racial approach seems to me to fall far short of the implications of your comments.

I am working days and going to Law School three nights a week. Nevertheless I would like to make time for a discussion of these matters with you, if you should happen to have some time available. If there is a time when you are getting together informally with others for this purpose, I would like to be included. The printed program for your visit does not suggest the likelihood, but it's a good idea anyway.

I can be reached at AD3-9996 after about 10 PM. I would greatly appreciate an opportunity to talk with you.

Sincerely, Dick Betherbridge

June 9, 1949

Mr. Dick Petherbridge
321½ East 56th Street
Los Angeles 11, California

Dear Dick:

I got your letter of April 24 some days late just as it was necessary for me to leave for Oregon and did not get a chance to answer it while I was on the road. I do want you to know that I would like to have a chance to talk with you when I am in the Los Angeles area again. I am leaving today for California and will be at the Institute of International Relations, Chadwick School, Rolling Hills from June 29 to July 3 and at the Whittier Institute from the 4th of July to the 10th. Would you get in touch with me at one of these institutes and perhaps some evening late we can have a coke and a discussion together.

Sincerely,

Bayard Rustin

BR:SP

April 26, 1949

Leslie Pinckney Hill
Dept. of Public Instruction
Cheyney Training School for Teachers
State Teachers College
Cheyney, Pennsylvania

Dear Mr. Hill:

Bayard Rustin is currently out-of-town on a speaking tour. I will call your letter to his attention upon his return, sometime in the latter part of May.

Sincerely yours,

Margot Butler
Secretary

COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA
DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION
CHEYNEY TRAINING SCHOOL FOR TEACHERS
STATE TEACHERS COLLEGE
CHEYNEY, PENNSYLVANIA

April 20, 1949

Mr. Bayard T. Rustin
2929 Broadway
C/o Fellowship of Reconciliation
New York City, N. Y.

Dear Friend:

It has been sometime since last we wrote you about the balance of $ 92.00 due May 31, 1938, on your Student Loan account. On our part we regret that pressure of work has prevented our sending you more frequent reminders of your indebtedness.

We should like to remind you of the pledge on your Application for Student Loan to which you affixed your signature.

> "I thoroughly understand that I am obligated to repay such loan when it shall become due and in addition I feel a keen moral obligation to repay promptly in order that other needy students may have the use of the money which I have borrowed".
>
> "Furthermore, I promise to answer promptly all communications from the Cheyney Training School for Teachers and to notify the College Bursar promptly of each change of address until the note is paid".

Immediate action on the part of the college is required by the following statement and recommendation as set forth in the Auditor General's report just received:

> "Our examination of the Harry Thomas Memorial Student Loan Fund disclosed that as of May 31, 1948 there was $3984.12 in loans outstanding, of which $3789.62 represented loans made prior to the 1942-43 school year".
>
> "It is recommended that appropriate action be taken to effect a settlement of these outstanding loans".

It was further recommended that "when any future loans are made that they be limited to a definite period for payment". You may recall that the form of note you signed for your loan does carry a definite period for payment - namely "on or before one year after date of graduation or on or before one year after the date of leaving."

We hope this appeal will make unnecessary the employment of a collecting agency, and thus save the Student Loan Fund several hundred dollars which collection by such a method would require. Think of the additional help that you could make possible for other worthy students by beginning now to take care of your indebtedness.

We have here now as in the past fine students who are urgently in need of financial aid. We are unable to respond to their appeals even to a small degree because of the failure of many former beneficiaries to meet their obligations to the Fund. We know that you would not wish to stand in the way of another student completing his or her education. Nevertheless, that is what happens when a beneficiary of this Fund fails to meet his obligation.

Kindly let me hear from you promptly. Maybe you live nearby and would prefer to come and talk over with us your proposed plan of payment. We shall be very happy to have you do this. Prompt action, however, is imperative.

With every good wish to you, and with the confidence that you will sustain your own integrity and our faith in you, I am

Very sincerely yours,

Leslie Pinckney Hill

Leslie Pinckney Hill
President

LPH:w

We hope now we can follow some of the suggestions about the restaurant situation in Kans., etc.

SAN-REI

ANSAS, MONDAY, APR. 25, 1949

State Civil Rights Group Organized

At a conference held in Lawrence, April 22 to 24, twenty groups representing all parts of the state formed the Kansas Clearing House on Civil Rights. The purpose of the group according to a statement adopted by the conference is: "To act as a coordinating agency and an information bureau for agencies working in the field of civil rights throughout the state." Major attention will be given the problems of segregation in schools, discrimination in employment, bad housing conditions for minority groups, and civil rights in public accommodations. It is expected that most of the organizations concerned with basic human rights in Kansas will affiliate with the Clearing House within the next few months.

Officers elected for the next six months period include: Mrs. Selma Platt of Newton, chairman; Albert Kidridge, professor in the Institute of Citizenship at Kansas State College in Manhattan, executive secretary; Elmer Rusco of Lawrence, editor of the Bulletin which will be published frequently covering state civil rights activities; Dr. Abby Marlott, professor at Kansas State College, treasurer.

Mrs. Esther Brown of Merriam, who has been leading the campaign against segregation in schools throughout the state, will head the commission in the Clearing House concerned with this same problem. Other executive committee members are: G. E. E. Lindquist of Lawrence; Mrs. Mabel Fletcher of Newton; Mrs. Gertrude B. Johnson of Wichita; Jack Kenna of the National Conference of Christians and Jews in Wichita.

Route 2
Newton, Kansas
May 4, 1949

Bayard Rustin
2929 Broadway
New York 25

MAY 6 1949

Dear Bayard Rustin:

Friday, June 10, is to be F.O.R. day at the Institute of International Relations in Wichita. We shall have a dinner at 6 p.m. to which you are invited. We would like to give you from 6:45 to 7:30 for a talk and discussion if that is agreeable to you.

At noon of that same day the executive council of the newly formed Kansas Clearing House on Civil Rights is to meet. If possible we would like to have you meet and eat with us then too.

Will you please send us the report of your experiences on the NorthhCarolina Road Gang as soon as it is ready for dispersal. We certainly hope the citizens of North Carolina willbe arroused enough to do something about such inhumanity.

Sincerely,

Selma

Selma Platt

Route 2
Newton, Kansas
May 4, 1949

A. J. Muste
2929 Broadway
New York 25

Dear A. J. Muste:

The peacemaker conference report, which arrived yesterday, gave me a Lift. I do feel that as a group we are moving in the right direction.

I have been thinking more about peacemaker training centers. Dwight said this noon that he too wished we could establish a center here in cooperation with Bethel College. But controversy over orthodoxy, conservative economic and political attitudes, and Mennonite prejudice against F.O.R. makes me feel rather hopeless about this community cooperating in a peacemaker program. People here are comfortable and do not want to be disturbed. I suppose in Europe people are too uncomfortable to initiate a constructive program. Am I just impatient? Perhaps from a distance you can see more clearly, and can give us an appraisal of the situation here.

I seem to be unable to get away from the desire to join a more active peacemaker cell. I know there are many factors to consider besides the job of moving. First, who are the people who would accept us as coworkers and with whom we could feel a spiritual affinity. Second, since my children have had a taste of rural life, a rural home is almost a necessity. In the third place, to me proximity to a city seems desirable.

Some of our reasons for wanting either to join a rural group or to help establish one are as follows:
1-There is more chance for economic security and independence without sacrificing moral integrity.
2-Rural life offers good opportunity for training children and young people to become responsible cooperative citizens.
3-Living near and working with nature are conducive to the maintenance of physical, mental, and spiritual good health. The opportunity for relaxation and outdoor creative activity aids in the development of personal and group integrity.

A few of my reasons for choosing to live near a good sized city are as follows:
1- Peacemakers who have a sense of mission must have a field in which to work.
2- City offers opportunity for firsthand study of social problems and for participation in social action projects.
3-The city usually offers more vocational opportunities.
4- It seems to me important that the training center be situated near one or more schools with which arrangements could be made to give students who have some special ability or talent an opportunity for specialized training. For some time it would

seem impossible for the peacemaker school to offer anything which requires expensive equipment or highly specialized personnel.

One reason I am writing this letter now is that we have a chance to go to New York the middle of June without too much expense. Will you be in New York anytime between June 16 and 20? Will any of you have enough information by then to make such a trip mutually valuable? If you think Bayard Rustin will have all the information on the subject and if you think the possibilities in the East too uncertain to justify such a trip at the present time, please be frank in telling me that.

Five Bethel students are planning to go to New York where they will participate in a M.C.C. summer service project in Harlem. They would pay us enough to take care of a large part of our traveling expenses. I do not, however, care to make the trip unless you think the time is ripe for giving serious consideration to these proposals.

Sincerely,

Selma Platt

c.c. Martha and Carl Landis, David Dellinger, Francis Hall, Ralph Templin, Bayard Rustin.

May 13, 1949

Selma Platt
Route #2
Newton, Kansas

Dear Selma Platt:

I would be very happy to cooperate with you in any way I can in the matters of the F.O.R. Day dinner, and the Kansas Clearing House on Civil Rights lunch. However, I suggest that you check with the director of the Wichita Institute before planning anything. He has my complete schedule.

I would like to write you more fully, but since I am not able to now, I send my best regards.

Sincerely yours,

Bayard Rustin

BR/md

City of Minneapolis

FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICE COMMISSION

407-A MINNEAPOLIS CITY HALL

MINNEAPOLIS 15, MINNESOTA

TELEPHONE: LINCOLN 1803

COMMISSION MEMBERS:

AMOS. S. DEINARD, CHAIRMAN
RAYMOND W. CANNON
HOWARD F. FORTIER
LAWRENCE E. KELLEY
ABBOTT WASHBURN

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR:

WILFRED C. LELAND, JR.

May 19, 1949.

Mr. Bayard Rustin
Camp 508
Roxboro, North Carolina

Dear Bayard:

Jeanne, Susan and I have followed with much interest your adventures and conquests in the cause of intelligent, decent and friendly relations between people. Your present experience is certainly another term of service in that good cause.

It was a real pleasure to have you as our guest when you were in Minneapolis two years ago. We shall certainly look forward to seeing you again whenever you come this way.

Our Minneapolis CORE Group is now putting on an art exhibit entitled "Arts Unlimited." It hopes to raise some money by auctioning off its exhibits on Saturday evening, May 28th. I am enclosing a clipping from the Minneapolis Tribune about the exhibit which you may find to be of interest.

We fought a close battle for state FEPC Law during the winter and were defeated by the close vote of 34 to 29 in the Minnesota State Senate on March 25th. We are now in the process of organizing a state-wide Committee on Civil Rights to do an educational and action job in the smaller communities throughout the state.

A year ago last fall we had the pleasure of entertaining Jim Edwards in our home on Lake Nokomis during the several weeks that he was in Minneapolis playing the lead in the play, "Deep are the Roots," put on by the North Star Drama Guild. As you undoubtedly know, Jim now has the lead in the movie "Home of the Brave" which is reported to be a very powerful and well executed job.

It was a pleasure to get acquainted with George Houser when he was in Minneapolis earlier this year. I think he does an excellent job of leadership in the Core Organization.

Jeanne, Susan, and your other friends in Minneapolis join me in sending you our best personal regards and good wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Wilfred C. Leland

WILFRED C. LELAND, Jr.

I LIKE IT HERE by GEORGE GRIM

Politicos and Columnists? No, They've Turned to 'Art'

Would you care to have an Old Master by an Old Mayor?

Would a Cedric Adams original . . . a Will Jones doodle . . . a flowery transcription by Arleth Haeberle . . . a John Sherman sketch be just what you'd want for your living room wall?

Two dozen of these are on display (or will be) in the third floor art rooms of the Minneapolis public library's main rookery at Tenth and Hennepin. It's all for the Committee on Racial Equality which, with WTCN's John Ford and KSTP's Cal Karnstedt will auction off these dillies at the YWCA on May 28, day after the exhibit closes.

I previewed some of the first arrivals.

The two men who wish to be our next mayor certainly differ on paper—a soft sketch paper for Mayor Hoyer, or the fast, yellow manila of John G. Simmons.

The Hoyer drawing is a meticulous, wallpaper-like, closeup of several clusters of grapes. Perhaps Mike Halloran can analyze them, politically, and see what they foretell about licenses for wineries.

A Cat That's Not All There

"And they call this RUNNING for Mayor" is the title of a pencil carton by Simmons . . . a linear figure running at top speed from one Simmons-for-Mayor rally to the next.

Will Jones, our Tribune partner-in-columning, has a tiny card with two India-ink sketches: a chicken, and the rear view of (I guess) a cat. They were done, says Will, while listening to two radio programs: Henry Morgan inspired the chicken and the Dean Martin-Jerry Lewis show caused the cat—incomplete, says Will, because there's something missing from the radio program too.

Arleth Haeberle of WTCN, whose original Christmas cards are a welcome freshness each December, has taken a big, round 16-inch transcription and painted roses and green leaves all over.

John Sherman is ready to part with the sketch of himself that appeared in his column some weeks age . . . John Ford of WTCN has a "surprise entry" that will remain wrapped until the night of the auction. Sheelah Carter dips pen into her yesterdays and does a "Castle in Wales."

Some Yet to Come

There are entries by prominent Twin Cities artists which are really something . . . Jercy Hughes, the bandman, has a mighty gay sketch of what an evening on the stand seems like to him . . .

But, please, Cedric Adams, Clellan Card and Bob DeHaven of WCCO, Cal Karnstedt . . . get your originals over. The fans are waiting!

• • •

The first grade children of Hamilton school in Minneapolis sent a picture Jimmie Johnson drew of Bing Crosby . . . sent it to Bing in Hollywood. They thought perhaps a big-time star didn't have time to see it . . . but Bing proved himself a mighty big-timer with this letter, received by those first graders in room 104:

"Well, I sure got a big kick out of the picture which Jimmie Johnson made of me and which you were kind enough to send, along with a nice letter containing signatures of the class.

"I have studied all your suggestions about where the picture should be hung, but I think I'll put it in my bedroom, so when I wake up every morning, it will give me a nice, cheerful start. It will show me how I should look if I got a good night's rest, and went to bed like a good boy. It certainly looks like Jimmie Johnson has a great future as an artist and portrait painter.

"I have four boys—the eldest 15, the youngest 10, but none of them could ever draw anything that good. They're too busy playing baseball to practice, I guess.

"Lindsay, the youngest, has quite a collection of animals, including a hamster, three or four eels, a starfish, soft-shell crabs, and other varieties of sea animals. We live on the golf course at Pebble Beach, and the ocean is only about 200 yards from the house, so anytime he's not in school or playing baseball, he's down at the beach seeing what he can find in the way of shells.

"I'm going to have to go in his room with a steam shovel and dig out some of the shells that he's stored there since last fall. He has hardly enough room to get in the door and get in bed because of so many shells piled up on the floor and in the corners. I don't know why he wants to keep them all, but you know how boys are when they have saved something.

"Please give my fondest regards to all the children in the school, particularly the first grade. And my very best to Mrs. Hasuesler, your teacher, I believe.

"Your friend,

"BING CROSBY."

Anybody want a lesson in staying on top?

From Our Street Floor "Topper Shop"

Light-hearted
Light Weight
Straw!

Our Quill-Trimmed
Summer Casual

$4.98

Casual as a summer breeze and just as cool. Our light weight little straw with round crown, wider brim and

'ARTS UNLIMITED'—An exhibit of original sketches, painting and doodlings by well-known Twin Cities residents opened this week at the Minneapolis Public library. Sponsored by the Committee of Racial Equality, the show will run through May 27 and move over to YWCA's Benton hall for a public auction at 8 p.m. May 28. CORE art contributors include Minneapolis newspaper columnists, radio commentators, the city's two nominees for mayor and professional artists. Above, Charles Hawthorne, 98 Highland avenue N., and Betty Farley, 2438 Fourteenth avenue S., CORE committee members, examine the painting contributed by artist Syd Fossum.

May 13, 1949

Dr. Leslie Pinckney Hill
Dept. of Public Instruction
Cheyney Training School for Teachers
State Teachers College
Cheyney, Pennsylvania

Dear Doctor Hill:

I am very sorry at the long delay in clearing up the remainder of this loan. I will try to pay on it regularly until it is clear.

As you may know, I am working at subsistence wages in an organization which has limited funds. Nevertheless it is my intention to clear it up as soon as possible.

I trust that things are going well with you.

Sincerely yours,

Bayard Rustin

BR/ml
encl. check

Box 29,
Tracy,
California.

September 26.

Dear Bayard Rustin,

Alas! your letter has been following me round, and I've only just received it. Much too late, I am afraid, to reach you before you leave the country. But just in case this can be sent on to you, I would like to suggest that when in England you see:

(1) Stuart Morris, The Peace Pledge Union, Dick Sheppard House, 6, Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1. (just behind Friends House, Euston Rd) The PPU is a radical pacifist movement somewhat similar to Peacemakers, and he could also tell you of other people to see.

(2) Also: Eric Tucker, (TUCKER) of the

Friends Peace Committee, Friends House, Euston Road, London, N.W. 1.
He may not be quite so radical as Stuart Morris, but is devoted to the pacifist movement and could probably give you names of people to see in other European Countries. Both these men are the Secretaries of their respective organisations.
If Eric Tucker is not in, talk to the Assitant Sec. Gwen Paine. She also knows a great many people on the Continent. I haven't been on the Continent since the war, so can't put you in touch pessonally.

What a wonderful journey you will have! I am so glad it is working out.

My greetings to Stuart M. & to Eric T. if you see them.

Yours,

Winifred Rawlins.

To: Bayard

From: Al

November 30, 1949

Over the weekend I read the manuscripts that you have gotten in so far of the series that you are talking about for use in student work. I must say that I was not as much impressed by them as I expected to be. I don't think that any of them was suitable for FELLOWSHIP, since they were on too much of a elementary level. Victor Paschkis' article was an exception to this in a way, but was addressed specifically to his fellow scientists.

It did not seem to me that they were even particularly good for the purpose you want them. They suffered generally from a vagueness and a wordiness that should make it pretty hard to persuade college young people to read them. Certainly there is virtually nothing in any of them that would stimulate any extended discussion or study.

This leads me to question the whole basis of your plan. While I think the original idea was pretty sound, it occurs to me after looking at these that it needed more thought in the solicitation of manuscripts from the writers. Perhaps you should have set up a format which all the authors would have followed, specifying that certain specific points ought to be made, that certain questions ought to be answered and that a separate section be included with each raising further questions for extended study or discussion. As it is now, they are going to get in general what will appear to be the reprint of an article, of a different interest to them, not particularly well written, and in no way organized to stimulate their curiosity or challenge their thinking.

I realize that this comment doesn't offer very much in the way of constructive help, but I do think that you would be wise to stop and give some more thought to the whole project. One possibility might be to incorporate the article as one part of the folder you are printing, raising the issue in a simple statement at the beginning then following it perhaps with the article and in turn following that with a couple specific examples or illustrations or situations into which a new spirit or technique can be injected, suggestions for group discussion or personal thinking, etc., etc.

as to Jennie

SWARTHMORE COLLEGE
SWARTHMORE, PA.
PRESIDENT'S OFFICE

DEC 14 1949

Please make file work
Have file work
Record

December 12, 1949

Dear Mr. Rustin:

You gave the most interesting and moving address that we have had this year on our Collection program. I have never heard the tactics of the pacifist approach stated more clearly or more interestingly. We all feel very much indebted to you.

I liked your unusual method of closing the program. It will interest you to know that I was waiting for the applause to subside to suggest to the students that we bow our heads in a minute or two of silence instead of singing the closing hymn. I liked your way even better.

Yours sincerely,

John W. Nason

Mr. Bayard Rustin
Fellowship of Reconciliation
2929 Broadway
New York 25, New York

BROOKS SCHOOL
NORTH ANDOVER, MASSACHUSETTS

OFFICE OF THE HEADMASTER

JAN 30 1950

January 26, 1950

Mr. Bayard Rustin
The Fellowship of Reconciliation
2929 Broadway
New York 25, New York

Dear Bayard:

This is just a note to amplify my inadequate spoken thanks. I have rarely seen the school so interested or concerned, and it is difficult for me to tell you how grateful I am.

It seemed to me that we were altogether unreasonable in our demands upon you. My hope is that the results made it seem worthwhile, as I also hope that we may be able to persuade you to come our way again.

With every good wish and warmest regards,

Always sincerely,

Frank Ashburn

FDA:L

American Association of University Women
Elizabeth Branch
Elizabeth, New Jersey

JAN 31 1950

Mayor Kellers

1329 North Avenue
Elizabeth 3, New Jersey
January 28, 1950

Mr. Bayard Rustin
Fellowship of Reconciliation
2929 Broadway
New York 25, New York

Dear Mr. Rustin:

The delay in writing you after your talk at our Branch meeting on January 4 has been caused by my waiting for the return of your glossy picture which I wanted to enclose. Since it reached me this morning I am now returning it.

We were delighted with your talk and felt that it was most inspiring. Innumerable favorable comments reached me and that is always a feeling of satisfaction to a program chairman who hopes for a good reaction from members, but it should be an even greater reward for you to know that your message has meant much to those who heard it.

We hope that it will be possible for you to be with us again some time.

Cordially yours,

Margaret V. Franklin

(Mrs. Jos. C.) Margaret V. Franklin
Program Chairman

Enc.

THE DIXWELL INTER-RACIAL GROUP
Of Yale University and the New Haven Community
DWIGHT HALL - 404-A YALE STATION - NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT

JAN 25 1950

January 23, 1950

Mr. Bayard Rustin
Fellowship of Reconciliation
2929 Broadway
New York City

Dear Mr. Rustin:

On behalf of the Dixwell Group I would like to thank you very warmly for your inspiting talk of las t Tuesday. We were of course disappointed that you were unable to have supper with us, but we understand that the nature of your work is full of uncertainties, and the most important part of your trip was fulfilled perfectly.

Yours truly,

Robbins Burling

Robbins Burling

To: Bayard

From: Al Hassler

February 13, 1950

I am not too greatly impressed by either of your suggestions for meeting the H-bomb crisis. It seems to me that both of them really reflect a desire to disassociate ourselves from the development of the H-bomb and the increasing tendency toward war more than they do a potentially successful way of awakening the conscience of the American people generally. While this may be a valid impulse, I am not myself too greatly moved by it. It seems to me that what needs to be done is (1) bring home to the masses of the American people what the implications of this kind of weapon really are, and (2) find some way of encouraging them to find their security in something other than military might. How this is to be done I am sure I do not know, but I am equally sure that lying down in front of the gates os Los Alamos is not the way to do it. With a few exceptions, people would react to this sort of thing by (1) dismissing us as crackpots, (2) excoriating us as Communist sympathizers, or (3) at best acknowledging wistfully that we have a form of security that they do not have.

I am more and more drawn to the conclusion, though very reluctantly, that the only way in which we really will accomplish our end is by the slow business of persuading individuals to take a basically pacifist stand.

February 3, 1950

To: Al Hassler
From: Martha Higashida

I am attaching a copy of a letter which Bayard sent airmail special delivery from Kansas yesterday afternoon.

If you have any comments on it, will you let me have your memo and I will forward it to Bayard?

FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION
21 Audubon Avenue
New York 32, New York

February 2, 1950
(Sent from Wichita, Kansas while traveling)

Dear A.J.:

This letter is in reference to my call to you from Wichita.

I was really quite unhappy to hear about Einstein's letter to you; only two or three weeks earlier he had written Roy Kepler that he thought that "Gandhi's way is the only way." Already they have begun to do to Gandhi what has been done to Jesus -- worship him as an unobtainable ideal. That is the sin of men of goodwill -- not really to believe in their own power. It is more difficult to deal with than the outright evil of fascism, the aim of which is bad. When our society is described in future historical works, it will be said of us, I am afraid, that we perished because we proceeded to seek for the good by bad means.

You may be interested to know that I find church and labor people little prepared to question the H-bomb. The feeling is: "But if we don't make it the Russians will," or "Do you really expect us to use non-violence against the Russians? They aren't the British, you know. The church would die and all good things with it." I find even fairly liberal pacifists questioning our right to raise the question. An example of this is the fact that Guy Gebhardt is unable to get a single church or labor group in Kansas to sponsor Richard Wood's meeting on "The Quaker Plan for Peace With the Soviet Union." Practically all the ministers say: "Our people will not support talk about peace with Russia." Labor leaders are afraid. They admit it is bad but give in.

I do not want you to think I am discouraged. Far from it. But I believe that this situation bears out what I tried to say at the meeting of our staff when you and some of the others felt that Truman would not proceed with the H-bomb until there had been "considerable debate, etc." I believe that people, including the churchmen and labor leaders of goodwill described above, are in so fearful and demoralized a position that they are prepared to give in on anything to stop the Russians that the government calls for. The authorities know this. I believe our chances are not, then, to proceed only with letters and telegrams and public statements but through direct action by men who are prepared to make terrible sacrifices now, to look mad now, to give up all now if necessary.

Proposal I.

I want then to propose that Peacemakers call upon some church and labor leaders, etc. to do something rash now to try to raise to the surface some Christian, ethical, or moral concern. We must find some way to let people know that now we are prepared to go to jail or even to give up all -- to get shot down if necessary -- but to cry out. We could perhaps go to Los Alamos or some such place to obstruct the coming in of materials. Most of these places have gates and we could lie in front of them. I believe that only such extreme behavior can reach to the real conscience through the veneer of fear, cynicism, and frustration today.

Letter to A.J. from Bayard Rustin
February 2, 1950

A.J., don't you agree that if we let this pass that, as you have quoted, the stones themselves will cry out. Perhaps our whole staff should get arrested in this project with at least a carload from each area. As important as my work is between now and February 23 I would feel perfectly clear to leave any engagement to go to join with others and feel sure I could bring some people with me. To me the real question is: if not now, when do men of concern act with their whole body? In this way we say to the American public and to the world: When do you begin to draw a line?

Proposal II.

Or the idea of renouncing citizenship seems to me a very sound one at this time, and if it is possible to get several persons to do it, momentum will be added and support given. To begin with, it calls for some courage; it gives an alternative: one becomes a world citizen. It ties in with an already existing movement (the Garry Davis one) and in a sense challenges this group to take its position more seriously. It will raise the issue of the H-bomb because of the extreme cost in most people's minds of the price we are willing to pay. Finally, it should be a logical step for C.O.'s to take, many of whom have actually lost many aspects of citizenship already: the right to vote, to vocation freedom, to hold office, to travel, etc.

I trust that if this matter is not already under discussion that you will bring it before the proper committees at once. I am prepared to do anything the group proposes. I have never felt more keenly. A.J., I am sure if we let Washington do this to America and the world without total resistance we will do our cause great harm. Let us resist with our whole beings!

Sincerely yours,

Bayard Rustin

Bayard Rustin

BR/mh
Copy of this letter sent to:

John Swomley
Connie Muste
Al Hassler
George Houser
Bill Sutherland
James Peck
David Dellinger
Robert Currier
Roy Kepler
Albon Man
Julius Eichel
Ralph Templin
Fran Hall
Winifred Rawlins
Larry O'Kane
Wilbur Rippy
Robert Davison
Charles Bell
Lloyd Danzeisen
Caroline Urie
Ross Anderson

ALPHA EPSILON PI FRATERNITY
PI DEUTERON CHAPTER
429 EAST HAMILTON AVENUE
STATE COLLEGE, PENNSYLVANIA

nice letters (F)

AEΠ
ALPHA EPSILON PI
FRATERNITY

MAR 9 1950

March 7, 1950

Mr. Bayard Rustin
c/o P.S.C.A.
Penna. State College
State College, Pa.

Dear Mr. Rustin,

I am writing to once again thank you for the group, as well as myself, for speaking to us last night. You gave us what we most needed, facts and ideas, instead of abstractions.

I hope you did not feel that my invitation for you to return to our house when in State College again was a superficial social nicety. It was meant as a sincere open invitation to you.

Sincerely yours,

Samuel Hurwitz

Samuel Hurwitz
President

ΕΣΠΟΝΔΑ

PENNSYLVANIA STATE COLLEGE
PI DEUTERON CHAPTER
P. O. BOX 740 - STATE COLLEGE, PENN.

Tennessee

Agricultural and Industrial State College
Nashville 8, Tennessee

Office of Student Personnel Service

March 9, 1950

MAR 15 1950

Mr. Bayard Rustin, Secretary
Fellowship of Reconciliation
21 Audubon Street
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Rustin:

Your talk in connection with the Design for Living Week program sponsored by Tennessee A. and I. State College, Fisk University, and Meharry Medical College created much discussion and apparently started considerable thinking among students at the college and members of the faculty on techniques in effecting change in modern society.

Yours very truly,

Virginia S. Nyabongo

Dr. Virginia S. Nyabongo
Director of Student Personnel

VSN/b

SWAIN, PROF. WILLIAM

May 1, 1950

Prof. William A. Swain
Macalester College
St. Paul 5, Minnesota

Dear William Swain:

I have your communication of April 7 and want to apologize for the long delay in answering. It has been the result of our Fast for Peace in Washington which I attended. You may be interested to receive a report of this, and I am sending you a copy under separate cover.

The decision which you mention in your letter was reached very spontaneously as a suggestion of one person but grew out of a long searching which had been going on for weeks prior to our going on the Journey of Reconciliation and came from our basic belief that it is by turning the other cheek and behaving creatively that you can deal with the injustice in others. That is to say that it is by dealing with the injustice in oneself that one has whatever influence he has with others.

The matter of how we would have ordered ourselves was not fully discussed, and you can see that under the stress and strain of a lynch mob at the door there would not have been time for the general type of discussion. But I believe that the leaders would have been prepared, if necessary, to sacrifice themselves one after the other, and there is some evidence that the majority of the group would have been prepared to go along with this decision. I hope sometime to be able to really do a job of analyzing what actually took place, but time does not at present permit.

I am enclosing a copy of our Caravans for Peace, which at the present time is taking a good bit of our energy. Perhaps you may know students who may be interested in participating in this project this summer.

Sincerely yours,

Bayard Rustin

BR/mh

Enc.

MACALESTER COLLEGE
SAINT PAUL 5, MINNESOTA

April 7, 1950

APR 10 1950

Wite

Mr. Bayard Rustin,
21 Audubon Avenue,
New York 32, New York

Dear Sir:

Several years ago, in a meeting at the University YMCA in Minneapolis, you described some of the incidents of the trip you, George Houser, and others took thru' the South to test the effectiveness of the Supreme Court's ruling against segregation on interstate public carriers.

One particular incident has remained in my mind and has caught the imagination of one of my students to whom I related it, - the time your group was in the home of a clergyman, in North Carolina I believe it was, and a mob was forming outside. I as I recall, you determined to confront the mob one at a time, if the pressure grew too great, offering yourselves as a tension-reducer in hopes of saving the rest of the group.

What most interests my friend, and gives rise to this communication, isthe manner in which that decision was reached, and the manner in which the order of "sacrifice" was determined. Have you ever published a detailed account of this experience?

If not, would you be willing to attempt a recall in some detail for my friend? His interest is primarily that of a writer, not of social tracts or exciting events as such but rather of the motivations and thoughts-patterns which lead to and through the actual event.

His sympathetic imagination and good taste I will readily vouch for.

Any cooperation, or further investigation of the nature and purposes of this inquiry will be greatly appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

Wm A. Swain.

WilliamA. Swain,
Assistant Professor,
Department of Sociology.

PHILLIPS ACADEMY
ANDOVER, MASSACHUSETTS

JUN 27 1950

June 26, 1950

Dear Bayard:

Thank you ever so much for your letter of June 16th. telling me about the Classic String Quartet. I shall indeed pass your letter and the announcement to the person who arranges our programs here at Andover, and I know that he will give it consideration along with the many other programs that he may be thinking about for next year. I am not at all sure that he will be able to work this in, but at least I will urge him to give it every consideration.

Bayard, I can't tell you how grateful I am to you for what you did in your day spent at Andover. I wrote you a letter almost immediately after your visit, and for some reason or other it was not mailed. I think I know why, in fact I'm sure I do, -I said in my letter that I was enclosing the Phillippiam Editorial about your visit, and then when I looked for the editorial I couldn't find it. Consequently your letter was held up for too long, and I didn't mail it at all. Please forgive me, for I certainly want you to know how much your visit meant to all of us. The editorial, as a matter of fact, was entitled, "Thank God For Bayard Rustin", and in it, it spoke of your conviction, your sincerity, and the contribution you had made to the thinking of the school.

Sincerely yours,

Gray Baldwin

Fellowship of Reconciliation
College Section
21 Audubon Avenue
New York 32, New York

January 4, 1951

Dear Friend:

The Executive Committee of the Fellowship of Reconciliation has given us the go-ahead on carrying on two peace educational caravans for this year. The major caravan will take place June 15 to August 15, and later I will be writing you more fully about this.

At the present time I want to discuss with you the matter of the earlier caravan which will begin February 1 and run through the end of March. It is now clear that this caravan will take place either in Philadelphia or in Indianapolis. This caravan will work with schools, churches, labor unions, and through street meetings, forums, and radio, with polls and interviews as a means of stimulating interest in peaceful alternatives.

We hope to have eight or ten people participating in this work with Charles Walker and me as leaders. There are quite a few colleges in the Philadelphia area so that if we finally decide to have it there, a great deal of the work will be done with young people as well as with adults.

Each person participating in this educational work will be required to pay about $100 to cover his living costs for the period. For those we feel have the qualifications to make a real contribution to the caravan but who cannot afford to pay the full amount we are now in the process of raising a scholarship fund.

HOW YOU CAN BE OF HELP

1) If you know any persons on your campus at present or in the town where you live who might be interested in this work, please call the caravan to their attention, or send me the names and addresses of such people in order that we can reach them directly.

2) Also, if you know of any persons who cannot join the caravan themselves but would like to enable someone else to go who otherwise would be unable to do so because of lack of funds, please send us their names and addresses, and we will get in touch with them.

3) Please call our caravan project to the attention of the F.O.R. group or peace group on your college campus at your earliest convenience, for there may be some among the group who do not plan to attend school next semester who would be interested in joining our February-March caravan.

Sincerely yours,

Bayard Rustin

Bayard Rustin, Director
College Section, F.O.R.

HILL, DR. LESLIE PINCKNEY

April 18, 1951

Dr. Leslie Pinckney Hill
Cheyney,
Pennsylvania

Dear Dr. Hill:

I must say that it is with deep regret that I have learned that you are leaving Cheyney at the end of this academic year. As I think back over my years at Cheyney, I am more able to appreciate your great assistance to all of us who have been there at school. I am deeply impressed with your wisdom, particularly as I learn more of life.

In some sense I also look upon my personal experiences at Cheyney with some regret, but all in all I am sure that what I learned there has stood me in good stead both academically and spiritually for the work which I have been called upon to do.

I suppose that there were many students like me who are somewhat responsible for the gray hairs you received earlier than you should have, but as long as they are as deeply appreciative of you as I have grown to be, then you may know that your worry and distress have not been in vain.

There is one other factor as I have thought back over the struggles which you have had with many of the people whom you were trying most to help. I now know that your sonnet on leadership, which I re-read the other day, was not merely a poetic expression but a universal truth which grew out of your own experiences.

I trust that whoever comes to Cheyney will be able in some way to measure up to you.

Please give my deepest respects to Mrs. Hill and to those persons on the faculty who were there when I was at school.

Sincerely yours,

Bayard Rustin

BR/mh

HILL, DR. LESLIE PINCKNEY

January 10, 1950

Dr. Leslie Pinckney Hill
Cheyney,
Pennsylvania

Dear Dr. Hill:

Enclosed you will find a check for $52, which closes out my student loan.

I want to take this opportunity to say that I am extremely appreciative of the extraordinary patience which you and Mrs. Conway indicated in my long delay in repaying the funds. It is with a great sense of joy and relief that I am now able to clear out the matter completely, for I know that there are many students today who will need loans as badly as I needed them when I was in school.

It was good to see you and Mrs. Conway and the others when I was down recently, and I trust that if there is anything that I can do to be of help to either of you or to Cheyney that you will call upon me.

During my days at Cheyney I feel that I gained a great deal which has helped me in the work which I am attempting to do, and I am deeply appreciative for all that I gained.

Sincerely yours,

Bayard Rustin

BR/mh
P.S. If there is interest in connection with this loan, I trust that you will let me know the amount of it so that it can be paid off. BR

cc: Mrs. Conway
cc: Mrs. Julia Rustin

COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA
DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION
CHEYNEY TRAINING SCHOOL FOR TEACHERS
STATE TEACHERS COLLEGE
CHEYNEY, PENNSYLVANIA

January 6, 1950

JAN 10 1950

Mr. Bayard Rustin
The Fellowship of Reconciliation
2929 Broadway
New York 25, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Rustin:

This is to acknowledge your letter of January 3 enclosing a check for $10 towards payment on your loan. We enclose a receipt for this amount as well as a statement of the balance still due — $52.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie Pinckney Hill

Leslie Pinckney Hill
President

Enc.
LPH:mb

No.

1-5- 1950

Received of Bayard Rustin

Ten 00/100 DOLLARS

Student Loan

$ 10 00/100

L. N. Conway

COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA
DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION
CHEYNEY TRAINING SCHOOL FOR TEACHERS
STATE TEACHERS COLLEGE
CHEYNEY, PENNSYLVANIA

Mr. Bayard Rustin
The Fellowship of Reconciliation
2929 Broadway
New York 25, N.Y.

January 6, 1950

STATEMENT: Bayard Rustin

Balance as of February 20, 1943			$ 92.00
Paid	May 23	$10.00	
	June 10	10.00	
	Sept.20	10.00	
	Jan. 2	10.00	
		$40.00	40.00
Balance January 5, 1950			$52.00

HILL, DR. LESLIE PINCKNEY

January 3, 1950

Dr. Leslie Pinckney Hill
Cheyney,
Pennsylvania

Dear Dr. Hill:

I am enclosing a check for $10 towards payment of the loan.

Would you kindly let me know how much more it is that I owe on the loan?

Sincerely yours,

Bayard Rustin

BR/mh

Enclosure

ILL. DR. LESLIE PINCKNEY

September 15, 1949

Dr. Leslie Pinckney Hill
Cheyney,
Pennsylvania

Dear Dr. Hill:

An urgent matter has come up concerning some study which I have been asked to do at Cambridge. There are several problems involved, one of which I would like to discuss with you.

I will be coming to Pendle Hill on the 28th of September, a Wednesday, and I am wondering if it would be possible for me to see you at ten o'clock that morning. If this is impossible, I will be at Pendle Hill for a conference on the 29th and a part of the 30th also, and while it would be far less convenient for me, I would leave no stone unturned to see you on the morning of the 29th or 30th.

Could you let me hear from you as soon as possible?

Sincerely yours,

Bayard Rustin

BR/mh

COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA
DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION
CHEYNEY TRAINING SCHOOL FOR TEACHERS
STATE TEACHERS COLLEGE
CHEYNEY, PENNSYLVANIA

September 23, 1949

SEP 26 1949

Mr. Bayard Rustin
Fellowship of Reconciliation
2929 Broadway
New York City, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Rustin:

This is to thank you for your two communications and to say, first, that I shall be glad to see you when you come down for your special conference, and secondly, that I shall cast about to see if I can find such a couple as the Church of the People in Seattle, Washington is trying to secure. I have no light on that proposition as of this moment. You shall have any information I may discover.

Very sincerely yours,

Leslie Pinckney Hill

Leslie Pinckney Hill
President

LPH/dj

Estelle Scott Salum
Credits

Possibilities

A. ~~Cheyney~~
1. cheyney accept credits from other school — award degree.

2. Finish at cheyney through correspondence
NO

3. cheyney accept work as part credit

4 transfer credits with ratio.

B. Outside cheyney

1. School that would accept credits + work without year's residence.

5) ~~correspondence~~ -

[redacted] Dr. James H. Penter -

WALKER —
W. 2185 R5

William Gordon Jesse -
Mary Campbell
Emma Chalmers
Mary Hoxie Jones

No.

Received of Sept. 20 1949

Bayard Rustin

Ten 00/100 DOLLARS

Student Loan Fund - On acct

$10 00/100

L. N. Conway

COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA
DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION
CHEYNEY TRAINING SCHOOL FOR TEACHERS
STATE TEACHERS COLLEGE
CHEYNEY, PENNSYLVANIA

October 3, 1949

OCT 5 1949

Mr. Bayard Rustin
Fellowship of Reconciliation
2929 Broadway
New York City. N.Y.

Dear Mr. Rustin:

This is to thank you for $10.00 on account of your student loan.

Very sincerely yours,

Leslie Pinckney Hill

Leslie Pinckney Hill
President

LPH/dj

ALL COMMUNICATIONS TO BE ADDRESSED TO "THE CITY LIBRARIAN"

SHEFFIELD CITY LIBRARIES

J. P. LAMB
City Librarian
TELEPHONE 24031

CENTRAL LIBRARY
SHEFFIELD, 1

LH:H

25th April, 1951.

B. Rustin, Esq.,
21 Audubon Avenue,
NEW YORK, 32,
U. S. A.

Dear Sir,

The Clerk of the West Riding County Council has forwarded your letter to me.

Sir John Reresby was born at Thryburgh on April 14th, 1634, the eldest son of John Reresby, bart., of Thryburgh Hall who died at the age of thirty five, in April 1646 after having been taken prisoner by the Roundheads and confined to his own house. His mother, Frances, daughter of Edmond Yarburgh of Snaith Hall, Yorkshire, subsequently married James Moysey of Beverley, Yorkshire where she died in September 1668. Sir John was a great lover of music, and at the age of 8 was proficient in playing the violin. While his interest in music persisted throughout his life, as he grew older it was rivalled by gardening and architecture. He and his brother Edmond were sent to school in Whitefriars and in 1651, he entered Trinity College, Cambridge. According to Sir John Reresby's Memoirs, he was admitted to Gray's Inn. He went abroad in April 1654, and remained there for four years. He married Frances, daughter of William Browne, barrister-at-law of York on 9th March, 1665, in St. Dunstan's Church. He was appointed High Sheriff of Yorkshire in 1667. He took his seat in the House of Commons on 14th April, 1675, after having been returned at a by-election for Aldborough in Yorkshire. In April 1682, he was appointed governor of York. He died on 12th May, 1689 and was buried in St. Leonard's Church, Thryburgh. His eldest son, William, born 7th January, 1668, succeeded to the baronetcy. He ruined and sold the estate in 1705. The second son, Tamworth, born 17th September 1670 was a major in Colonel Stanwix's regiment. John, the third son died in July 1683 and George died in April 1689. The youngest son, Leonard, born 22nd September, 1679 succeeded his brother Tamworth as the fourth baronet. On his death on 16th August, 1748 the baronetcy became extinct. Sir John Reresby also had four daughters.

P.T.O.

According to the entry in the Dictionary of National Biography, Richard Blome was a publisher and compiler of some celebrity. In his will, made on the 7th May, 1705, he asked to be buried in the church of Harlington, near Uxbridge and died the same year. He published several books on heraldry and travel, the latter illustrated with engraved maps. "An essay in heraldry, in two parts", published in London in 1684 was dedicated to George, Earl of Berkeley but Blome had a variety of patrons and other names are occasionally found at the head of the dedication of this book.

Further information about Sir John Reresby can be obtained from his Memoirs, of which several editions have been published. One, edited with an introduction and notes by Andrew Browning was published in 1936 by Jackson, Son & Co., of Glasgow.

Yours faithfully,

M.W.

City Librarian.

According to the entry in the Dictionary of National Biography, Richard Blome was a publisher and compiler of some celebrity. In his will, made on the 7th May, 1705, he asked to be buried in the church of Harlington, near Uxbridge and died the same year. He published several books on heraldry and travel, the latter illustrated with engraved maps. "An essay in heraldry, in two parts", published in London in 1684 was dedicated to George, Earl of Berkeley but Blome had a variety of patrons and other names are occasionally found at the head of the dedication of this book.

Further information about Sir John Reresby can be obtained from his Memoirs, of which several editions have been published. One, edited with an introduction and notes by Andrew Browning was published in 1936 by Jackson, Son & Co., of Glasgow.

Yours faithfully,

M.W.

City Librarian.

Rustin

April 30
To: Connie Muste
From: Bayard
Re: Philadelphia Peace Caravan, February 3 to March 25, 1951

I am just jotting these things down roughly, and I can consult with you at any point that you want me to go into any details further. I am numbering these, but the order has no significance.

1) Our Purpose

Since Philadelphia is such a large city, we had to sit down and decide what smaller communities within Philadelphia we would work with, and we decided to work within the church and school community. We had also to decide our major aim, and after considerable discussion we decided that our major task was to leave behind us a small group of committed individuals who would begin to work for peace and security by non-violent means. In addition, we hoped that we would be able to activate further a number of the people who were pacifists.

2) Work with Young People's Groups in the Churches

Perhaps the most significant thing we did was to decide that we were going to start in immediately with work with young people in church groups. We got the Saturday afternoon paper and looked up all of the church services for young people. We telephoned the ministers, told them of our work in Philadelphia, and asked them if we would be welcome at the young people's meetings. From that time on each caravaner adopted a young people's meeting which he cultivated throughout the two-month period in Philadelphia.

The technique was to go to these young people's meetings and at an appropriate time to raise some issue in the discussion which indicated that we were pacifists. At this point interest usually centered upon us, and numbers of young people would come up afterwards to discuss our "unusual" position with us. During the course of the two-month period almost every one of the young people's groups with which we worked invited us to take an evening program to present the full pacifist view. In this way we were able to present our view to great numbers of young people who had not heard the pacifist position before.

3) Use of Our House as a Peace Center

This technique of going to young people's meetings and raising questions led to the use of our house as a peace center. What this really means is that when at the end of the young people's meeting we were surrounded by five or six interested individuals we would say to them, "It would be much nicer if we could go somewhere for coffee or tea." And then we would invite them to 306 South Fawn for discussion. This discussion centered around all the problems that young people face when they are first interested in pacifism. We found later that during the week and often at mealtimes we would have any evening six or eight people who would drop in for discussion. Finally our house as a center or peace activity and discussion became so vital that we had to make certain that there was some one person left in the house at all times.

4) Wheat for India Project

One interesting public project was the "Wheat for India Project," and here's what happened. The group decided that it wanted to do something about wheat for India. We then got on the telephone and called Clarence Pickett and Amiya Chakravarty asking them if they would co-operate -- Clarence Pickett as chairman of the Emergency Committee for Food for India and Amiya as a representative of the Indian government since he was at that time an advisor to the Indian delegation at the U.N. Both consented, and the demonstration took place in the Friends Meeting House in Philadelphia. Each of us in the caravan personally paid for two

pounds of wheat, which was then wrapped at the Friends clothing center into small bags. Photographers from all the Philadelphia papers and from the associated presses were present. The picture was sent all over the United States and appeared in the February 13th issue of the Philadelphia Inquirer. Through the co-operation of groups in India some of the wheat was finally distributed to villages in India as a symbol of good will to the people of India, and it was a result of this that we got a note from Amrit Kaur, Minister of Health, and also a note from Nehru's private secretary.

5) Foreign Students

We had many opportunities to reach foreign students, and two incidents which took place are, I think, significant. When members of the caravan spoke at International House in Philadelphia, they had one of the largest meetings ever held there. We spoke on the whole problem of non-violence in winning freedom largely because so many of the foreign students were from areas that are subjugated. After the main program was over, a group of some 50 people assembled on the second floor, and for at least two hours they were asking questions. Then the little house at 306 South Fawn came into play, for the foreign students came over as individuals to talk through the particular problems which faced their nation. The two most interested boys were a young medical student from Austria who was very interested in how non-violence could be applied to the situation in Austria and a young African from Nigeria who came to see us several times, applying the principles of non-violence as we discussed them to the struggle now going on in Nigeria.

6) Political Education

In our work in colleges a terrific opportunity was afforded the peace caravaners to come face to face with all the political problems involved in the struggle for peace. We had meetings with Socialists, Trotskyites, and Progressives, and in the process of attempting to work out the Temple University and Swarthmore peace rallies the finest education was provided in relation to the way in which pacifists should behave when they find themselves in united front activities. ?

7) Many College Opportunities

Our group spoke to college groups at the University of Pennsylvania, Temple University, Swarthmore, Bryn Mawr, and Haverford, and in each place they were well received and in two of the colleges helped to set up pacifist cell groups.

8) High School Opportunities

We had opportunities to speak and present the pacifist point of view not only in private high schools but in public ones. Two illustrations that are significant: one day a teacher from a public high school for underprivileged boys called up and asked us if we would be willing to come and speak to them since there was such a terrific amount of violence going on at the school. Three members of the caravan sat down and mapped out their strategy. They went to the high school and spoke on non-violence in personal relations, in inter-group relations, and international affairs. All the teachers at the school were really amazed that the students sat so still and listened so attentively. The caravaners were then invited into the classes where they discussed problems of violence and non-violence with the boys. One of the teachers later said that the reason the students kept quiet was that for the first time in their assembly they had something discussed which really had a bearing on a life situation for them.

The second illustration is from a Quaker high school where the headmaster turned over to six caravaners two assembly programs early in the day and the entire remainder of the day for the caravaners to speak in classes. The headmaster later said that this was a red-letter day in the school's history. One

of the significant things in this experience was that many of the outstanding adult pacifists had been to the school and had created only a mild interest in pacifism. Here you had young people who had very little experience but who actually set the school on fire. I believe that this was the result of the fact that the boys were close to the age of the high school youth to whom they spoke, and secondly, they did not come with answers to problems but raising problems, and third, that the young men spoke with conviction because they themselves were subject to the draft and were, some of them, on their way to prison as a result of their convictions. It is these facts that make the business of caravaning such a significant one, and I believe that these facts should be pointed out whenever the significance of caravaning is mentioned.

9) Experiment with Worship

We had a very long period trying to decide what was the best form of worship for a group in which there were some who were very deeply religious and some, while religious, who did not believe in symbols of any form, and still others who were resentful of religious terminology. After a considerable period it was finally decided that we would have one half-hour of meditation each morning immediately after breakfast. In this way the group could worship together, and I believe this became one of the more significant periods of the day.

10) Learning to Live in Peace

As is always the case, I believe our greatest achievement was to help a widely diversified group of people finally to live together without conflict. Our house was small. We did all of our own cooking, all of our own buying. We had every day at the house guests and often as many as four or five extra people for meals. Then ten of us had to live in three small rooms for sleeping. We had but one bath room and consequently were continually on top of one another. There was no room in the house that could be used for quiet. In addition to this, two of the young men were going through the extreme adjustments that men have to make just before entering prison. Two others were beginning to question the whole necessity for group decisions. One man had just begun to read and to study philosophical anarchism. Another individual had come to the caravan expecting that all individuals who are pacifists are already pretty perfect and had a terrific conflict in facing the fact that the contrary was the case. Nevertheless, in about three weeks this group was a smooth-running, highly organized group with each person in it taking some major responsibility for the outside activities as well as for the running of the house. There was never any argument. Discussions were usually conducted in a very objective and honest manner.

11) Public Education

In terms of public education we had three major events. One was the demonstration outside the Bulletin Forum. On March 13 and 14 the Philadelphia Evening Bulletin conducted at the Bellevue-Stratford Hotel a forum under the title of "Worlds in Conflict." It was really a bringing together of the outstanding military and State Department leaders, and we looked upon it as an effort to give the impression that people were of one mind on the whole matter of national defense and secondly to convince the people of Philadelphia that the State Department program was a sound one. We made an effort first to be admitted to the platform of the forum, and when this failed we then notified the police, the Bulletin Forum executive, the management of the Bellevue-Stratford Hotel, and mayor, and other interested persons that it was our intention to raise the issue of a non-violent alternative at the only place that was left for us, which was before the main entrance of the hotel. (If you want more material on this, I can give it to you.)

How did people react?

The second event -- On the last Saturday night after our young people had had considerable experience in meeting many challenging situations we conducted with

them a street meeting at 57th and Woodlawn Avenue. The police came on three occasions and told us to move, and each time we made it clear to them that we had a right to stay. Finally they left us in peace, and our street meeting, while not a huge success because of the cold weather, was on the other hand, a very excellent training experience for a number of the young people who had not done that kind of thing before. We were successful in passing out a thousand pieces of literature telling about the F.O.R.

The third event -- At the University of Pennsylvania we distributed leaflets at noon-time to the students there, and this leaflet distribution was significant because I believe a new technique was developed. The Philadelphia people were opposed to our having a leaflet distribution at the University of Pennsylvania because the meeting being held was under the auspices of a non-pacifist organization which often co-operated with the pacifist group, and we argued, on the other hand, that we should distribute some material because the two speakers that the Philadelphia group was inviting were two senators who would present the military view. Finally, one of the young men in the caravan said, "The thing for us to do is to distribute leaflets in a way which will not antagonize any one concerned. We will distribute leaflets asking the public to attend the meeting and to hear the senators. In the second part of the leaflet we will put in a statement about our pacifist convictions and program, and then at the end of the leaflet we will suggest certain questions which the people should put to the senators after they have heard them speak." This was a wise suggestion on the part of the young man, and we were finally able to distribute this leaflet because the pacifists in Philadelphia who had felt that perhaps we should not use the leaflet in connection with this particular meeting felt that the leaflet as outlined by the caravaner was a constructive one. I point out this fact because I think this creative suggestion in connection with this leaflet distribution and the Sunday evening visitations to local church groups are the kind of thing which makes caravaning worthwhile.

12) Aid to C.O.'s

I think another real significance of the caravaning experience was the fact that of the 10 men who got together, 7 of them were men who faced immediate conscription in some form and 5 of them were men who will probably go to prison either because they selected not to register or because they requested IV-E but were not given it by their draft board. At this very crucial moment in their development when there was a great need for them to find some means constructively to express their deep concern in a direct and challenging manner, the caravan opened up for them. In addition to this, the caravan was able to keep in touch with a number of other young men who were in some difficulty as C.O.'s and to give them courage and material aid.

13) Co-operation with Philadelphia groups

The people of Philadelphia were not second in importance in the caravan. They were as important as the 10 caravaners in every respect. For example, the Executive Committee of the Philadelphia F.O.R. set up a subcommittee to plan all activities with us. We never participated in any activity unless it was planned in a meeting with this subcommittee. In the three public demonstrations which we had there were but with one exception always as many local F.O.R. people as peace caravaners. In the Bulletin Forum demonstration, for example, we had 50 people who participated in the activity. The Frankford Meeting, many of the local schools, the Women's International League, the Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors, the Y.W.C.A. and Y.M.C.A., and many other institutions in Philadelphia co-operated with us and permitted us

PHILADELPHIA CARAVAN REPORT (cont.)

to talk with young people's groups. The people in Philadelphia helped us greatly financially also. About a third of the money for the caravan was raised from a mailing to a group of Quaker women in Philadelphia. Many people in Philadelphia contributed food, particularly desserts, to the caravaners.

14) Boys Appreciated, Jobs Offered

As an indication of the way in which people in the Philadelphia community felt about the quality of the young men in the peace caravan it is significant to report that when the caravan was over, we were able to find work for the various caravaners with the College Section of the American Friends Service Committee, in the office of the Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors, in the Friends' Bookstore, and one young man was able to leave for the Midwest where he will work with migrant workers under the Presbyterian Church. We look upon our being able to place men in significant jobs at the end of the caravan experience as one of its most vital aspects.

15) Financing the Caravan

I think, Connie, you should make it clear that this project was financed by special appeals made to non-F.O.R. members and to certain F.O.R. members who felt that they could contribute something over and above their regular contributions in order that significant pacifist work should be provided for young men and women. Also, Connie, make it clear that if the summer project is to be a success, the funds for it will have to be raised the same way, for it is all too often true that the most talented and imaginative people are the ones who have the least money to finance themselves in this kind of venture.

16) Philadelphia Appreciative

In talking with the people in Philadelphia, it is interesting to note that many of them have the same opinion of the Philadelphia caravan that Walter Longstreth and his wife Emily have. Their comment has been: "This was one of the best things that ever happened for pacifism in Philadelphia."

17) Expressing appreciation of May and Margaret Schwartz

I think when you discuss under the picture of the house we lived in the significant work which took place there at 306 South Fawn, some nice word should certainly be made for May Schwartz and her mother Margaret who actually, on a few days notice, took their personal belongings and walked out of their house, leaving us a furnished house for us to move into and to use throughout the two-month period. This was for them a very real sacrifice, I am sure.

* * * * * * * * *

July 31, 1951

Bayard Rustin
Washington Park Y. M. C. A.
5000 Indiana Avenue
Chicago 37, Illinois

Dear Bayard:

Mrs. Alfred Moore called me today and is quite concerned about getting a definite answer from you as to whether you can be with them at a week end conference the last week end of September in Chappaqua. She said that she had a letter from you saying that you could not commit yourself until the staff approved it, and that this would not be possible until sometime in early September. She and Dr. Moore feel that it ought to be possible to get an answer out of the FOR more quickly than that, and pointed out that they can not wait until two or three weeks before the conference to know who is going to be there. They will have a meeting of the Organizing Committee on August 11, and would like very much to know before then whether or not you will be there.

I suppose you will be back in the office pretty soon, but if not, I will be glad to forward any reply to her that you want to make. Everything seems to have gotten very quiet at Cicero since you guys got out there.

Cordially,

Alfred Hassler

AH:gr

August 27, 1951

Personnel Office
AFSC
20 South 12th St.
Philadelphia 7, Pa.

Dear Friend:

I have your note in reference to Marvin Katz. I do not feel it easy filling this out under the headings and trust that you will permit this letter in substitution.

I have worked with Marvin Katz for two summers. The Personnel Committee of the F.O.R. rejected his application for the second summer's work but I felt that the project we were having was of such a nature that it could help Marvin, and after considerable conversations with our Personnel Committee they permited him to come. I think all in all he made a very real contribution to the group because he is a person of great courage and intellectual curiosity.

I would have to say on the other hand that he is a person of very real problems. He gives the impression of over-eagerness, tends to dominate group discussions and can be a very great strain upon a group which is not fairly mature and prepared to go out of its way to understand him. I suspect that he should not be placed in any group except under two conditions: (1) that the leadership of such a group be very imaginative and sensative, and (2) that the group in which he is placed be a very mature group.

I also think that in considering whether or not you should take Marvin you should contact Ray Hartsough and Jim Bristol who spent a week with him at the College Institute at Cornell.

I have very high regard for Marvin as a person of complete integrity and I believe that if he can learn to discipline himself at the points I have mentioned earlier that he will one day make a fine contribution to society.

Sincerely,

Bayard Rustin

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Chairman
HENRY J. CADBURY

Executive Secretary
LEWIS M. HOSKINS

Honorary Secretary
CLARENCE E. PICKETT

American Friends Service Committee
INCORPORATED
Twenty South Twelfth Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania
Telephone, RITTENHOUSE 6-9372

Bayard Rustin
21 Audubon Avenue
New York, New York

August 21, 1951

RE: Marvin C. Katz

Dear Friend:

The above-named person is being considered for participation in an American Friends Service Committee Volunteer Service Project. We understand that you are acquainted with the applicant, and we would greatly appreciate having your judgment of this person.

The enclosed form may be used for this purpose, or as merely suggestive of the kind of information you might want to include in a letter. Any additional comments you would care to make would also be very helpful. Your early reply will be much appreciated and will enable us to give the applicant an early decision regarding an appointment. We would like very much to acknowledge the receipt of each returned reference as we receive it, but due to the volume of our work, are unable to do so. You may be assured, however, that we value your opinions of the applicant and will use yours and others in making our decision.

In order that you may have some information about the project for which this reference is being completed, we are enclosing a page which describes briefly each of the volunteer service projects.

For reasons of economy of space and also because of its relatively great importance, we would like to make note here of one factor common to all projects: each project is in one sense an experiment in group living. Each participant is expected to have the desire and the ability to assume the responsibilities necessary for group living. In each project, participants share responsibility for planning and carrying out activities - education, recreation, work, and worship.

In each project the difficulties and challenges to successful group living vary, and those factors will be apparent in the enclosure. One challenge which all share, however, is that of adjusting to living with a group of people with varying backgrounds - of race, nationality, religion and economic status.

Thank you for your cooperation in this matter. The Service Committee appreciates your efforts on behalf of the project applicant.

Sincerely yours,

Wayne R. Jones

Personnel Projects Office

encl.

cc: A.J. Muste
Connie Muste
Francis and Pearl Hall
Dorothy and Chester Rick
John Oliver Nelson

Temp. Address: Washington Park Y.M.C.A.
5000 Indiana Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

August 28, 1951

Marvin Katz
c/o Mount Morris House
2013 5th Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Marvin:

I never got a chance to tell you how elated I was by the report of your intelligent and courageous handling of the mob in Washington. It was to me perhaps the most important single incident of the summer because I know that you have very real strength and potential power if and when you are able to discipline yourself at the points that A.J. and I talked over with you this spring. This single incident in itself I shall report at some length to the FOR executive committee as an indication of the fact that the confidence which A. J., Connie and I had in you was justified.

I must say though, Marvin, that I was a little disappointed about your not following through on what I hoped was a commonly understood plan in regard to your returning to Boston the Monday after the project. I will assume from this distance that you had very good reasons for doing as you did, but in being willing to make that assumption I also bear in mind that you should have let me know. I say this not to be nagging at you, but because my deep affection for you causes me to want to be able to report and to feel that you are responsible.

I wonder if you would kindly write me and let me know just what your plans are since it is impossible for me to be responsible to the Bail Fund unless I know where you are, what you are doing, what your plans are, and that the bail money is safe. I am, of course, also very interested to keep in closest touch with you as a friend over and above any considerations centering around the bail money.

The situation here in Cicero is, I believe, improving slowly from day to day, and I sincerely trust that things are going nicely with you. It was good being with you this summer and I trust that we will be able to during the years to work together for the things we both believe in.

Sincerely,

Bayard Rustin

Marvin's letter

Temp. Address: Washington Park YMCA
5000 Indiana Avenue
Chicago 15, Illinois

August 28, 1951

TO: A.J. Muste, Connie Muste, Francis and Pearl Hall, Dorothy and Chester Rick, John Oliver Nelson.

FROM: Bayard Rustin

Dear Friends:

I thought I should report to all of you that in thinking over the past summer I am thoroughly convinced that our bringing Marvin Eats into the workshop training unit was justified. I had felt along with Connie and Francis that since our group was such a mature one that they could help Marvin and that he could be of some help to them.

As you may know, during the training unit at Peekskill he was arrested and, I believe, handled himself on the occasion quite well. During the period of arrest he became somewhat confused but thinking back to my own first arrest which occurred when I was older than he was, and thinking of my own confusion at that time, I am very understanding. However, we were able to get him out on bail and from his behavior during the remainder of the summer I think that he gained from the experience. The group also responded magnificently at the time he was arrested and showed such deep concern for him that I think it is fair to say that they also profited through his being in the unit. This was manifested by everyone in the unit helping Marvin in every way possible.

I have made reference in the enclosed letter to Marvin of his courage and intelligent behavior at the Washington workshop. To put it simply, this is what occurred:

When a restaurant owner had incited a group of some 25 to 30 teen agers and led them to believe that the Washington workshop was composed of Communists, the youngsters gathered before the house in which the workshopers were living. They brought sticks and clubs and stones with them and were calling for our unit people to come out. They threw some stones and used considerable profanity. Needless to say, the group which had never experienced anything quite of this kind became upset. Marvin took note of the situation, opened the door, walked directly up to the ringleader and in a very pleasant and easy-going manner tried to reason with him. He was struck once, took the blow non-violently and then in ten minutes had the youngsters involved in a debate about Communism, Racism and International Affairs. Needless to say, this seemed to me one of the real high lights of the summer and when this incident was reported by one of the young men who had seen it to our training unit at their re-evaluation sessions, the incident gave Marvin the kind of respect among his peers that he has needed for some years.

I think we all have Connie Muste to thank for her efforts in talking with members of the training unit committee and thus making it possible for us to help Marvin at a very real period of crisis in his life.

THE FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION

21 AUDUBON AVENUE · NEW YORK 32, NEW YORK · LORRAINE 8-8200

A. J. MUSTE, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
DOUGLAS V. STEERE, VICE CHAIRMAN

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Howard Moody
Bruce B. Maguire
William Stuart Nelson
John Oliver Nelson
Rosalie Oakes
Douglas V. Steere
Norman J. Whitney

August 29, 1951

SEP 3 1951

Alfred Hassler
21 Audubon Avenue
New York 32, N.Y.

Dear Al:

I was wondering if you would get in touch with Alfred Moore since I do not have his address, and tell him that as I expected, the decision has been made that I am to remain in Chicago working in relation to the Cicero riot for the AFSC until October 1, that I am extremely sorry that it is not possible for me to accept his very kind invitation and that if later in the year he would like to have me come I will certainly make every effort to do so.

I would also like to know from you what material is going into the magazine in relation to the summer caravan and workshop. A.J. tells me that the people on the West Coast definitely feel that they want more of the kind of article which Connie did on the Philadelphia caravan. This leads me to believe that it might be wise for you or Connie to do an article on the summer work. We have voluminous material, all of which can be made available to you. Let me know as soon as possible what your desires are in this direction.

Sincerely,

Bayard
Bayard Rustin

s

Temp. Address: Washington Park YMCA
5000 Indiana Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

October 24, 1951

"Miss Ann" Newman
Chicago Council Against Racial and
Religious Discrimination
123 Madison
Chicago, Illinois

Dear "Miss Ann":

How are you-all getting along? Chicago is sho' a bad place, but I know you white folks have got things under control. Seriously, I want to thank you for all the help that you were to me during my stay in Chicago and I want further to tell you that I greatly appreciated knowing you personally and trust that the situation is improving. I have tried to keep in closest touch with the Cicero incident through the newspapers here in the East but I must say that the coverage is extremely limited. I would therefore suggest that further releases from the C.C.A.R.R.D. be sent to the New York Times and the New York Herald-Tribune and the New York Post, as I am certain, having talked with one of the editors that they are extremely interested to get any materials which they can.

I would also appreciate your sending me any materials which will keep me informed, inasmuch as I am constantly being called upon to talk about the Cicero situation.

I am also interested to know what is happening to Harvey and the Clarks. I would also like to hear what the N.A.A.C.P. is doing from time to time.

More important, of course, then anything else is what is happening to you. I trust that things are going to work out in such a way that you can feel free to stay on the Council, since I believe that tha job which it is doing is very significant and since I am convinced that you have a very important role to play in it. In fact, the role which you have to play is so important that it is my considered judgment that you should find some way to lay aside any problems of personality and really do within the Council the part of the exact job which you are fitted to do. At any rate, I would greatly appreciate hearing from you.

Give my highest regards to Les and others.

Sincerely,

BRmb

Bayard Rustin

File

ACTION SUGGESTION

To college group leaders
and concerned individuals
from Bayard Rustin

College Section
Fellowship of Reconciliation
21 Audubon Avenue
New York 32, N. Y.

December 11, 1951

I am sorry that this suggestion has not reached you earlier, but there is still time, I trust, to put it into operation.

Could you bring together a group to sing Christmas carols and pass out a Christmas card with a peace message on it? Your group can pass out its own card message or here is one that you may feel free to use:

MERRY CHRISTMAS!

We sing the Christmas tidings as once on the first Christmas Eve the angels sang: "Peace on earth, good will to men."

Sometimes we modern men forget what kind of a world it was when the angels sang and a Child was born. It was a world of tyranny and oppression--a nation in bondage waiting for a deliverer to lead it against the empire that had conquered it. But the Child, when He grew up, would not use the sword for deliverance. Full deliverance, He told His followers, could come only through the use of the methods of love. He died on a cross rather than compromise that conviction, but so right was He that we still sing thanksgiving for His birth 2000 years ago.

We sing the Christmas tidings, in the spirit He brought twenty centuries ago. Not by guns and bombers will peace come--not by hate and greed and national pride, but only by love and humility and a willingness to look on all men as brothers.

We wish you a very happy Christmas!

The Carollers of the

Fellowship of Reconciliation

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

The following suggestions may be helpful:

1. You can use a regular 9x12 sheet of bright colored paper (green or red).
2. The message can be mimeographed and folded in thirds (the conventional long envelope folding).
3. If there is time and you can afford it each card could be tied together with an inexpensive ribbon of contrasting color.
4. The group need not be composed of good singers. People who can carry a tune are sufficient.
5. Simple and well-known carols will have greatest appeal. Therefore, there is no music to be learned.
6. Such a small thing can take place any time between now and Christmas.

I am sure this is an unusual and [illegible] of the Prince of Peace [illegible] any other time.

EASTER GREETINGS

Easter is the symbol of hope resurrected out of a tomb of hopelessness, of victory where no victory was possible. The Cross had finished, once and for all, with this fanatic whose insistence on love thrust at the very pillars of stable society. So said the wise men; so said the priests; so said even His followers.

Easter in every age, ours no less than theirs, recalls the imminence of the impossible victory, the power of the impotent weak.

In our age no less than theirs we followers need to be reminded that Easter is the reality, and that the awesome structures of pomp and power are in the process of disintegration at the moment of their greatest strength.

We bring you greetings this Easter season, and the wish that together we can rebuild our faith in the miracles of impossibility open to us. Not by guns or atom-bombs or military alliances will the victory be won at last, for in these lies the real hopelessness, but in the faithful steadfastness of those who cherish love.

January 15, 1952

Mr. and Mrs. Lou Baron
53 West 11th Street
New York City

and Mr & Mrs Oscar Hyman
209 West 13th St.
and Mr. & Mrs Jack Kleinberg
209 W 13

Dear Friends:

This is a note dashed off just in case it might be of interest to you. One of the men in the FOR office, Bayard Rustin, is having to leave his apartment at the end of this month. He has quite a bit of quite beautiful furniture, most of it very old, and including mostly living room pieces. He is looking for a place to store it for the next eight or nine months to one year, and is wondering whether we know of any young couple who might be willing to use it for that period in exchange for storing it. I have no idea whether this has any interest for you at all, but thought I would drop you a line about it.

One other item, which probably would be an alternative to the above for him; we wondered whether there is any possibility of his getting your apartment when you leave. Bayard is a Negro and you know, of course, the difficulties he would have in finding an apartment. If either of these possibilities does bring any response from you I would be grateful if you would give me a ring at the office at any time. I hope your plans are for moving in soon.

Cordially,

Alfred Hassler

AH:B

FELLOWSHIP

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE
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January 15, 1952

Mr. and Mrs. Hyman Mair
579 Wyoma Street
Brooklyn, New York

Dear Friends:

This is a note dashed off just in case it might be of interest to you. One of the men in the FOR office, Bayard Rustin, is having to leave his apartment at the end of this month. He has quite a bit of quite beautiful furniture, most of it very old, and including mostly living room pieces. He is looking for a place to store it for the next eight or nine months to one year, and is wondering whether we know of any young couple who might be willing to use it for that period in exchange for storing it. I have no idea whether this has any interest for you at all, but thought I would drop you a line about it.

Cordially,

Alfred Hassler

AH:B

File - good letter.

Student Volunteer Movement

Founded 1886
Incorporated 1900

156 Fifth Avenue, New York 10, N. Y.

good. I've had at least 4 good notes on it too! J.S.

January 16, 1952

Mr. Bayard Rustin
21 Audubon Avenue
New York 32, New York

JAN 17 1952

Dear Bayard:

Thank you for your letter of January 10 and the enclosed seminar list.

I want to thank you personally for the fine contribution that you made at the Quadrennial Conference. The particular issue that arose during the conference was in many ways one of the most significant things that could have happened. It gave a sense of reality to the missions that each person there should have felt if he is to be a Christian.

The seminars were very significant. A number of students in their evaluation report specifically referred to the deep impression that your seminar made upon their lives.

Cordially yours,

Tracey

Tracey K. Jones, Jr.
Conference Secretary

TKJ:jr

"CHRIST'S KINGDOM — MAN'S HOPE"
THE 16th SVM QUADRENNIAL STUDENT CONFERENCE
UNIVERSITY OF KANSAS, DECEMBER 27, 1951 — JANUARY 1, 1952

The following original pages are of poor quality. UPA has made every technical effort to provide the best possible reproduction.

February 6, 1952

Marian Neuman, Chicago Council Against Racial and Religious Discrimination
19 S. LaSalle Street
Chicago, Illinois

Dear "Miss Anne":

I want to thank you for your very frank and informative letter of December 27th. Needless to say the contents of it will remain between us.

There are a great number of problems that one faces in dealing with race relations and I dare say there is no social problem in the United States today where these dilemmas are more extreme. For example, the great conflict between state control and decentralization is nowhere more difficult than in the seeking of equality for Negroes. My basic position is that the states should have as much power to deal with local problems as possible in the economic, social and political fields as a move away from centralization of government power which is perhaps the chief political danger of our time. And the logic of this obviously is to permit the states, even though it takes considerably longer, to manage as many of their affairs as can be managed. The logic of this also would mean that we would work at the state level for F.E.P.C., that we would question very seriously national legislation for dealing with the community disturbances which grow out of bad racial attitudes.

However, since humans are not logical, it is not possible for humans to behave logically all the time and I find myself working for a national anti-lynch bill, national F.E.P.C., call for federal action in such cases as Cicero, etc. And this is all to the good so long as we recognize that in one sense we are actually in some difficulties in the over-all problem of centralization versus local control.

In another sense the problem which you describe in your letter is a sister to the one I have described. It is largely because of the political nature of the struggle for racial equality which liberals and Negroes carry on that the political implications of this struggle, all of their good and bad aspects carry over into the power struggle which takes place within the minority group and between the minority group and the liberals.

As a person reared in the Judaic tradition you might like reading the story of Moses again and you will discover that Moses' chief antagonist actually was no Pharaoh and his legions, nor even the slavery of Egypt, but rather elements within the Jewish community which attach[illegible] in Egypt, which grumbled in the wilderness, and [illegible] Jewish scriptures have a

peculiar genius in having described the social and psychological implications of almost every human struggle that exists.

Therefore, the chief element of a person who is to work in the field of human relations is to recognize that it is a long pull and that the gravest anxieties that we shall be caused will be caused by those of us who believe in a similar fashion rather than by the disbelievers. This requires a patience and a forgiveness and a long-term view which I must admit that I am not always capable of, but that must be present if one is to carry on.

I trust that we can talk more about this sometime when I am in Chicago. Good luck to you in whatever work you will be doing.

Sincerely yours,

BRnb

Bayard Rustin

December 27, 1951
At home.

Dear Rusty -

I won't impress you by using our stationary - you know what it looks like - or by dictating to a secretary I don't have. Trying to keep up with correspondence is not what I do best. I wanted to answer sooner - but that's a familiar story.

You're missed in Chicago. Not that I could ever figure out what you did while you were here. But there was something stimulating in seeing you rush into the office with the latest idea from the fertile brain. The ideas never seemed to matter as much as the vibrance in which they were presented. You were good to have around. You did something for all of us. I look forward to seeing you again soon.

There is much - and yet little - to report from this end. But for what it's worth - although some of it may be duplication of what you already know - here is some of the news.

George Leighton was elected President of the NAACP. I personally feel that this is excellent. George may bring to the NAACP the leadership it so very much needs. In any event he couldn't do much worse than Wellis. I understand that they are getting a full-time person in for 6 months. He was previously with the Philadelphia office. From the way I get it - new

York is subsidizing him for 6 months - and if he's what they need - they'll put him on a permanent basis. I assume we both understand Rusty - that whatever I tell you in this and future letters - is just between the two of us. Les is resigning from the NAACP effective Feb. 15. He's planning on remaining in Chicago. He has a number of irons in the fire - but as yet nothing has crystalized. In many ways I think it's the best thing for him. Both of us know that in many instances staff people (except lawyers + their kin) are glorified membership hounds. I have attempted to understand the importance of membership in terms of the legal battles the organization fights, however, inasmuch as the ACLU handles cases of violations of civil rights - I've never quite understood why they don't pool resources. There is needed is needed in the Negro community an organization with the broad base of the ADL. I'm pure, or rather sure, that a permanent person in the Chicago ~~orga~~ office will improve the liaison between that office and the so called downtown agencies - but liaison for what - I don't clearly see. There is no agency in Chicago to which the downtowners can turn in order to help carry through any so called long range educational program.

Off the so called news ~~to~~ notes -: I am constantly being amazed by the difference that exists between those individuals whom downtowners consider "Negro leaders" and the individuals respected on the South Side. I think perhaps

2-

- the most glaring example is Paulynne McKissick. So let's - she's one of the women. On the South side - she's not only not one of the women - but in many cases she's completely repudiated - and not only by one group - but by a very representative cross section. Over and over again I'm appalled by the fact that we actually have no pipe line into the "people." Perhaps the same is true of the so called white community - but somehow I can't help feeling that the need to communicate - to interpret - is even more important for the Negro community. Communication is needed ~~to~~ in both - and we know it - but somehow the lines in the one seem so much slenimer and ineffective. Among my friends - who are just "people" - the names I rote off as leaders, etc. are laughed at. I ~~remember~~ remember sitting at a meeting at which one of our big shot human relationists purposed a letter going to the south side signed jointly by Willard Townsend + William Dawson - just by luck we found out that they're political enemies from the word go. We know so little about that which we pontificate about. We're dealing with human situations and our ignorance is frightening.

News. Remember that meeting that the Dickerson group was planning? It was held on November 25. Dickerson offered to let the Council take it over providing all the left wingers were accepted. ~~They~~ The refused. The meeting was held - a good turn out. We wasted hours and hours debating what to do about the meeting. In the end we did nothing. No great catastrophy has happened as a result of it. In fact it barely caused a ripple.

The New York papers probably carried news of the Grand Jury indictments. (I'm enclosing a copy.) They were jubilant about it. They completely lost sight of the fact that in this day a Grand Jury - Federal at that - needed to bring this about. By the way George Houser is on our mailing list & should be getting much of our material.

The Queens Committee is still settling. It's currently considering publication of a booklet on housing. Dave MacNamara is still going around. It's very hush hush. At this point - what's being done is only known to God - & as yet He hasn't told me.

The Clarks have moved into a real lovely apartment & have settled back little worse for the experience. Harvey's doing well in his job - and all seems happiness & light.

Right now much of my work is centered on our Annual Fund Raising Luncheon. It's to be held on January 22 & Rudolph Halley will be the principle speaker. We're hoping to have Governor Stevenson introduce him. I'd love to have you show up for that.

My life with the Council is not too healthy. I have some good plans set up for work shops, etc., however, the sand in the tracks is still present and currently I'm planning on leaving the Council Feb 1. If I do I'll be coming East for a few weeks. I know I have a job to do. I know of its importance - but one takes so much & then decides that the burden is too great. Believe me Rusty the burden is too great. On still another level - I'm not yet convinced

3 -

that human relations is my own particular way of contributing. There are too many imperfections in the human relationists themselves. And the bromide of their being human, too, is little solace. The jealousies, the bickering, the jockeying for position among me who are trying to teach is discouraging - & that's putting it mildly. I have a lot to learn and perhaps I expect to much - but I want from castles - or else I'd rather not ~~at~~ have any at all.

This has been a long letter & yet I've not covered half of what I want to say. More The next time. Write soon telling what you're doing & what the chances are for seeing you soon.

Be good Rusty & have a happy new year -.

My best -
"Miss Jane"

Hey - how do you like Miami?
No more Miami?

MEMORANDUM

Integrated Housing in the West
Suburban area of Chicago. ---
Some suggestions and plans to aid
in the peaceful location of Negro
families in the Cicero-Berwyn area.

Rustin

To: CICERO COMMITTEE OF THE CHICAGO COUNCIL
AGAINST RACIAL AND RELIGIOUS DISCRIMINATION

From: George Houser and
Bayard Rustin

PREFACE

What we have written here is for discussion purposes. The items listed are merely suggestive. They obviously must be thought through very carefully, amended and new suggestions made. The important thing is that a plan be worked out and an agreement reached so that a program of action is thoughtfully conceived prior to execution. This is essentially an action program designed to activate existing and proposed agencies.

AIMS

1. to create in greater Chicago an awareness of the factors that underlie racial housing tension, and to present concrete plans for the prevention of future discord and violence.

2. to formulate an educative-action program in the Cicero-Berwyn area directed to prepare those communities to accept integrated housing.

3. to specify detailed and alternative plans for the integration of the first Negro family or families into the Cicero-Berwyn area.

I. Point one recognizes that the Clark incident is one of several in the general housing tension. Thus, any educative-action plan finally must be directed toward the entire community. However, we believe that one of the chief educational factors in the total situation lies in a successful solution of the Clark incident and/or the integration of Negroes into Cicero in the near future. Therefore, this plan, listing three aims will deal specifically with aims number two and three. In the event that existing agencies do their respective jobs well, the objectives of this aim will be reached. Nevertheless a general educative-action plan that would include Greater Chicago ought to recognize that the following agencies play a great part in the present situation.

Forces to be Reached

a. Real estate interests which have a vested interest in segregation.

b. Federal housing agencies which have not taken a clear stand against segregation.

c. Government and state agencies which have not helped to reveal the true causes of the housing stresses and strain.

d. Business groups which profit from the Negro labor supply but which do not take a responsibility in relation to their housing needs.

e. City government which has not passed a clear non-discrimination statute.

Action Suggestions

Therefore any overall city wide campaign which could reduce the possibilities of future Cicero incidents must consider:

a. Efforts to get a state commission, composed of extremely respected citizens to do an exhaustive investigation of the housing situation in greater Chicago and see to it that widest publicity is given to the results.

b. Means to place pressures on the Federal Housing Authority to take a clearer stand in Chicago public housing. It must be remembered that the authorities' present stand is the result in part of negative pressures.

c. Efforts should be made to have all agencies of the Chicago Council Against Racial and Religious Discrimination seek to present some kind of briefs at the grand jury hearing in an effort to get the total facts on Chicago housing before the public.

d. Efforts to get the leading business men of Chicago to sit with a strong citizens committee to examine the problem in terms of their responsibility to aid in the location of adequate non-segregated housing.

e. Efforts to reach directly and indirectly real estate agencies in an effort to get them to take a more enlightened view.

II. Laying the Groundwork for Integrated Housing In Cicero

Many skilled observers have pointed out since the Cicero outbreak that this Chicago Suburb presents a very complicated sociological and psychological picture. The many tightly knit nationality groups represented there, the devotion of the people to their small homes only gradually being paid for, the fanatical fear that property values will immediately go down when Negroes move in, a pride in their community combined with the inferiority feeling about Cicero because of its tie-up with gangsterism, and the fact that the rackets in Cicero are still a large factor in both the business and the politics of the town -- all these factors and many more must be dealt with in understanding the community and why the outbreak of July 10-12 was possible.

But likewise one must come to grips with these psychological and sociological factors in laying the ground work for making Cicero integrated. And it is obvious that Cicero must become integrated. Otherwise mob violence and anarchism will be seen to be the dominant powers in dealing with community tension. But making Cicero interracial may be one of the most difficult tasks that people in this country concerned both for reconciliation in community life and for justice in dealing with minority problems have ever faced. The few people with liberal sentiments in Cicero are afraid to speak out. White supremacy exists as a doctrine under the surface. All the powerful forces of the community are agreed that Negroes must not move in.

Assumptions: In the face of this, what must be done to help change the atmosphere? First, a very careful preparatory job must be done in paving the way for integrated housing. Four basic assumptions must be clarified to as many people as possible in Cicero:

1. Mob violence is not the way of dealing with any situation no matter how tense. The housing laws and laws against rioting should be made clear.

2. The tragedy of present Negro housing conditions. The rumors currently circulating in Cicero are spreading the usual falsehoods about the fact that congestion in Negro sections of Chicago are gross exaggerations and that Negroes could keep their houses in fine shape if they spent money on this rather than on dope, liquor, etc.

3. The necessity for expansion of the Negro population into new geographical areas for decent housing.

4. Finally, Cicero is one logical area into which Negroes should move.

Some Specific Action Proposals: It cannot be assumed, of course, after the recent trouble, that a Negro family can move into Cicero without causing a ripple on the "peaceful" waters of the community. For a Negro to move in represents a basic conflict and some tension is to be expected. But this tension can be lessened in all probability by the work that is done with individuals, groups, agencies and institutions over a period of the next

months. The following are simply some of the action possibilities that have occurred to us:

1. An unpublicized series of conciliation meetings under the auspices of some such organization as the American Friends Service Committee. The participants in the meetings should include members from various groups in Cicero and persons from the liberal and Negro communities in Chicago. From Cicero the members of Congress, the Mayor, Superintendent of Police, an editor, a priest, a minister, a school teacher, a business man, a labor representative, etc., might serve. On the other side, participants might include an average Negro faced with a housing problem, a Negro attorney, labor, business, Chicago Council Against Racial and Religious Discrimination, American Civil Liberties Union representatives, etc. The findings of these meetings would not be for publicity purposes unless the members of the group themselves felt they wanted to release a statement. This conciliation process would help to spike some of the rumors going around in even high places about Clark's being a Communist, about the riot being a Communist plot, etc. It would serve to put everyone on his toes.

2. Anti-rumor campaign - Rumors are running rife in Cicero. The mere fact that they are repeated so often makes them believable. Two of them have been mentioned above. Although rumors may be symptomatic rather than causal still part of the emotional base for mob action is removed if rumors are discredited by facts. It must be remembered that rumors, later proven false have been a significant part of many previous riots such as Chicago 1919, Detroit and New York more recently. Perhaps through the Cicero and the Chicago newspapers, as well as through various agencies in Cicero, an anti-rumor campaign can be initiated.

3. Using national figures in Cicero.
Two possibilities occurred to us in this connection:

   a. When the Gary school strike was on, Frank Sinatra came into the situation. This had a quieting effect. Why would it not be possible to have popular figures like Sinatra or other movie stars, band leaders, Jackie Robinson and baseball stars be in Cicero for a few engagements under school, church, or town auspices?

   b. Nationally known figures in various fields might meet in a series of sessions with groups locally. For instance, E. C. Lindeman might meet with teachers; Peter Drucker with businessmen; American Legion representatives with veterans; Charles Taft of Mrs. M. E. Tilly with Protestants, etc.

4. Establishment of good offices committees to work in the situation and to include:

   a. Representatives of major industries in Cicero
   b. Senator Douglas or his representative
   c. Representative of the church
   d. Representative of the Governor
   e. Representative of the Labor Unions

5. Formation of a Citizen's Committee for Fair Play in Cicero-Berwyn. Something like this is already under way. Although this may not be a very large committee to begin with, it can serve an important role in the community. Fundamentally it should be realized that until and unless some such group as this is organized, the work in Cicero will be greatly handicapped. The most important factor in the integration of Negroes into Cicero is the formation of a committee of Cicero citizens who are prepared to be responsible for taking the lead in the educational action program within the borough.

Working Through Community Agencies: In addition to these specific suggestions for action, there are many things which can be done in and through various groupings in the community.

1. Official governmental agencies:
   a. Cicero, County and State Police
      1. Educational meetings in handling minority problems
      2. General acquaintance with the law on riots, etc.
      3. Distribution of a piece of literature under police or town auspices on the law regarding riots, and role of the town or police in such situations. This piece of literature would have to be carefully drawn up and worded so as not to raise the fears of the people and thus actually give rise to the very mob action which is deprecated. Timing in issuing it would be of great importance.
      4. Ultimately an in-service police training program.

   b. Town Council or Trustees:
      If possible an "off the record" meeting of the trustees with some respected outside personality on the role of the town officials in any future incident. This meeting should be not primarily concerned with the pros and cons of Negroes moving in, but simply with the peculiar role of officialdom in times of tension.

2. Newspapers:
   a. The newspapers should counteract rumors
   b. The editorial policy should quiet the fears of the people without opposing integration. Meetings with the newspaper heads would help.
   c. The newspapers should play down events that might arouse

d. The aim should be to get the paper to take an enlightened editorial policy; short of this, to get them to remain objective in reporting future events.

3. Churches:
   a. If possible a day set aside for repentance in the churches.
   b. Education of church members through the circulation of literature
   c. Particularly would it be important to have some scheduled meetings with church youth groups.
   d. If possible some church youth might, under skilled leadership, become part of a work project to help clean the building up.

4. Schools:
   a. Special studies and civics teachers should have a particular responsibility and special meetings should be held with them on this.
   b. Special attention to the field of intercultural education should be given.
   c. Special assembly programs in Morton High School should be held both to do a direct and indirect job on racial tension.
   d. Such an organization as the Catholic Interracial Council might draw up a plan for intercultural education for consideration by the parochial schools.
   e. Efforts should be made to encourage the secondary schools to participate in athletic events with other teams including Negro members.

5. Labor Unions:
   The unions in Greater Chicago might call a special meeting of their members in Cicero for an evaluation of what happened and what can now be done to improve the situation. In the unions some time might be spent on the problem in a regular local meeting. Detailed plans for the conduct of such meetings would of course, be given to those in charge.

6. Business Groups:
   Special meetings on the problem to widen the understanding of the issues.

7. Political parties:
   A direct approach should be made to Democratic and Republican officials in the Chicago area to put pressure on political personalities in Cicero to ease the tension. This is of particular importance in bringing about a federal investigation of the riot.

<u>Urgent Need For Reconciliation</u>: An additional point should be mentioned which might help to create a better atmosphere in Cicero.

As a reconciliatory step some plan should be worked out so that the suits pending against Cicero and individuals there would be dropped, after expenses are covered, if the issue can be solved. The main point at issue is not to make Cicero pay for its past mistakes, but to change

the environment from a segregated, embittered one, to an integrated, friendly one. It is essential that a spirit of understanding and forgiveness prevail. The people of Cicero realize that the law is against them. They realize they are wrong. This frustrates them. Perhaps they would be more amenable to change if a few simple acts made them feel that they were not cornered. Could there not be worked out a face-saving device which would bring into the integration camp those who now are on the fence in Cicero and would lessen the frustration of those who are most prejudiced.

1. After expenses have been met consideration might be given to dropping any further demands for money thru legal action.
2. Another such action might be for groups like the NAACP and the ACLU to enter Amicus-Curiae briefs on behalf of the "teen-agers" arrested in Cicero. These briefs might ask for a series of educational meetings to be the only "punishment" for the teen age offenders.
3. Another approach would be to ask the judge to direct the offenders to participate in a workship under the Fellowship of Reconciliation and the American Friends Service Committee to do minor repairs in the building, such as replacing window panes, cleaning walls and repairing plaster.
4. Briefs might be entered which would analyze the environmental factors which make it possible for boys and young men to engage in mob action. The emphasis in such a brief would tend to show that segregation itself is the chief factor in the development of conditions and attitudes that make possible mass action.

These suggestions have many implications, thus the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, lawyers and responsible Negro leaders and the Chicago Council would need to give thorough attention to the dangers involved in their adoption. It would be naive to believe that these kinds of gestures could solve a problem so complicated as the Cicero one. Nevertheless it is possible that the adoption of any one of these or similar suggestions might bring a new spirit into the negotiations for integration. Such a spirit is greatly needed not only in community relations but in our world today.

III. Specific detailed and alternative plans for integrating a Negro family or families into Cicero.

<u>Many Variable Factors</u>: There are many variable factors in the present situation; among these are the disposition of legal cases, the ultimate availability of the apartment house, the possibilities of a very long litigation, the consequent strain upon the Clark family, etc.

These factors indicate that in laying the ground work for integration no single approach should be relied upon but on the contrary numerous approaches should be made. This is all the more true when we consider that the failure at integration would:

1. Reinforce the idea that violence, even where a few were punished, could frustrate integration.
2. Encourage the repetition of incidents similar to the Clark episode in other non-integrated communities.

3. Fail to set the circumstances under which prejudiced citizens in Cicero could really have a chance to learn, since study indicates that in such situations the attitude changes generally follow peaceful integration.

Six Specific Approaches: In relation to the problem of integrating a Negro family there seem to be these possibilities among others:

1. Clarks return to the apartment house after or during legal struggle.

2. The building is opened interracially with another Negro family.

In relation to the present building status it seems that one point ought to be made clear; that the longer the delay in opening the building the greater the reinforcement in the average citizen's mind that this apartment stands empty and partially destroyed as a symbol of what happens to property when Negroes move in. This observation is made as the result of some extensive appraisal of present attitudes in Cicero. It is, therefore, very important that some real use be made of the building as soon as is practically possible. If, however, for legal, financial, or other reasons, the apartment house is not available still additional approaches will be required:

3. Clarks might obtain housing elsewhere in Cicero.

4. Another Negro family or families might find housing in Cicero-Berwyn.

In the event that the apartment house were not put up for sale under circumstances that would ~~either~~ make it difficult for the funds for its purchase to be obtained locally, still another approach would be necessary to avoid its being boarded up, condemned or sold in such a way as to frustrate integration.

5. The purchase of the building by an interracial housing cooperative through a foundation loan.

6. The purchase of the building by a Foundation to be set up as a Freedom House for all people with a creative program for all young people in the West Suburban area.

If we explore these six possibilities very carefully we are, it seems, on the surest ground since there should emerge some solution that does not depend merely on police power and court action, vitally important as these factors are. In addition the exploration of a series of new approaches has the following advantages:

1. Assures some possibilities even if legal action is not successful at all points.

2. Covers any possible entanglements, delays and obstructions in regard to the apartment house.

3. Takes care of the problem of finding Negro family or families in event of any disposition in the Clark family not to return to Cicero.

4. Provides in event of difficulty, legal or otherwise, the selection of a new area, time, and family, etc. which maintains the offensive.

5. The possibilities of establishing a precedent of integration before the end of litigation which might in psychological terms tend to support the legal cases.

Important Safeguards: However, the approach to any of the alternative plans would need to make certain:

1. That such plans could not be interpreted as abandoning or frustrating the Clark case in any way.

2. That all moves were carefully checked with responsible NAACP attorneys, so that nothing was done to endanger their cases.

3. That if plan Six (Freedom House) is explored that it not be put forth alone but only with a plan of integrated housing.

Having examined some possibilities and some safeguards, may we now proceed to a fuller exploration of the six plans:

Simultaneous Examination of Plans No. 1 & 2: Clarks or other Negroes return to apartment house in Cicero

a. Efforts be made to find a sympathetic white family to move into building also.
b. Work out with local, state and federal agencies a plan to deal with any new threats of violence.
c. Make efforts to have liberal group extend welcome to Clark, not ostentatiously through press or announcement but in helping him in the moving process.
d. Weigh carefully the effort to get newspapers in Negro community, greater Chicago and Cicero not to announce the move in before or immediately after.
e. Strongest possible local committee on move-in day to talk with neighbors and to assist in controlling sentiment.
f. In event of police failures there should be observers to do two things:
   1. Quiet any incipient negative emotional reactions.
   2. To be prepared to give specific details of police misbehavior.
g. Observers from county, state and federal enforcement agencies on hand who in advance have been informed of all factors in move-in plan.
h. Timing is important: for example, Christmas week might, other things being equal, be a logical time for the following reasons:
   1. Spirit of good will prevails.
   2. Cold weather would tend to reduce mob action.
   3. People are occupied with preparation for seasonal activities.
i. Careful attention should be given to the selection of Negro families (if for any reason the Clarks could not move in). Such a family should be clear of any political or moral involvements which could jeopardize the plan.

Simultaneous Examination of Plans No. 3 & 4

Clarks or other Negro family obtain housing elsewhere in Cicero.

a. Most of the points under plans 1 & 2 would apply here also, but in addition:

b. Obtaining control (by purchase or through a liberal)of a two-family house into which a white and Negro family could move.

c. Church Sponsorship Plan:

1. Some community within Cicero-Berwyn will be easier to work with than to work generally.
2. Only immediate community with broad enough ties and deep enough motivation might be a church. Also churches are less vulnerable.
3. Effort might be made to find a parish that would "adopt" in a sense, a Negro family and stand behind their coming in, as churches did with Japanese-American relocation program.
4. In Cicero-Berwyn the most logical church community to do this would be Catholic.
5. Difficult as such a plan would be, its possible execution would need to consider:
   a. That Negro family be members of the group that would sponsor them.
   b. That Church be prepared to accept them as members.
   c. That industrialist in town or preferably businessmen from the Church be prepared to hire the head of Negro family.
   d. That housing be found in collaboration with church or two-family house owned by church member be shared with Negro family (again as was done under great tension in several cities where Japanese Americans were being relocated.) Church member might be willing to rent a single family house.

d. Purchase of building by an interracial cooperative.

The idea in this plan is to explore the idea of a responsible citizens' committee purchasing the apartment building and turning it into an inter-racial housing unit to be run on a cooperative basis. A long-time loan or gift might be obtained from a foundation or concerned individual.

There are some difficulties in this plan but in terms of basic education it would be far better to go to some trouble to work this out than to face what may be the following negative alternatives.

1. That the apartment house become an all Negro one.
2. That the apartment house remain closed.

e. Freedom House. This idea is one designed for facing the ultimate; the possibility that nothing creative and concrete can be worked out and that the building finally has to be put on the market to avoid its falling into hands that would establish it as an all white building before integration has taken place. We might try to interest a foundation in turning the building into a Freedom

House--an educational and recreational center with interracial staff to serve all the youth of the West Suburban area.

While this may appear an ambitious idea, it should be borne in mind that it is, on the other hand, the kind of project that a foundation would, under the circumstances, give some consideration to.

f. Recommendation for full time worker. In the light of the total situation we finally recommend that some imaginative person with past experience in community or group relations be found to devote full time to doing an educational job within Cicero-Berwyn and to coordinate his efforts with the elements in greater Chicago which are working for a reconciliation.
Perhaps the American Friends Service Committee and the Catholic Inter-Racial Council might jointly sponsor such a person since these two agencies would go into the community with less handicaps than any others at present showing interest.
We also are convinced that a person of Catholic faith, other things being equal, would be a real asset.

May 26, 1952

Mr. Bayard Rustin
The Fellowship of Reconciliation
21 Audubon Avenue
New York 32, N. Y.

Dear Brother Rustin:

Just a word to thank you for your letter of April 24th informing me of your proposed trip to Africa for the purpose of setting up international work camps and in the interest of FOR. Unfortunately I have not as yet travelled in Africa but it is my hope to go there the early part of the year. I am greatly interested in visiting Nigeria, the Gold Coast and other places in Africa. I am sorry therefore that I am unable to give you names of persons who may meet with you in order to develop your program.

I will be greatly interested in learning about your trip when you return. Sorry I cannot be more helpful.

Sincerely yours,

APR:ha

A. Philip Randolph
International President

THE FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION

21 AUDUBON AVENUE · NEW YORK 32, NEW YORK · LORRAINE 8-8200

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John Oliver Nelson
Rosalie Oakes
Douglas V. Steere
Norman J. Whitney

April 24, 1952

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
217 West 125th Street
New York 27, New York

Dear Mr. Randolph:

I am planning to make a trip to Morocco, Tunisia, Algeria, Gold Coast, Nigeria, and if possible South Africa, in the interest of the Fellowship of Reconciliation. I may also explore in Nigeria and Gold Coast the possibility of setting up A.F.S.C. international work camps or some project which the African people feel would be helpful. I know that you have spent a good deal of time in Africa and am wondering if you would have time and inclination to pass on to me the names of any leaders in any of these countries that it would be important for me to consult with.

I would also be interested to know where in these places you feel an organization like the American Friends Service Committee might make its beginnings. From this distance my feeling has been that perhaps Nigeria and Gold Coast would be good situations since, as you know, such projects would have two aims: one, to be of some genuine assistance in working with the people in a project which they might not otherwise be able to carry out and secondly, to do what can be done to help the young people who participate to get a better view of Africa, its problems, its struggles and its contributions.

I would be particularly interested, also, in whether or not you would feel free to give me a letter of introduction to any of these leaders that you think I ought to meet. For one thing, I am sure they are not particularly interested to meet Americans who have not in some way been connected with the struggle for freedom and justice here.

I realize that you are busy and that you may not find time to help in this way, but if you can, I would be ever so grateful.

Sincerely,

Bayard Rustin

Bayard Rustin

BR/jh

WRL NEWS

NUMBER 86

SEPTEMBER - OCTOBER 1952

James Peck, Editor

Sidney Abersman, Executive Secretary

WAR RESISTERS LEAGUE - 5 BEEKMAN STREET - NEW YORK 38 - BEEKMAN 3-0463

WRL HELPS DANISH BRANCH DRAFT LEAFLET FOR U.S. OCCUPATION FORCES

The War Resisters League has aided the Danish branch of the WRI in getting out a leaflet to be distributed to U.S. soldiers of the occupation forces in Denmark. The original draft from Denmark was edited by Jim Peck and Sid Aberman to make the leaflet understandable to Americans. It reads in part:

"Has it ever occurred to you that a free and independent country never likes to have foreign troops on its soil? Perhaps you think that you, in contrast to German troops, are here as friends because both our countries have joined the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. However, a large number of Danish people are opposed to that treaty--how large a number nobody knows, since the issue has never been put to a vote.

"We believe that the only way out is to work in our respective countries to make them creative forces for peace, and not, as now, forces for splitting the world still further into two hostile power blocs.

"We are glad to say that we will welcome you cordially to Denmark when you visit us--minus the uniforms!" The leaflet describes the WRI and lists the address of the American section.

WRL CONTRIBUTIONS BRING RESULTS IN GERMANY

WRL members who contributed a total of $1108 so far to the flourishing German section of the WRI will be gratified to learn what that money is helping to accomplish.

In a letter conveying "our warmest greetings to the friends of the WRL who so generously helped us," Dr. Theodore Michaltscheff, chairman of the German WRI, writes: "We are printing a new, very impressive leaflet--half a million copies... The leaflet is to be handed out in front of factories and through house-to-house distribution in Hamburg as well as in other towns.

"I am sorry I couldn't send you any press clippings...the press is for the most part ignoring us. If you want clippings about propaganda in favor of rearmament, that is another matter--the press is full of it.

"It is this attitude of the press and radio toward our activities which compels us to look for new ways and means of getting our message across to the people, and I think we are not altogether unsuccessful. We have just printed 5000 very excellent posters which will be posted in several towns besides Hamburg. In addition our people are walking the streets of Hamburg with placards, while distributing thousands of leaflets.

"We had a well-attended meeting of 500 persons on August 6 and a still bigger one on September 1 at which Mrs. Helene Wessel, a well-known German anti-militarist, and Victor Yates, British labor MP, were speakers."

The WRL executive committee is keeping informed on developing needs of the German WRI and has under consideration a proposal for sending an additional $500 if warranted. Free copies of the new German leaflets can be obtained from the WRL office.

WRL'ER FRAMED ON FELONIOUS ASSAULT CHARGE

Dick Kern, one of a dozen pacifists distributing WRL "Preventive Civil Defense" leaflets during New York City's A-bomb drill Sept. 30, was severely beaten by police and then charged with felonious assault.

Just as Kern was finishing distribution of his leaflets, a cop came over and told him to stop. Insisting on his rights, Kern proceeded to read the leaflet to the crowd. Before he got very far, two cops seized him

and he went limp, refusing to cooperate.

They thereupon shoved him into a cab and drove to the station house. It was in the cab that they gave him the workover, with a few additional blows at the station house. When Kern appeared in court he had a black eye and his entire face was swollen.

He is out on $1500 bail provided by the N.Y. WRL prison aid fund. The trial takes place Oct. 22. Since he is charged with a felony, he faces a minimum sentence of a year and a day if found guilty. His attorneys are Conrad Lynn and Royal France. In the event of an adverse decision, an appeal to the higher courts is planned.

PACIFIST HEADS BRITISH RAIL UNION

"The Railway Review, official organ of the National Union of Railwaymen with nearly half a million members, has taken a prominent stand in deploring the military solution of international problems," its editor, Frank G. Moxley, wrote Jim Peck, editor of WRL News. "The union's president, H. W. Franklin, is an avowed pacifist."

Prompting Moxley's letter was a story in Peace News about the Non-Partisan Committee Against a Military President, in whose campaign he expressed particular interest.

"VETERANS AGAINST WAR" ORGANIZED

Frank R. Keller, acting secretary-treasurer of "Veterans Against War", a newly-formed pacifist veterans group, writes the WRL News:

"Few know better than the veteran the brutality and the futility of war. He has seen the waste and the undemocratic methods of the military. He has known the frustration of one who sought to contribute to his country and to human welfare only to find his dreams betrayed... Most veterans have had enough of war and are looking for an approach to man's problems that they can trust.

"Most of your readers will be gratified to know that a national organization has been formed called Veterans Against War. It is a group of pacifist veterans who seek to crystallize revulsion against war into positive peace action. Membership is open to men and women who have had some experience under a military organization--e.g. R.O.T.C., the Reserves, the National Guard, military school, etc. Those interested in learning more about the VAW, its purpose, organization and program, should write to Frank R. Keller at 50 Franklin Ave., Souderton, Pennsylvania."

NEW YORK LOCAL HOLDS DEBATE ON PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS

"Can You Vote for Peace Nov. 4?" was the subject of a debate held in connection with the annual meeting of the NYWRL local on October 14.

Jim Peck took the position that you can't vote for peace but that you can vote against greater militarization by voting for Stevenson with the defeat of Eisenhower as the sole objective. Vern Davidson, national secretary of the Young Socialists (YPSL) held that you can vote for peace by voting for Darlington Hoopes, Socialist Party candidate and member of the WRL national advisory council. David Wieck, editor of "Resistance", anarchist publication, maintained that peace could not come through voting for any political party.

ARLO TATUM HEADS PHILADELPHIA BRANCH

Arlo Tatum, a CO imprisoned under both the 1940 and 1948 draft laws, has been elected to succeed Ray Arvio as executive secretary of the Phila. WRL. Arlo is brother of Lyle Tatum, CCCO executive secretary. Ray Arvio is at present being prosecuted for refusal to register.

Norma Jacob is chairman of the newly elected local executive committee, and Bertha Faust is secretary-treasurer. Other committee members are Bob Coolidge, Larry Ross of Swarthmore College, Bette Marshall of Temple, Nanna Bolling (high school student) and Bill Young. The committee plans an intensive drive to build WRL cells on local campuses. Copies of its newsletter can be obtained by writing Phila. WRL, 2006 Walnut St., Phila., Pa.

PROSECUTION OF HERBERT KELMAN DROPPED

Charges against Herbert Kelman, WRL executive committee member facing prosecution in New Haven, Conn., for refusing induction when his CO claim was rejected by the Presidential Appeals Board, have been dropped. After pleading on his behalf, Frieda Lazarus

was asked by the district attorney to submit a report. The Grand Jury then voted to drop charges.

NEW CCCO "HANDBOOK FOR CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS" OUT NOVEMBER 10

A complete manual of information for every type of CO will be ready on Nov. 10, the CCCO announces. The "Handbook" incorporates the previously published "COs Under Selective Service" (revised and with a new section on civilian work assignments), "Prison and Court Manual" (also brought up-to-date), "COs in the Armed Forces", a special section on "Thinking Through the Basis of Conscientious Objection" (a new interpretation of World War II material on the meaning of religious belief, pacifism and the use of force, and questions usually asked COs by draft boards and hearing officers.

The "Handbook for Conscientious Objectors" comes to about 100 pages and sells for only 35¢ each, 3 for $1, 10 for $2.50. COs, CO advisows and CO advisory groups are urged to place advance orders now with the CCCO or the WRL.

IN BRIEF

George W. Hartmann, national chairman of the WRL, writes: "I have a feeling that the WRL ought to find some way of communicating to its members the fact that Darlington Hoopes, a member of our national advisory council, is this year's Socialist candidate for President. I suspect a good many pacifists are unaware of this."

. . .

The student pacifist group at Guilford College, North Carolina, is sponsoring a Christian Youth Conference on the Problem of War from October 31 to November 2.

. . .

The Non-Partisan Committee Against a Military President, which has had a number of successful group leaflet distributions simultaneous with some of Eisenhower's key speeches, will conclude its campaign with a distribution on Oct. 30 while the general makes his windup address at Madison Square Garden. Persons interested in participating should get in touch with the WRL office.

. . .

On Sept. 10 at Washington Square Park Forum in Chicago, Joffre Stewart, radical pacifist anarchist, debated Felix Singer on the subject: "Should People Refuse to Pay Taxes which Are Used for War Purposes?"

. . .

Bob Stowell, WRL member, has a 14-room farmhouse at Calais, Vermont, which he thinks would be suitable for a pacifist co-op living center. Persons interested should write him.

. . .

Copies of "COs in the Armed Forces", a 22-page pamphlet reporting on 1A-Os and what they must face as "noncombatants", can be had from the CCCO, 2006 Walnut St., Philadelphia, Pa. Single copies are free; quantities are 5¢ each plus postage.

. . .

The Goddard College chapter of the FOR-WRL in Plainfield, Vt., has begun its fourth semester of activities by sponsoring weekly discussion meetings on issues of war and peace. Mark Braham is recorder of the sessions and Wilmer Brandt, ex-CPS and Macedonia Cooperative Community member, is moderator.

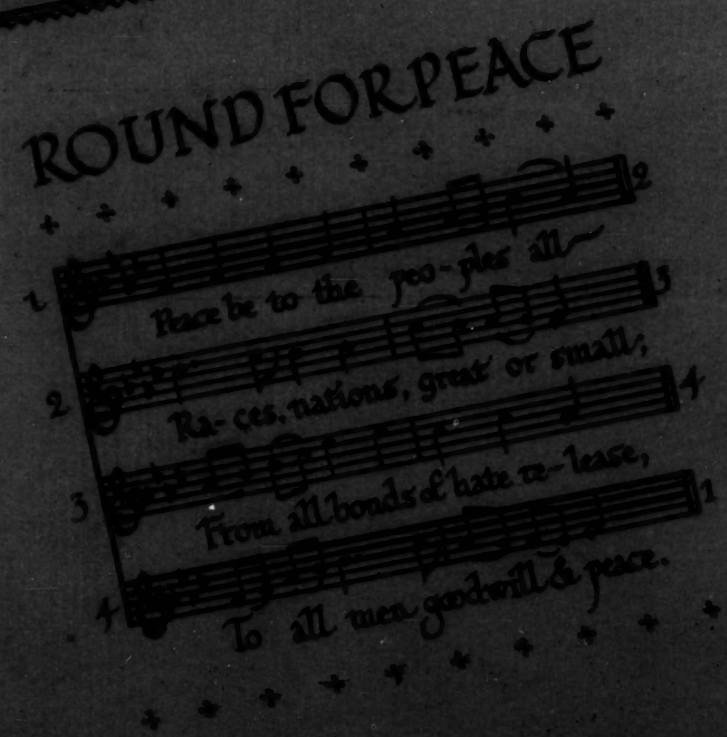
. . .

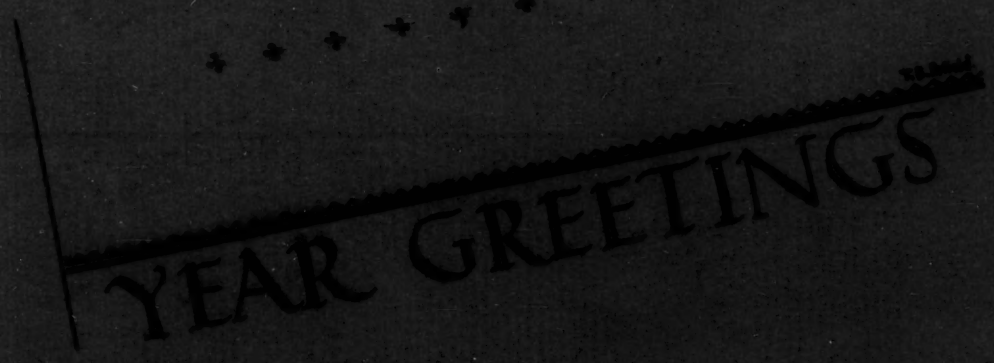
Stanley Sydow, 22 years old, of Lyons, Nebr. who is being tried for refusal to be inducted bases his defense on the ground he would be committing a war crime under the Nuremberg Principles, which are legally binding on the U.S. and forbid individuals to plan or wage war. Fyke Farmer, tax-refuser who was elected by the people of Tennessee to represent them on the Constituent World Assembly, a group seeking to become a popularly elected world government, is Sydow's attorney.

. . .

Peacemakers is sponsoring an Election Project from Oct. 25 to Nov. 2. An outdoor meeting at City Square in Philadelphia will be followed by a motor caravan

Peacemakers is sponsoring an Election Project from Oct. 25 to Nov. 2. An outdoor meeting at City Square in Philadelphia at noon on Oct. 25 will be followed by a motor caravan to Baltimore and journey on foot to Washington DC. Participants will distribute an election leaflet "Vote for Peace-How?" Copies can be secured from Juanita Nelson, 246 Washington St., Glen Ridge, NJ. Simultaneous local demonstrations are urged.





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Fellowship of Reconciliation
21 Audubon Avenue
New York 32, N. Y.

October 20, 1952

Subject: Report on trip to Africa.

To: Those who made the trip possible.

It is impossible in such a short report to give anything but a few highlights. You will recall that I wished to visit several sections of Africa, but after long delays in both the United States and London, I was able to get visas to visit the Gold Coast and Nigeria. Once in Africa I was also able to visit French West Africa. The most important activity was the long visits and discussions of non-violent resistance with Nnamdi Azikiwe, leader of the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons, and with Kwame NKrumah, first black prime minister of the Gold Coast and in Africa. I am persuaded that these two leaders, who fervently desire freedom for their people, are convinced that the only right way is by non-violent means.

I learned from them that they sincerely desire the assistance of liberal Americans, black or white, who have skills as teachers, social workers, doctors, engineers or agriculturalists. I discovered that food and clothing for the underprivileged would be welcomed; that there is an urgent need for books of all kinds and for laboratory equipment for scientific study in secondary schools. Further, I learned that the people of West Africa, while quite aware of the political realities of America's power position, still hope that American people will support their struggle for independence.

I gathered a vast deal of information which I shall use in my efforts to interpret Africa to people of America in a four months speaking tour from coast to coast in churches, schools, colleges and clubs. As a result of this research, articles have been prepared and submitted to the Negro Press, the Christian Century, the Progressive and Commentary. Such interpretation is of primary importance since the revolution which is gripping Africa should be understood by Americans. Africa is afire. From the Mediterranean to the Cape of Good Hope, every imaginable form of resistance is being used to break 300 years of various forms of European domination. The methods vary from the non-violence of South African Resisters to the arson, murder and Ju-Ju of Kenya. But everywhere African nationalism is rising. I am convinced that peaceful solutions in some very real degree will depend on the nature of the response that the American People and Government make to these very real and sincere peoples' revolutions. We cannot respond properly without knowledge.

It is also true that much depends on the response that the common people of Portugal, England, France, Belgium and Holland make. In this connection I can report that I returned from Africa a week earlier than I had expected in order to carry out in London a very important and confidential public relations task for one of the major political parties of West Africa. The party felt that it could rely on me as the result of reports it received from two young Negroes (now working in Africa) who had engaged some years back in race relations projects organized in the United States by the Fellowship of Reconciliation and the Congress of Racial Equality. In other words they had confidence in my sponsors and thus were prepared to trust me with a most delicate and important undertaking. I am happy to report that the effort was successful.

SMITH, STEVE

December 18, 1952

Mr. Steve Smith
Putney Grad. School
Putney, Vermont

Dear Steve:

I am very sorry for the delay in answering your kind letter of November 6th. Perhaps one of the reasons that you felt that you could not think of questions to ask springs from the fact that very often at your age, and it was certainly true for me, that the questions were about so many things and came so rapidly into my brain that in one sense the whole world and all experience was a question. I can remember years ago hearing Norman Thomas when he had opened up so many questions in my mind that to have asked any questions would have seemed to me both inadequate and stupid.

As to whether I would continue doing the same work if I were white I cannot answer. But I can say that if I held the same philosophy which I think I hold and was white that I would, but how much of the philosophy I now hold is a result of my experiences in early life as a black person I can never really know. It is the same as when I say that I would not lie to save myself. That is easy enough for me to say. It is like saying that I would never kill, and what one means when he says that is that if he is able to operate in time of crisis on the basic philosophy which he holds that he would not kill. But to hold a philosophy of nonviolence in time of crisis depends to a large extent on an inner discipline and one may think he has it when he has not.

It is very easy for us to make in a calm intellectual atmosphere a judgment as to how we would behave, only to discover in time of emotional crisis that we have not enough strength to carry through. And in a sense all of us face this problem. You will recall that when Jesus cried out, "Oh, Father, must I take this cup?"

The remainder of your letter really deals with the problem of security and all of us continue to hold on in one way or another to the things which make us for the moment secure. But it is also true that the time comes when this cycle has to be broken and ultimate security is the by-product of voluntary acceptance of insecurity. In illustration of this: if a mother continues to fear for her child and to hold him each time he stands up in an effort to walk for himself she will do several things in her effort to make certain that the child is absolutely secure. 1. She will undoubtedly help to make him an awkward creature, which awkwardness is expressed in

later life in the insecurity or not being able to make direct decisions for himself. 2. The child will finally, if the mother continues to hold him, turn and scratch her for she creates frustrations. That is to say that the ultimate security of a child which can walk gracefully depends on the mother's facing the insecurity involved in permitting him to fall and I am sure that in the world's history some child has broken its leg or its neck in those first efforts to walk for itself.

Another illustration of this is that one cannot have a field of grain without the death of the seed which was planted. Nor could the people of Germany have stopped Nazism from persecuting Jews unless they themselves had been willing to suffer and to face some insecurity in fighting Hitler. Here again the problem is a problem of discipline. For example, you say in your letter, "Why did you leave? Yes, I know and I would never have asked questions anyway." This indicates to me, Steve, that while your scientific work is, of course, of very great importance, it may be that it is equally important at this time as you yourself indicate to cut yourself off from that just sufficiently to make certain that you do develop this other side of your personality which is to be able to work with and talk with people, for in the long run we are all "group beings". I would like, therefore, to suggest that perhaps you ought to be the person to go around the school trying to get together 5 or 6 people who were very interested in my visit and to set up a committee to study together some of the aspects of nonviolence as it occurred in India and as it is now occurring in Africa. We could provide you with some literature and bulletins and perhaps you could even set up a relief project during Brotherhood Week in February where you could put on a program on South Africa and raise funds for the support of the families of the men who are going to prison there as a result of their nonviolent campaign. This would be in a sense your baby. You would contact individually the key students, you would sit with them in mapping out the program, you would perhaps handle the funds and see that they were sent on to me here. This may require some thinking through for you and it may finally be the thing which you do not wish to do or feel that it is important enough. But it is on some special thing of this kind which you might really get started because you cared enough, in having to talk with people and meet their questions and help to set up something that will really be of value to others. And perhaps the alternative to your stepping out and doing something of this kind could become getting deeper and deeper into scientific work and essentially having more and more self-pity which, of course, is something that all of us are prone to have to avoid like the plague.

I trust that I will hear from you at your convenience.

Sincerely,

Bayard Rustin

BRmb

Rustin Day

[195-]

SPL

BAYARD RUSTIN

Biographical Sketch

Bayard Rustin, an American Quaker by religious belief, was born in West Chester, a small town southwest of Philadelphia in the state of Pennsylvania. After winning honors in football, track, tennis, speaking and debate, he was graduated magna cum laude from the West Chester public secondary school.

He attended the State Teachers College at Cheyney, Pennsylvania, the City College of New York City, and the University at Wilberforce, Ohio.

During and after college he did volunteer work with the American Friends Service Committee in America and abroad, having spent a part of 1941 in Puerto Rico building a school for underprivileged children.

During World War II he spent twenty-eight months in United States federal prisons for his religious refusal to accept conscription and war. Later he served as Youth Secretary and then Field Secretary of the American Fellowship of Reconciliation.

In 1948 he received the Jefferson award from the Council Against Intolerance in America as "one of the Americans who had done most in the recent past to better relations between colored and white citizens".

He was secretary of the Working Committee of the Campaign to Resist Military Segregation, an organization composed of colored and white people who carry on a non-violent program of civil disobedience against military segregation.

On February 25, 1949, Rustin returned from a five-month tour of Europe, the Near East, and Asia. In Europe he visited England, France, Holland, Germany, and Belgium; in the Near East, Egypt and Iran.

He was invited to India by Devadas Gandhi, son of the late Mahatma and was guest of the Congress Party at its first session after independence at Jaipur. He was entertained by C. Rajagopalachari, Governor General at Government House, New Delhi; toured the untouchable villages of Mysore with Thokka Bappa and had several interviews on world problems with Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister.

On March 7, 1949, Rustin was informed that the Supreme Court of North Carolina had upheld a lower court's decision that he should serve thirty days on the road gang for disobeying southern Jim Crow laws during a bus trip two years ago. He began sentence on March 21 and was released with eight days good time on April 13, 1949. His report, "Twenty Two Days on the Chain Gang", was published by the New York Post and the Afro-American during August of this year.

At present Bayard Rustin serves as a member of the faculty of the American Friends Service Committee's Institute of International Relations and as Director of the College Section of the American Fellowship of Reconciliation.

Note: This paragraph was added to a mimeographed copy of the same information which is on the first sheet.

From June until October 1951, Bayard Rustin under the auspices of the Fellowship of Reconciliation and the American Friends Service Committee, worked in Chicago on the aftermath of the Cicero riot, and drew up a report for the Chicago Council Against Racial and Religious Discrimination which contained many suggestions for action which are being put into practice at present.

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April 21, 1953

Mr Bayard Rustin
Fellowship of Reconciliation
21 Audubon Avenue
New York 32, N.Y., U.S.A.

Dear Mr Rustin:

Please excuse the delay in writing. I can assure you it was not because I was not interested in the proposition which we discussed while you were here.

We are reorganizing our business now and we are just coming to a point where we can use your services.

Our new machine has arrived so we are enlarging our activities considerably. We are adding more pages and more features to our paper. We are also concentrating a great deal on our advertising department and we feel that that is where you can help us.

If you are willing to come as advertising manager at a salary of £500 per annum, we are prepared to pay your transport from the United States and back at the expiration of your term of service with us.

We appreciate the fact that you are willing to spend some time and talent in Africa to aid in its progress.

Please write me as soon as you can give me your decision in the matter.

Sincerely yours,

NNAMDI AZIKIWE

A/O.

letter from W. Germany

Sidney Aberman
5, Beekman Street
New York 7, N.Y.

13.3.1953

Dear Friend,

Your letter of Febr. 9th reached me just while leaving for Bonn to take part at the annual meeting of the German Peace Cartell of which we are a member. This gave me a chance to read the handbook on conscientious objection which you sent and which I found extremely interesting. Unfortunately I couldn't manage to read all of it as yet, but I've got through the most important part of it. It will prove of great help to me in writing something of this kind for German COs.

In the meantime reached me also a food parcel of yours - a vegetarian one. The contents of it was very good. In future however it would be better to send something else instead of "Meals for Millions" e.g. Peanut butter, dried milk, dried eggs or margarine. Please do include a pound of coffee every time, because here it is too expensive. Oil is very much appreciated, of course.

Under separate cover I am sending you copies of a new pamphlet

The Right and the Duty to War Resistance

which we've just published in 20 000 copies, and which was financed by the American contribution. It is a memorandum on conscientious objection which we sent to the ministry of defence (just preparing the laws on COs), to the Government, to the President etc. Copies of the printed pamphlet will be send in due time to all members of parliament as well.

On the 19 inst. the third reading of the contractual agrrement will take place. For that occasion all WRI groups of our section have been requested to organise protest actions. In Hamburg we are going to burn on 4 different places of the town copies of the contractual agreement as a symbol of its rejection by us. The police is going to be informed of this action in due time and the press will be invited to it but only on a short notice. We should like thereby to avoid any communist attendance to the burnings. At the same time with the burning some 20 - 30 000 leaflets will be distributed to the passers by and to the neighbouring houses. The action will be repeated twice. Telegramms will be send to the parliament, to the gouvernment, to the high commissioners etc. Similar actions (burning of the contractual agreement) will take place at several other towns in this country by our groups. Posters will be posted and leaflets will be distributed as well. What the reaction of gouvernment and the police will be, I couldn't as yet say, but lets hope for the best.

The 25 dollars for the badges are well to hand. That matter is cleared now. I asked you about the money only because Mr. Hammond was not quite precise about it, but I am pleased that it is cleared away now.

Best wishes to you and all our friends

Yours,

Michael Scott

Four pakages of used clothing sent by WRI reached us some time ago. Everything was distributed right away. Will you please inform the people about it.

Hamburg WRI-Group burns Contractual agreement

For the day preceding the ratification of the European Defence Community treaty and the Contractual Agreement (18th March) the Hamburg WRI-group planned a symbolic burning of these treaties. Fires were to be made on 4 different places of the city and all possible precautions were taken to prevent any disturbanne of the traffic or to endanger the far away houses.

We informed the authorities and the police in good time about it and everything seemed in perfect order. Early on the 18th, however, the police rung us up and told us that the action was prohibited on the ground of some obscure law from the last century. This did not cause any alteration in our plans. We decided to carry them out, and we told the police as much.

When we arrived at 7,30 p.m. at the places of burning, we found the police waiting upon us. Two of the groups we prevented from kindling the fire, one was taken to the near by police station but was set free after a while and only one ~~of the groups~~ succeeded in their objective after being driven away from the original spot.

~~After a consultation~~ The leaders of the four groups had a consultation after the action , and it was unanimously decided to go on with the action next day, but not to tell the police the exact place of the burning. By these means we took the police by surprise, and when they arrived, the fires were burning ~~which~~ ablaze, the treaties had been burnt and we were distributing a special for this occasion leaflet. On this evening only one of the group was arrested, but was also set free after a short hearing.

already

At these burnings some 60 members of the Hamburg group participated. The leading Hamburg papers and quite a number of other papers of western Germany took notice of this action. They simply could not ignor it. Some of the reports were disparaging, others just to the point but all of them quite short. Still they were compelled to break the usual silance and to report about them.

Dear Fiend Aberman,

Above I am sending you a short account of the burning of the European Defence Community Treaty together with some press cuttings for the WRL. I hope they'll be of good use to you.

Will you please thank the clothing committee for their new parcel of used clothes. It was much better than the previous ones and could be used at once.

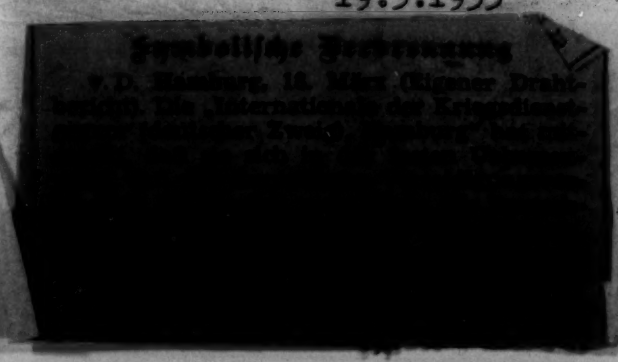
Excuse this short note, but I just wanted to send you the report for your next communications to WRL.

Hamburg 30.3.1953

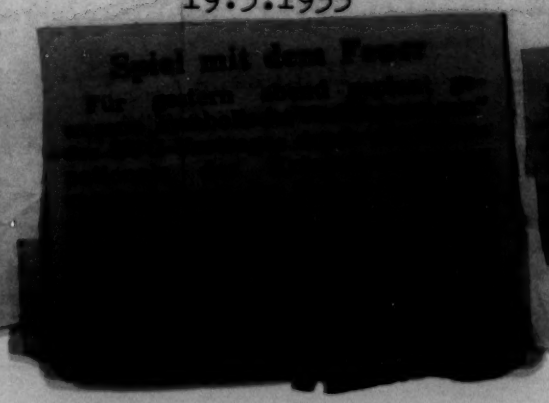
Yours,

Michael Wolff

Frankfurter Allgemeine
19.3.1953



Hamburger Anzeiger
19.3.1953



Hamburger Abendblatt
20.3.1953

WAR RESISTERS LEAGUE
5 BEEKMAN STREET
NEW YORK 7, N. Y.

November 18, 1953

Mr. Ramailla
Union Theological Seminary
Broadwy & 122 Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Ramailla:

I am very interested to have a chat with you. I have telephoned you numerously and have visited at the Seminary seeking you. During the time that Mr. Mathews was here, I was then associated with the Fellowship of Reconciliation and had considerable contact with him and was able to raise a large sum of money to help those who, at the time, were being arrested in South Africa.

On December 3rd the War Resisters League is holding a meeting on Africa at which time we shall launch a program for assisting those who are working in the non-violent resistance campaigns in South Africa as well as some help by way of books and clothes, etc. for certain groups in Kenya and West Africa. We are asking a young man from West Africa to be a part of a forum and we are wondering if you could see your way clear to help with the meeting. It will take place at 8 o'clock at the Community Church on December 3rd and I should like to have a chance to talk with you about this matter. I am enclosing a card so that you can let me know if you are inclined to say some things which are on your mind about the situation in South Africa.

You can also telephone me here at the office- Be 3-0463 and I would appreciate your doing so since as you would know, time is a premium if we are to do a good job in publicizing the meeting.

Be that as it may or not, I should like very much to have the opportunity to get to know you since my heart is very deeply involved in the situation in South Africa.

Sincerely,

Bayard Rustin

265 br/rc

THE AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT TRUST

69 GREAT PETER STREET,
LONDON. S.W.I.
ENGLAND.

Trustees:
THE REV. C.E. RAVEN D.D., F.B.A.
SIR WALTER MOBERLY
THE LORD NOEL-BUXTON
THE REV. MICHAEL SCOTT

ST. FAITH'S FARM
P/ BAG 41,
RUSAPE,
S.RHODESIA

Dear Dorothy, This is just a circular letter & report to keep in touch with you!

I am writing to send you a short description of St. Faith's and a report upon the Farm for the last year. At the same time we all want to thank you for the interest and help which has come to us direct or through the African Development Trust. It is not easy to tell you how much it means to us to get this support from England. In a material way it has enabled us really to make a start, and to do in a short time what otherwise would have taken many years. But the value of the help which has come to us is more than material; it lies in the hope which your interest brings to the very many people of all races who are connected with St. Faith's. We are all of us daily conscious of what we owe to friends in England, and we are more grateful than perhaps you can easily imagine.

The difficulties in many other parts of the world are so great that we have no right to expect any special help here. Yet what is happening here in Southern Africa seems very closely linked up with events which are critical elsewhere. We have no doubt that we are only at the beginning of a long struggle, the outcome of which will not leave the rest of the world unaffected. Here, at this very moment, in these Central African territories which have just been federated, the strength of our Christian character which has come from the West, is being tested, and the results are still in the balance. It is clear that there are very strong forces working against the integration of peoples of all races, which is the only possible solution to racial problems in this part of the world. Should they prove too powerful, one dreads to think what may happen in Africa in the years to come, for what happens here will vitally affect the peace of the world.

It is therefore necessary to strengthen, with all the resources we can muster, the influences which make for reason and humanity in building up the relationship between people of different races, in this essentially multiracial society which we from Europe have created. To this task St. Faith's is dedicated, and we believe that the help which comes to us contributes directly to the breaking down of barriers and the creation of understanding and co-operation. For this reason we would ask you to try and get us new friends who can join with us and share the faith that practical work of this kind, however humble it may be, can make a vital impact on this situation in which there is still hope and time to influence the course of near events, and the necessity to affect those more distant.

We send you the very best of wishes from all of us, and with our gratitude the hope that you will be able to strengthen the African Development Trust, whose work means so much to so many people out here.

We still hope that Ian will come to these parts one day & stay with us.

December, 1953.

All good wishes from Nancy & Guy Hely.

Ever yours — Guy Allen Hyde

St. Faith's Mission Farm
P/Bag 41 Rusape, Southern Rhodesia.

Sixty years ago the knowledge of Christianity was first brought to Mashonaland in Southern Rhodesia, and St. Faith's and Epiphany Missions were then established in a primitive and humble way. Now these two are combined under the name of St. Faith's, whose influence has spread over a wide area. Over the course of years, ten thousand acres have been acquired by gift, partly from Government and partly from private benefactors, and a hundred African farmers have thus been enabled to settle around the Mission and develop small scale village agriculture on these lands.

The church at St. Faith's is unique in its local African style, and from the congregation have gone out, over the last fifty years, pioneers into the surrounding areas to start congregations and small kraal schools over an area as large as two English counties. Thus the steadily increasing demand for education has been met by Africans and Europeans working together in full co-operation to supply what is the great basic need in this part of the world.

Today at St. Faith's there is a Central Primary School with accomodation, which is always full, for 200 boarders from the surrounding African areas. But it no longer seems enough to supply just an elementary education in the European style. As Africa develops at such great speed, and Africans are required to take their place in the modern world, a wider and deeper education is needed, more nearly related to the basic things of life.

For this reason attention was turned five years ago to this large area of Mission land on which African people are struggling to attain that higher standard of living through which they can advance to their rightful place in modern civilisation. The struggle is against considerable physical odds. The land is quite good and is well watered, but in the course of sixty years it has been overworked, and we are left with lands which need much redemption from the effects of deforestation, overcropping and soil erosion. A big debt is therefore owed to these lands, which in the past have had to bear the burden of so much advancement. But while repaying the debt, we have to meet ever increasing demands for further advance, demands which seem vital and urgent at the present time. Thus while taking strenuous measures to protect our soil from the effects of rain and drought, sun and wind, and bring back its lost fertility, we must provide food for 700 people and a steadily increasing standard of living for 100 families. Finally we are called continually to help in meeting the demands which come from wider spheres and require us to plan ahead for further education and social service.

The first step was to organise the economy of the lands so that they could start to produce and build up capital resources for future improvement. It was at once clear that this could only be done on a co-operative basis, through the development of a co-operative society in which people of all sorts and all races might share. So today we have a village co-operative, or Kubatsirana Society, which includes, in addition to the individual smallholdings, a common farm to experiment and education, a store, a butchery, a mill, a bank and an organised system through which a well-balanced village economy can develop.

Each small farmer ploughs about ten acres of land, dry land for maize and small grains and some vlei land for rice and vegetables. He also has the right to graze eig t head of cattle. As on this rough country it takes about ten acres of unimproved veld to support one beast, he is in fact a farmer with rights over about ninety acres of land. On each holding the whole family works, and the produce is often considerable. The industry shown by many cannot easily be surpassed. In the ploughing season the oxen are inspanned long before dawn, and throughout much of the year, many a man may do three or four hours work on his lands in addition to a seven hour day on the common farm.

The common farm enables each small farmer to increase his earnings in cash and to contribut to the development of the whole land for the common good. It also makes possible some experiment and the demonstration of proved results. Thus a balance is maintained between individual and communal enterprise. A wider variety of crops are grown on the common farm and a more intensive system can be developed. The main crops include maize, rupoko, rice, a variety of legumes, lucerne and vegetables under irrigation. A variety of grasses for

fodder have been started on the land, including Star No.2, Sataria Kazangula (Bua River), Kikuyu, Giant Rhodes, Sataria Chevalier and Napier. Each year an increased acreage is planted out to these grasses. Eucalyptus and conifer trees are also planted annually, and by selective cutting the indigenous forest is being preserved and improved.

The livestock include a herd of indigenous Mashona cattle which are being bred up to produce a naturally poled and hardy type of cattle capable of giving good meat, some milk and hard work. Pigs sheep and poultry are also being bred for home consumption and for sale. The compost provided by all the livestock is a vital necessity to the whole farming system, and veld hay is cut so that large quantities of compost are made in the kraals.

St. Faith's is a mixed farm on which a living must be earned by all those whose home is on the land. At the same time we must discover how that living may be improved by the steady increase in productivity of this thin sand veld soil. Much important research work is being done in this respect by government departments, but we have the opportunity on St. Faith's to work out the results of this research under the conditions of a co-operative system of village life.

In addition to providing food, these lands have also to provide a teaching ground for the 400 schoolchildren at St. Faith's. The elements of a more intensive agriculture have to be learned, and academic training must be integrated with the basic life of the land in which all the children are brought up. The condition of the lands, and the system prevailing on them, vitally affect the education of the children. Village and school life are interdependent.

The village is administered by a committee, part elected and part appointed, and this body holds responsibility for the day to day life and problems of the village and its agriculture. The farm staff is composed of both Africans and Europeans, each doing the work most suited to his abilities, and paid on the same salary scale according to ability and function performed. From the measure of co-operation and fellowship which prevails, there arises other and more varied activities such as a football team, a discussion group, and an interest in wider interracial affairs; a Clinic is developed for the treatment of physically defective children; a Maternity Home is built; plans are made for further community education, and the vision extends to the many developments which become possible, because through co-operation the necessary work can get done with interest and enthusiasm.

In our economic activities we are self-supporting. Yet a simple peasant economy based on food production cannot easily raise the capital to make possible developments which seem so vital and urgent in this part of the world. So we need to raise capital to help us to help ourselves. Much help has come already, yet we need more, and feel confident that we are a sound investment. Chiefly we need capital for fencing, farm buildings, machinery and implements, irrigation, and to bring electricity to the lands. There is a great need to capitalise the agricultural activities of the small African farmer, who is the main food producer, for without him Central Africa cannot develop.

Our purposes on St. Faith's are varied, but primarily we are concerned to promote co-operation and partnership between people of different race, particularly through the economic and cultural activities developed under a co-operative system on St. Faith's Farm lands.

Guy Clutton-Brock

REPORT UPON ST. FAITH'S MISSION FARM LANDS

for the year ended 30th September, 1953.

FARM REPORT

The year 1953 has given us increased confidence. It has not been a good year, for a variety of reasons, some of them our own fault. None the less, we have managed to increase our production, carry out extensive soil conservation measures, make considerable capital improvements to the farm, and balance our budget.

The farm staff has increased to 30, more men having returned from the towns to work on their home lands. The Farm Manager, John Mutasa, has been untiring in his enthusiasm, thought and energy. The Bursar, Ralph Ibbott, and the Secretary, Patricia Chater, have together made good sense of our complicated village economy. The standard of workmanship has risen considerably through the year, and as all the staff are permanently settled on the land, this is a capital asset of great value. The work of families on their lands has also improved, and there is increasing co-operation and understanding of the necessity for more intensive agriculture.

It is not possible to keep exact records of production throughout the lands, but roughly it may be said that during the year there were produced - 2,000 bags of maize, 1,000 bags of beans, rupoko, rice and other cereals, 40,000 lbs of vegetables, 20,000 eggs, 10,000 pints of milk, 10,000 lbs of pig meat, most of which was sold for bacon; and through the butchery there passed 30,000 lbs of meat, much of which was produced on the land. Although our consumption on the lands is increasing, our supply to outside markets has also increased.

Under the direction of the bursar, the building department has also been productive, and in addition to farm buildings and a dwelling house, it has built the Mukuwapasi Childrens Exercise Clinic and is now at work on a new Maternity Home. Development in other spheres of social work is made possible by a sound co-operative village organisation.

The livestock, under the management of Cedric Wildman, are steadily increasing and improving in quality. In addition to the 450 cattle on the farm belonging to individual farmers, the common farm has a herd of 280 mostly indigenous Mashona cattle. The pigs, chiefly Large White, now number 70, and 44 have been sold during the year. The little flock of sheep has increased from 3 to 12 in the last two years. The poultry number 300, and we are starting on a system of folding units for the improvement of pasture lands.

Extensive contouring has been done during the year, and our miles of ridges are steadily increasing. We have started on a programme of wiring, and the 4 miles of fencing erected have given us a number of paddocks varying in size from 8 acres upwards. At the same time we have planted out improved grasses over a considerable acreage.

As a teaching ground for the school, the common farm has now more to offer, and the understanding and consistency of the schoolboys is increasing. The cultural side of village life also develops, and plans for the future include the building of a residential community centre for adult education. Although in no way financially dependent upon the farm, such a programme is only made possible through agricultural development.

During the year we have received considerable help and encouragement from outside sources and particularly from the African Development Trust. For this we are deeply grateful. Without it we could scarcely have made a start, whereas now our objectives seem a lot nearer. We feel justified in appealing for help, and confident that our appeals will not be in vain. It becomes increasingly clear that, in the times that lie ahead, the need will be great in Central Africa for Christian centres where people of all races may meet and work out together the way of life in a multi-racial society.

Guy Clutton-Brock

FINANCIAL REPORT

We looked forward to this years accounts with great interest. Last year we were able to come out square, and we felt that this year we should be able to show a profit for the first time. The livestock are now beginning to bring in a return after a year or two of building up. We are glad therefore to be able to show a profit of £615 which we believe to be satisfactory.

During the year our borrowings have increased from £5,535 to £8,830, and it is essential that we keep up this rate of borrowing during the next few years. We must continue to construct fencing and buildings, and to increase our livestock to the extent that these improvements will make it possible for the land to carry. It is satisfactory to note that, while we pay 5% interest on money deposited in the farm bank, our borrowings were this year covered by over 9% (£615 profit plus £193 interest on £8830) which gives us confidence to continue seeking for further investments.

The farm bank is a very useful source of capital, and deposits have risen in the year from £1862 to £3407. Quite a proportion of this (£1037) is money invested by the African smallholders themselves, for whom the bank provides a useful service, as much money is deposited and withdrawn over the course of a year.

A glance at the years accounts will show that there are many aspects of the business other than pure farming. Income is derived from the Trading Store, and from trade in other commodities such as building materials, and also from cartage and contract work with the tractor and oxen for the smallholders, the school and residents.

Livestock Account.

This year we have shown the Livestock Account in greater detail. The cost of cattle has risen during the year which has necessitated an increase in the price we have to charge for meat in the Butchery. Both the cattle and the Butchery show satisfactory profits. Pig keeping has become more difficult during the year with a stiffening in the grading system for baconers and a fall in price, while production costs have remained roughly the same. However we show a very small profit inspite of the fact that an accident set us back early in the year. The poultry show a small loss, but we believe that they will improve, and the loss is more than made up in the value of the compost they provide for land improvement.

Profit and Loss Account

A large part of the grain is grown by the smallholders, and crops grown on the Common Farm are used primarily for stock feed. The vegetables brought in less than in the previous year because of smaller demands on two of our contracts, but the quality and production methods have greatly improved and sales were increasing hopefully towards the end of the period.

Trading Store.

This is the first full years working and the percentage of gross profit is as we anticipated. The average daily takings have risen from just over £13 a day in the previous period to £17¼ a day this year.

With increased land improvements, more buildings and equipment, a labour force with an additional years experience, and more knowledge of local conditions we go on confidently to another year.

Ralph G. Ibbott

WAR RESISTERS LEAGUE
5 BEEKMAN STREET
NEW YORK 7, N. Y.

November 18, 1953

Mr. Ladi Onitede
611 West 114 Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Onitede:

The War Resisters League, which is an organization opposed to all war, is planning a meeting on the evening of December 3rd on Africa. We are quite desirous of having 3 or 4 speakers participate in a panel on the whole question of colonialism and African freedom. Following the meeting, we plan to outline a constructive program wherein the members of our organization and their friends will be called upon to contribute to certain relief projects in Africa and in particular for the support of the families of those men and women who are being imprisoned throughout Africa in their effort to struggle against colonialism.

We would like very much to know if you would be prepared to talk at this meeting which is to be held at the Community Church. Since time is an important factor, I am wondering if you would be kind enough to telephone me here at the office on Friday morning. The telephone number is Be 3-0463. Or, if it is more convenient, I am enclosing a card on which you could tell me your answer or let me know when I might meet with you to discuss this situation further.

Sincerely,

Bayard Rustin
Program Director

br/rc
enc.

265

WAR RESISTERS LEAGUE
5 BEEKMAN STREET
NEW YORK 7, N. Y.

November 18, 1953

Mr. P. Plonge
10560 West 131 Street
Richmond Hill, New York

Dear Mr. Plonge:

The War Resisters League, which is an organization opposed to all wars, is planning a meeting on the evening of December 3rd on Africa. We are quite desirous of having 3 or 4 speakers participate in a panel on the whole question of colonialism and African freedom. Following the meeting, we plan to outline a constructive program wherein the members of our organization and their friends will be called upon to contribute to certain relief projects in Africa and in particular for the support of families of those men and women who are being imprisoned throughout Africa in their effort to struggle against colonialism.

We would like very much to know if youwould be prepared to talk at this meeting which is to be held at the Community Church. Since time is an important factor, I am wondering if you would be kind enough to telephone me here at the office on Friday morning, Be 3 -0463. Or, if it is more convenient, I am enclosing a card on which we could be informed of your answer.

Sincerely,

Bayard Rustin
Program Director

br/rc
encl.

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS, INC.
114 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 11, N. Y.

TELEPHONE: WATKINS 4-1200

December 9, 1953

Mr. Bayard Rustin
War Resisters League
5 Beekman
New York City

Dear Mr. Rustin:

I have no doubt that your life at present is as filled as ever with manifold activities which probably give you little leisure for reflection. Nevertheless, I am wondering whether you have given any thought to the possibility of making a book of your experiences so as to share the reality of your life with those to whom you are but a name as well as with the many others who at some time have come into closer contact with you.

If you have any plans or even thoughts concerning such a book, I hope that you will tell me of them. In any case, I should very much welcome an opportunity to talk the idea over with you. I look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely yours,

Carroll Bowen

Carroll G. Bowen
Assistant Editor
Trade Department

CGB:js

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Tal.

WAR RESISTERS LEAGUE
5 BEEKMAN STREET
NEW YORK 7, N. Y.

xxxxxxxxxxxx
Arlo Tatum

January 18, 1954

William J. Gehron
Carnegie International Center
345 East 46 Street
New York, New York

Dear William J. Gehron:

Will you kindly consider this letter a request for the use of the Carnegie International Auditorium for a vocal concert. The concert will be sung by Arlo Tatum and sponsored by the War Resisters League. The proceeds will be used for the Scholarship Fund to support a South Korean student - Pak Hyop.

I should like to give you some information concerning the War Resisters League, Pak Hyop and Arlo Tatum, in order that you may decide whether this is the kind of group that you can justly propose for use of your facilities:

1. The War Resisters League is an organization which carries on an educative campaign for social justice and peace based on the non-violent philosophy as taught and exemplified in the lives of Tolstoy, Thoreau and Gandhi. We have been in existence for 30 years. Our membership includes many persons whose dedication to democracy and peace is unquestioned, among whom are Harry Emerson Fosdick, John Haynes Holmes, Roger Baldwin, A.J. Muste, Henry Cadbury, Henry Neumann, David de Sola Pool, and Gladys Walser.

2. Our purpose is to raise funds to support Pak Hyop, a brilliant South Koran whose family has been left destitute by war. He is now studying International Law at the Sorbonne in Paris. I met him while lecturing for the American Friends Service Committee in England. The Friends had brought him to England to attend one of their International Student Seminars. For some time he was living exclusively on an annual scholarship of $338 provided by the Sorbonne. With the aid of the Fifteenth Street Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends, the War Resisters League is in process of raising $1000 to augment this meagre budget and to see him through his final year of education.

3. Arlo Tatum, a young Quaker, is Executive Secretary of the War Resisters League and a very sensitive and well trained singer. He has sung on tour for the Universities of Kansas and Minnesota, has been under contract to the Southwest Concert Association, the Chicago Concert and Opera Guild, and the Midwest Opera Company. More recently he performed leading roles with the Savoy Opera Company of Philadelphia, the oldest and most renowned Gilbert & Sullivan Company in the country.

WAR RESISTERS LEAGUE
5 BEEKMAN STREET
NEW YORK 7, N. Y.

Should you see your way clear to permit us the use of the Auditorium, we should prefer one of the following dates in the order of their listing:

1. April 16, 1954
2. March 26, 1954
3. April 9, 1954

We should like to begin the concert at 8:30 and would be clear of the Auditorium by 10:30. We would make arrangements with Steinway and Company for the use of one of their grand pianos which would, no doubt, need to be delivered on the morning of the concert and would be taken from the building the morning following the concert.

I know that you are quite busy, but should greatly appreciate hearing from you at your earliest convenience, either by mail or by telephone at Be 3-0463 any day between 9 and 5 PM.

Sincerely yours,

Bayard Rustin
Program Director, War Resisters League

br/rc

ESTABLISHED 1892

MEMBERS A. B. C.

AFRO-AMERICAN NEWSPAPERS

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EXECUTIVE OFFICES · 628 N. EUTAW STREET
BALTIMORE 1, MD.

January 26, 1954

Mr. Bayard Rustin
21 Audubon Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Rustin:

We are enclosing herewith a 1954 Correspondent Card, #132. Your name is to be signed on the vacant line.

Please return your 1953 Correspondent Card.

Very truly yours,

Carl Murphy

Carl Murphy
President

cm/w
encl.

WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL

Telephones
ENFIELD 0121
LABURNUM 1686

88, PARK AVENUE
BUSH HILL PARK
ENFIELD, MIDDLESEX

GAB/TW

15th February, 1954.

Mr. Bayard Rustin,
War Resisters' League,
Room 825, 5, Beekman St.,
New York 38, N.Y., U.S.A.

Dear Bayard,

Arlo wrote us on 19th January that you would be happy, as W.R.L. Program Director, to handle the lobbying at U.N. concerning our attempt to get the right of conscientious objection to military service included in the Convention on Human Rights. He suggested I write you direct about this, which I now do.

I enclose for your briefing:

(a) Copy of letter from Secretary W.R.I. to Human Rights Commission.
(b) Copy of reply to W.R.I. from Human Rights Division.
(c) Copy of letter from Reginald Sorensen, M.P., to Human Rights Division, enclosing letters from well known people.
(d) Copy of letter signed by well known people and a list of their names etc.

It should be noted that whereas (a) above was action taken in the name of the W.R.I. the letters referred to in (c) and (d) did not have any reference to W.R.I. but were signed by individuals in their own right and forwarded by Reg Sorensen M.P. from the House of Commons, as one of the signatories.

As you probably know, the Commission convenes in New York on 23rd. February, and will sit until 16th April. Arlo has the list of members. We have written direct to Commission member Madame Kamaladevi Chattopadhyay urging her support, and she has also been approached in this matter by the World Council for a Peoples World Convention (H.Q. in Paris, Secretary J. Savary). She is, I gather a member of their Council.

Other action taken that we know of is as follows:-

(1) Letters to the Commission along the lines of W.R.I. letter mentioned in (a) above have been sent by:- F.O.R.(U.S.A.); P.P.U.(Great Britain); Kyoto Branch W.R.I.; Israel Section W.R.I.; F.O.R.(Canada); World Council for a Peoples World Convention(Paris); National Peace Council(Great Britain); Movement for a Pacifist Church of Christ (Great Britain).

(2) The British F.O.R. wrote to the British Delegate on the Commission supporting the W.R.I. move. An acknowledgment

P.T.O.

was received.

It is probable that many other sections of the W.R.I. have taken action as in (1) above but haven't yet notified us. (e.g. No reply from W.R.L. to our letter to Sections dated 24th August 1953!)

Background information on Conscientious Objection and Human Rights is available in Harold Bing's article in "War Resister" 63.

One other point which is perhaps relevant is that we wrote to Charles Malik (Lebanon Ambassador in Washington and also Delegate to Commission) quite early in the piece asking for support. He replied that in a previous session he had done his best to have this right included in the Declaration without success.

I think that covers all that need be said. If there is any further information you need please ask. I need only add that we're very appreciative of your offer to help in this way. Thanks very much indeed. We'd like to hear of any developments.

Good luck and good lobbying!

Yours,

Tony

G. Anthony Bishop.
Assistant Secretary.

WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL

L'INTERNATIONALE DES RÉSISTANTS À LA GUERRE
INTERNATIONALE DER KRIEGSDIENSTGEGNER
INTERNACIONAL DE REFRACTARIOS A LA GUERRA
INTERNACIO DE MILITKONTRAŬULOJ

HAROLD F. BING, M.A., F.R.Hist.S., *Chairman*

JOHN P. FLETCHER (Great Britain) } *Treasurers*
EDWARD C. M. RICHARDS (U.S.A.) }
GRACE M. BEATON, *Secretary*
Telephone: LABurnum 1686

LANSBURY HOUSE
88, PARK AVENUE
BUSH HILL PARK, ENFIELD
MIDDLESEX, ENGLAND
Telegraphic Address:
"NOFRONTIER, ENFIELD, MIDDLESEX"

COPY

19th August, 1953.

To The Members of the United Nations
Commission on Human Rights,
c/o The Secretary-General of the
United Nations,
NEW YORK CITY, U.S.A.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

Under the Charter of the United Nations the Protection of human rights has for the first time become an international responsibility. This marks an important step in human progress. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights represents a first attempt to set forth in comprehensive terms the rights which all human beings should enjoy. The definition of these rights in legally enforceable form is at present occupying your attention; the terms of the Covenants at present being drafted by you are of the greatest importance for securing the rights of individual men and women throughout the world.

In Article 18 of the Universal Declaration it is stated:- "Everyone has the right of freedom of thought, conscience and religion". Much will depend on the way this freedom is defined in the Covenant and we particularly urge that freedom of conscience shall be defined in such a way as to include the right of conscientious objection to military and war service.

We are aware that this matter has already twice been brought to the notice of the Economic and Social Council, once by the Service Civil International in December 1949 and again by the Friends' World Committee for Consultation in April 1950, but we are disturbed to find no evidence of the recognition of this right in the Convention on Social and Political Rights as so far drafted.

It seems to us that this is a very serious omission. Already 18 countries (at January 1953) with compulsory military service make legal provision for conscientious objectors, and there seems to us to be every reason for extending this right to conscientious objectors in all countries which enforce military service. In view of the fact that one of the primary aims of the United Nations is the elimination of war, it seems only logical that it should give special

(Continuation)

encouragement and protection to those who have already rejected war individually and who may otherwise be subject to persecution for their adherence to a declared aim of the United Nations.

In including the protection of conscientious objectors to military service in the Convention on Human Rights, we would suggest that provision should be made for three degrees of exemption according to the nature of the objection of the individual concerned, viz:-

(a) exemption from combatant service.

(b) exemption from all military service conditional upon the performance of some civil alternative, and

(c) absolute and unconditional exemption.

This is in accordance with the practice of the countries having the most advanced legislation in this matter and would therefore seem to be the least that the United Nations should ask of its members.

We ask you, the members of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights, to give this matter your most serious consideration.

Yours faithfully,

(Sgd) Grace M. Beaton.

Secretary.

COPY.

UNITED NATIONS NATIONS UNIES
NEW YORK.

Cable Address . unations newyork . adresse telegraphique

File No. SOA 317/01/062 1 September 1953.

Dear Madam,

I am instructed by the Director of the Division of Human Rights to acknowledge the receipt of your communication of 19 August 1953 and to inform you that it will be dealt with in accordance with the provisions of resolution 75(V) of the Economic and Social Council, as amended, ... a copy of which is enclosed for your information.

In accordance with paragraph (a) of this resolution, a summary of your communication will be distributed to members of the Commission on Human Rights before its next session.

Yours very truly,

Egon Ranshofen-Wertheimer
Division of Human Rights

Grace M. Beaton
War Resisters' International
Lansbury House
88, Park Avenue
Bush Hill Park, Enfield
Middlesex, England.

Resolution 75 (V) of the Economic and Social Council, as amended

The Economic and Social Council,

Having considered chapter V of the report of the first session of the Commission on Human Rights concerning communications (document E/259),

Approves the statement that "the Commission recognizes that it has no power to take any action in regard to any complaints concerning human rights";

Requests the Secretary-General

(a) To compile and distribute to members of the Commission on Human Rights before each session a non-confidential list containing a brief indication of the substance of each communication, however addressed, which deals with the principles involved in the promotion of universal respect for and observance of human rights and to divulge the identity of the authors of such communications unless they indicate that they wish their names to remain confidential;

(b) To compile before each session of the Commission a confidential list containing a brief indication of the substance of other communications concerning human rights, however addressed, and to furnish this list to members of the Commission, in private meeting, without divulging the identity of the authors of communications except in cases where the authors state that they have already divulged or intend to divulge their names or that they have no objection to their names being divulged;

(c) To enable the members of the Commission, upon request, to consult the originals of communications dealing with the principles involved in the promotion of universal respect for and observance of human rights;

(d) To inform the writers of all communications concerning human rights, however addressed, that their communications have been received and duly noted for consideration in accordance with the procedure laid down by the United Nations. Where necessary, the Secretary-General should indicate that the Commission has no power to take any action in regard to any complaint concerning human rights;

(e) In the future, to furnish each Member State concerned with a copy of any communication concerning human rights which refers explicitly to that State or to territories under its jurisdiction, without divulging the identity of the author, except as provided for in Paragraph (b) above;

Suggests to the Commission on Human Rights that it should at each session appoint an *ad hoc* committee to meet shortly before its next session for the purpose of reviewing the confidential list of communications prepared by the Secretary-General under paragraph (a) above

and of recommending which of these communications, in original, should, in accordance with paragraph (c) above, be made available to members of the Commission on request.

II

Resolution 116 (VI) A of the Economic and Social Council

The Economic and Social Council

...
...

Resolves to give the members of the Sub-Commission on the Prevention of Discrimination and the Protection of Minorities, with respect to communications dealing with discrimination and minorities the same facilities as are enjoyed by members of the Commission under resolution 75 (V) and the present resolution.

III

Resolution 192 (VIII) A of the Economic and Social Council

The Economic and Social Council

Takes note of paragraph 20 of the report of the third session of the Commission on Human Rights concerning communications; and

Requests the Secretary-General, in the future, to ask Governments sending replies to communications brought to their attention in accordance with paragraph (e) of resolution 75(V) whether they wish their replies to be presented to the Commission on Human Rights in summary form or in full.

COPY.

HOUSE OF COMMONS

Westminster,
London, S.W.1.

26th January, 1954.

Mr. Egon Ranshofen-Wertheimer,
Division of Human Rights,
United Nations,
NEW YORK, U.S.A.

Dear Mr. Ranshofen - Wertheimer,

I have the pleasure to send you herewith a request to the United Nations Commission on Human Rights signed by a number of well-known people from all parts of the world in regard to the safeguarding of freedom of conscience. The letter is, as you will see, self-explanatory, but I have been asked to write on behalf of all the signatories to urge you to bring this matter to the attention of your Commission. We very much hope you will be able to consider it carefully for we believe it to be most important to safeguard freedom of conscience in every way.

You will find herewith a copy of the letter with the signatures typed in, and with it the actual signatures as quoted.

We hope we may hear from you and have been asked to say that any letter may be addressed to me at the House of Commons, London.

Yours sincerely,

REGINALD W. SORENSEN (Signed)

(Reginald W. Sorensen M.P.)

COPY OF SIGNED APPEAL LETTER

(Date as on signed letters)

To the Members of the United Nations Commission
on Human Rights,
C/o The Secretary General of the United Nations,
New York City,
U.S.A.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

Believing that the protection of individual citizens against the arbitrary action of officials and of government is one of the marks of a politically mature State,

-and that the recognition of the inviolability of conscience is an essential characteristic of a civilized community and of fundamental importance to human progress,

-and noting that the United Nations has as one of its declared aims the protection of human rights and has set up a Commission to specify those rights and to prescribe machinery for their enforcement,

We, the undersigned, desire to urge the Human Rights Commission to give special attention to safeguarding this right and in particular to specify under the heading of freedom of conscience, the right of conscientious objection to compulsory military training and war service.

Yours faithfully,

ALLARD	Belgium	Baron
NORMAN W. BENTWICH	Great Britain	Professor - formerly at Hebrew University of Jerusalem
VERA BRITTAIN	Great Britain	Writer
BENJAMIN BRITTEN C.H.	Great Britain	Composer
CHORLEY	Great Britain	Lord
G. D. H. COLE	Great Britain	Professor - Social & Political Theory, Oxford University
A. EINSTEIN	U.S.A.	Professor - Princetown University
RAFIQ FARAH	Israel	Anglican Priest
JAMES M.FINLAY, Rev.	Canada	Past Chairman of Canadian Fellowship of Reconciliation
MARGERY FRY	Great Britain	Doctor of Law
MANILAL GANDHI	South Africa	Editor "Indian Opinion"
G.P.GOOCH, C.H.	Great Britain	Author - Doctor
ANTHONY W.J.GREENWOOD	Great Britain	Member of Parliament
PERCY HARTILL	Great Britain	Archdeacon - Church of England
SOMERVILLE HASTINGS	Great Britain	Member of Parliament - Surgeon (retired)
J. HATALMI	Israel	Rabbi Binjamin - Writer

GUSTAV HEINEMANN	Germany	Lawyer - Evangelical Church - Germany
ALDOUS HUXLEY	Great Britain & U.S.A.	Man of Letters
CHRISTOPHER ISHERWOOD	Great Britain & U.S.A.	Writer
D. HANS IWAND	Germany	University Professor of Theology
TOYOHIKO KAGAWA	Japan	Author and Christian Minister President Consumers Federation of Japan.
TOMIKO W. KORA, Mrs.	JAPAN	Dr. Member of Japanese Upper House
ELIAS N. KOUSSA	Israel	Lawyer
HALVARD LANGE	Norway	Minister of Foreign Affairs
ERIK A. LINDBLOM	Sweden	Senator
KATHLEEN LONSDALE	Great Britain	D.Sc., F.R.S., Professor of Chemistry, London University
PIERRE LORSON	France	Catholic Priest - Doctor of Theology (Strasbourg Cathedral)
DIDERICH LUND	Norway	Civil Engineer - at present Director of Norwegian Indian Development Project
JOHN MACMURRAY	Great Britain	Professor of Moral Philosophy Edinburgh University
LOUIS MASSIGNON	France	Professor of College of France, Paris
YONOSUKE NAKANO	Japan	Founder of the Ananai-Kyo
D. MARTIN NIEMÖLLER	Germany	President of Evangelical Church
PHILIP NOEL-BAKER	Great Britain	Member of Parliament
O. F. OLDEN	Norway	Headmaster (retired)
FRANZ OLLENDORF	Israel	Professor - Dr. Eng.
BOYD ORR	Great Britain	Member of House of Lords
PETER PEARS	Great Britain	Singer
LIONEL S. PENROSE	Great Britain	Professor - F.R.S. London University
ANDRÉ PHILLIP	France	Ex-Cabinet Minister - Professor of Law
EDMOND PRIVAT	Switzerland	Doctor of Lit. Neuchâtel University
CHARLES E. RAVEN	Great Britain	Regius Professor emeritus Cambridge University
RUSSELL (Bertrand Russell)	Great Britain	Author and Peer
M. SADAYASU	Japan	Professor
RUDOLF SIEVERTS	Germany	Professor of Criminal Law Hamburg University
J. LAVELL SMITH	Canada	Superintendent - The Church of all Nations, Toronto
BRUNO SNELL	Germany	Professor - Hamburg University
REGINALD W. SORENSEN	Great Britain	Member of Parliament
JOHN C. SPENCER	Great Britain	Lecturer - London University
FRANZISKUS STRATMANN O.P.	Germany	Catholic Priest
SYBIL THORNDIKE, Dame	Great Britain	Actress

JOHANNES UDE	Austria	University Professor, Philosophy, Theology, Natural Science and Political Science
HENRY C. USBORNE	Great Britain	Member of Parliament
HELENE WESSEL	Germany	Member of Parliament
FRANK WOOD	Great Britain	Bishop - Church of England
HERBERT G. WOOD	Great Britain	Quaker, formerly Professor Theology and Dean of Faculty of Arts, Birmingham University
WALTER MURDOCH	Australia	Professor (retired)
HOWARD K. WORNER	Australia	Professor of Metallurgy and Dean, Faculty of Engineering University of Melbourne.

INSTITUTE OF
INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION
INCORPORATED

1 EAST 67TH STREET AT FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 21, N. Y. • LEHIGH 5-3400 • CABLE ADDRESS "INTERED"

Regional Offices: Washington, Chicago, Denver, Houston, San Francisco and Los Angeles

February 23, 1954

Mr. Bayard Rustin
Program Director
War Resisters League
5 Beekman Street
New York 38, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Rustin:

I have read with interest your recent letter in which you discuss plans for sending books to schools and libraries in Africa.

The Institute itself cannot help you, since we do not have funds of our own with which to make individual grants. However, the following organizations will be able to help you:

U.S. Book Exchange
Library of Congress
Washington 25, D.C.

CARE
50 Broad Street
New York, New York

World University Students
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

We certainly agree with you in the importance of performing such services and I hope that you will be able to continue with your plans to send books abroad to needy libraries and schools.

For your interest, I am enclosing a leaflet briefly outlining the functions of this Institute.

Sincerely yours,

May Sams

May Sams
Information and Counseling Division

ms:sl
enc.

THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY
BALTIMORE 18, MARYLAND

PSYCHOLOGICAL CLINIC

March 4, 1954

Mr. Bayard Rustin
War Resistance League
5 Beekman Street
New York, New York

Dear Bayard,

I called Cornish and he told me that he is no longer the chairman of the Program Committee for the Frontier's Club and that the job has been taken over by Furman Templeton. I then called Templeton and he was very enthusiastic about the idea of having you come out to speak to the Frontier's Club. In fact, he thinks that it would be possible to arrange it so that you could come to speak very soon: on Tuesday, March 16th (from 12:30 to 2:00). However, it will be important for him to know right away whether you can make it for that date. He suggested, therefore, that as soon as you receive this letter you call him collect (the number is Madison 3-0020) and make arrangements with him.

23

When you have made the necessary arrangements with him, please write me immediately because I will try to get together a few people representing the different organizations that we talked about for a meeting that very evening. At such a meeting, as we discussed, you will be able to give us advice regarding publicity and arrangements for the projected larger meeting. Incidentally, you will be very welcome to have supper with us that evening and to stay at our house overnight.

I am enclosing a ballot that I received regarding W.R.L. Inc. business. I did not vote because I am not on the Board of Directors and so, as far as I can see, this ballot does not apply to me.

I hope everything works out well with Templeton and will be looking forward to seeing you before long.

Best regards,

Herb

bjs

Concert Hall

Check in advance $55 Thursday

Board. Gomendel. Wisdom

Steve

Red Hook 2441

STEINWAY & SONS
PIANO MAKERS
STEINWAY HALL 109 WEST 57TH ST.
NEW YORK 19, N.Y.

March 12, 1954

Mr. Bayard Rustin
Program Director
War Resisters League
5 Beekman Street
New York 38, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Rustin:

In answer to your letter on the subject of the benefit concert on March 26th, I am sorry to say that our policy must be very strict on the subject of free piano service. In such a case as yours, we are delighted to contribute the piano, but must charge the costs of trucking to and from concerts and tuning which is necessary after trucking. I have asked Mr. Walter Bjork, who handles these matters for us, to contact you and make arrangements with you.

With best regards, I remain

Sincerely yours,

STEINWAY & SONS

John H. Steinway
Advertising Manager

JHS/ac

C1-
6.1100
Ex 11...

5-

1. Arrangement — platform
Piano and music stand
Seat arrangements ...
2. Piano
3. Tuxedo
4. ushers — Eva — high school girls
Jeanny —
Ruth —
5. Hammond ... a.c. Thompson (with)
6. call legal ... on program

a.c. Thompson
354 Prospect Bridge Rd
2. Assuming
4980

Soc. for Advan Ed.
229 Putnam Ave
Brooklyn

Mr. MANZO — will call Wed

Affiliated with the WAR RESISTERS INTERNATIONAL, Enfield, Middlesex, England, Harold Bing, Chairman

OX 7-3131

1. O.K. main Thursday
2. Plus Thursday lecture 5+8...
3. Rearrange chairs ...
4. Piano ...
5. Sign [illegible] in corridor
6. Small table ...
7. Refreshments ...

February 10, 1964

Mr. Bayard Rustin
War Resisters League
Five Beekman Street
New York 38, New York

Dear Mr. Rustin:

This will confirm our understanding as follows:

We hereby grant to you as a non-profit organization a license to use the below noted facility or facilities of the International Center on the second floor of our building located on United Nations Plaza at 46th Street, New York City:

Facility	Date	Hours	Charge
Banquet Hall	April 16 March 26	8:30 to 10:30	$10.50

You agree that such use by you shall be solely for the purpose of a usual concert. As a partial reimbursement of our costs, you will pay to us a fee of $ 10.50 for such use, which amount shall be due and payable upon receipt of our statement.

Your use of the space in no way assumes Endowment sponsorship unless such sponsorship is specifically agreed to in writing by an officer of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Further you alone assume responsibility for statements of policy expressed during your use of said space.

We shall have no liability for loss or damage to any property which you leave on the premises; and you agree to remove all property belonging to you forthwith upon expiration of the period of use specified above.

In your use of such space you agree that you will do nothing in violation of any applicable law, rule or regulation of any public authority, nor anything which will result in an increase of premiums payable for our fire, public liability and other insurance on the premises.

February 10, 1954

You agree that you will not permit anything to be done on the premises which will cause damage to the premises or the furnishings but in the event such damage occurs, that you will reimburse us on demand for the expense of repairing any such damage.

You further agree to indemnify and hold us harmless against any loss, liability or expense which we may incur by reason of your use of the space.

If the foregoing is in accordance with your understanding, please sign and return the enclosed copy of this letter, whereupon it shall constitute an agreement between us. If the enclosed copy is not signed and returned before the date noted in paragraph one, we reserve the right to cancel this reservation.

CARNEGIE ENDOWMENT FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE

By_____
William J. Gehron, Coordinator,
Program Events

CONFIRMED Feb 11 1954

By Bayard Rustin
Prog. Director W.R.L.

Please Note: When making detailed arrangements, please contact Mr. Walter Leyes - OX 7-3131 - Ext. 33

Lees

April

1. Mr. Paffrath
2. Ex. Sec'y
3. Harry Howard ...

MARY S. MC DOWELL
555 OCEAN AVENUE
BROOKLYN 26, NEW YORK

April 6, '54

Dear Bayard,

I expect to take part in the Poster Walk on Fri. and will try to be on hand at the office at about 3.45.

I have a couple of suggestions for action that I would like to make to you. I am writing the President about following up the U.S.S.R recent proposal: the text of the note to the Vatican (N.Y. Times Apr. 1) is so fine, we should make use of it. The enclosed copy of the letter is not the final draft that I am sending, but the changes are slight. Do you think the ideas are worth passing

cu? Could you get others to write in similar vein. The W. I. L. has gotten out an appeal for admitting Red China to the U. N. under certain conditions, to hold under the Geneva conference a success. I think that is important too.

Recently the 70 R. called a meeting of Bklyn. members to consider forming local groups or other activity; only 6 appeared, 2 from the office, Phillips Elliot, in whose church we met, a stranger, another member and I. Before I got up next morning a plan came to me, which I expressed in the enclosed letter. I thought it ha. particularly for Bklyn. but

MARY S. MC DOWELL
555 OCEAN AVENUE
BROOKLYN 26, NEW YORK

I think it may be useful elsewhere. I don't know that we could get the needed leadership from the 70 R. office, but possibly, with encouragement sure! something might be done. Have you been in touch with Robert Gilmore the new A.F.S.C. secretary at Friends' Center 144 E. 20 St. N.Y.? He is quite active and I think you could help each other. His apartment is 45 St. Marks Place near 1st Ave., in the basement. He has some group meetings there.

I sent him a copy of the enclosed letter about a public meeting. I received a brief note from him this morning which said, "I am very much interested in this sort of thing" & would be glad to get to-getter with local groups. I hope you will get in touch with him; you might begin by phoning him at 20th St.

With best wishes and hoping to see you Fri.

Sincerely

Mary McDowell.

Do you know of a small group that would like to have me give a brief report on the National Conference for Disarmament & Development held Mar. 28-6?

Miss Mary S. McDowell
555 Ocean Avenue
Brooklyn 26, N. Y.

April 5, 1954

President Dwight D. Eisenhower
White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. President:

The proposal of the USSR to have a representative in NATO and a representative of theWestern powers in the Soviet group of nations is certainly a new and strange proposition, and we cannot know completely the motivation behind it; but it seems to me ~~that--Dulles's-immediate~~, after reading the full text of the note given in the N. Y. Times of April 1st, that Dulles's immediate rejection of it is a sad mistake.

Did you notice how closely it parallels your own outstanding speech of Apr. 17? In fact, it goes somewhat further than you in its plea for peace through "general reduction of armaments, with prohibition of atomic and other weapons of mass destruction, with relief from the burdens of armaments and the danger of atomic destruction for the peoples of the world. The further arguments in favor of such a program are true and well expressed.

With so much apparent agreement in purposes, it seems tragic not to follow up with an honest and patient search with the USSR for some step ~~that-the~~ toward carrying out this common purpose. I understand that the Western ambassadors in Moscow believe that the Kremlin definitely desires peace and cooperation with the Western powers; but if, after friendly and patient search on our part for some measure of agreement, with honest and generous proposals that would benefit the peoples of both sides, the Kremlin should reject them all, demanding acceptance of her particular proposal and considering nothing else, it would demonstrate ~~that-that~~ that her peace talk is mere camouflage. In that event, she would lose much support from millions of people who have believed her protestations of peaceful desires; and our own prestige and opportunity for moral leadership would be definitely increased. It would seem that we could not lose by the attempt, and a real step toward durable world peace might be taken.

Although the people of theU. S. certainly do not wish to attack any country in the world,, our foreign policy has not been altogether consistent. A few years after engaging in world war to destroy the militarism of Germany and Japan, we are now urging, if not coercing them to rearm. And we ourselves have been increasing armaments and stockpiling new weapons with which we could destroy most of the world. With such a record, we should not be surprised that people in other nations feel distrust, suspicion, fear, andeven hatred of us, since our preparations for defense are no different from preparations for aggression.

Of course, we have also given relief and other aid on an unprecedented scale, and we could even now regain the high regard with which we were formerly held as the protagonist for welfare and freedom for the world, if we would consistently seek opportunities for cooperation with all countries for human welfare and universal disarmament with adequate inspection. Could you not, even now, arrange for discussions with the USSRabout their proposals, in a search for some measure of agreement and cooperation for human welfare? Military measures, and even victorious war, could not bring durable ~~pea~~ peace; for such peace is based on justice and opportunity to develope for all. When ~~al~~ all peoples feel that they have justice and opportunity without being threatened by armaments, there will be no incentive to aggression orwar.

May you have the courage and the faith to initiate action along these lines!

Ver

Mary S. McDowell
555 Ocean Ave.
Brooklyn 26, N.Y.

March 15, 1954

Dear Friend:

Few people today seem interested in studying the problems of world peace, partly because it seems safer not to be interested in such matters, lest we be considered "subversive." Moreover, people here, as well as in other lands, are largely indoctrinated with military patriotism, and to reject plans that the Pentagon considers necessary for our security seems unpatriotic, if not disloyal. There are few who can be quickly converted from military patriotism to pacifism; it involves gradual growth. But nobody wants war, and if we could give them a vision of methods by which it would be possible to bring durable peace to the world, without greatly increasing the dangers which now beset us, they might be led to take immediate steps along those lines, and have a guiding principle for further development. People often learn of partial ways toward peace which are not sufficient to turn the tide away from war and hardly seem worth pursuing. But when they once have a vision of the several inter-related lines of thought and action that could actually lead toward durable peace for mankind, even small actions and study and discussion by ordinary people like us will have vital significance.

For this purpose I suggest holding a neighborhood meeting to present a broad world vision of how real peace could be attained, with concrete illustrations of what has been, or might be accomplished by applying these principles. The preparation for such a meeting might in itself help the cause of peace, if members of a pacificst group should take part in interviewing leaders of other groups interested in peace and pastors or leading members of Churches and Synagogues in seeking their sponsorship and cooperation, pointing out that such a program for a meeting as suggested herewith should be considered a beginning of a movement, to be followed, if possible by small discussion groups, or in other ways.

HOW COULD DURABLE WORLD PEACE BE ATTAINED?

I. ARMAMENTS CANNOT GIVE SECURITY in this modern inter-dependent world with atomic weapons.
"Wars are made in the minds of men"; if the USSR and Red China were conquered in war, they would still hate us and seek opportunities to retaliate; we would be involved in even greater problems.
Armaments, causing suspicion and fear, are obstacles to cooperation and other measures to build peace.

II. A PEACE PROGRAM; The New Patriotism.
Armaments are contrary to God's law for human relations, as interpreted by Christianity, Judaism, other high religions, and our own type of democracy, as expressed in the Declaration of Independence; and our chief security lies in seeking to ebey that law, which recognizes the inherent value of all persons, as follows:

a. Seeking human welfare through cooperation and sharing, including steps to freedom by gradual elimination of all forms of exploitation.
b. Universal disarmament by agreement; steps can be taken as fear and suspicion are allayed by increasing human welfare etc.
c. Improvement in international organizations, including a permanent, volunteer police under the U. N., acting upon individuals under law or international agreement, equipped with appropriate non-violent weapons or armor for various functions.

III. SHOWING THE RESULTS OF EXPLOITATION AND MILITARY METHODS, which now are causing various forms of revolt or increased nationalism in different lands; and pointing out concrete illustrations of what has been accomplished in small projects, or could be accomplished by using peace principles.

By such methods there is hope of containing Communism

a. In Asia
b. In Africa
c. In Latin America

It would be desirable to have a different speaker for each of the three continents, some one who had made a special study of the continent assigned to him and could tell fairly briefly the essential conditions in the country assigned and give interesting concrete illustrations of his main points.

There should be some opportunity for questions between the different subjects and speakers; but discussion should be left to follow up sessions. If it should be decided to have two sessions in one day, with a supper provided, it might be worth while to have another speaker on Europe, particularly Eastern Europe. Probably variations of this general plan could be used in different neighborhoods or regions. I'd be glad to hear your reaction to it.

Sincerely yours,

Mary S. McDowell

14 Louisburg Square, Boston 8, Mass.
April 25, 1954.

Dear Bayard:

Thank you for notifying me so promptly of the hour, date and place for the W.R.L. annual dinner. Please thank your secretary for me also.

I'm pondering several ideas for the talk, in tentative fashion. When your letter on background arrives it will be a good catalyzer.

Sincerely yours,

Richard B. Gregg

P.S. I find I can stay with a married niece of mine in New City so it will be no expense to you except for travel.

War Resisters' International.

88, Park Avenue,
Bush Hill Park,
Enfield,
Middlesex,
England.

GAB/EW

8th April, 1954.

Mr. Bayard Rustin,
War Resisters' League,
Room 825, 5, Beekman Street,
New York 38, N.Y.,
US.A.

Dear Bayard,

I am now preparing my final report on action taken by the W.R.I. and Sections concerning the approach to the Human Rights Commission urging recognition of conscientious objectors, and I would like to include mention of action taken by you in New York with regard to lobbying members of the Commission.

If you could let me have a brief report of what was able to be done I should be much obliged.

Good wishes,

Yours,

Tony (Boulton)

Austr.; Fernand
Belgium - Mr. A Dekarsse
Chili; China - Cheng Daonan
Egypt - Mr. Mahmoud Azmi
France - Mr. René Plassin
Greece (new), India Mr. Kamalagevi Chattopadhyay
Lebanon - Mr. Charles Malik
Pakistan Sir Abedur Rahman
Philippines. Jose Ingles,
Poland Mr. H. Birecki
Turkey - (new), Ukran SSR P. V. Kriven
USSR Mr. P. D. Morosoff
U Kingdom S. Hoare
USA Mrs. Roosevelt Uruguay
Isidro Berotti - Uruguay

Nicholl, Dr. Robert G. Nov. 24, 1942
Last Name First Date

5 Field Point Road
Address Age

Greenwich Conn
City State Occupation

Contact—Wrote to us (✓) Suggested by
Ordered lit. ( ) Meeting
C.O. Problem (✓)

Letters from him Date To him Date
11/22/42 Wants defer. 3A, 2A or 4E, 11/24/42 – 4D Def.
will appeal if 4E for 2A or 3A

Other pertinent facts.

300

WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL

Telephones
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LABURNUM 1686

88, PARK AVENUE
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GA B/TW

Mr. Arlo Tatum,
War Resisters' League,
Room 825, 5, Beekman St.,
New York 38 N.Y.,
U.S.A.

14th January, 1954.

answered 1-19-54

Dear Arlo,

You will remember that as a result of a decision at the last W.R.I. Council Meeting it was decided that we should approach the United Nations Commission of Human Rights asking that the recognition of conscientious objection to military service be included in the Convention on Human Rights which is being drawn up. This has been done. (For details see previous letters to Sections and War Resister No.63 page 15).

The Council also decided to seek the signatures of a number of well-known people to a more general letter which would support the W.R.I.'s approach. This matter is nearly completed and we should be able to forward to the Commission by the end of this month a letter signed by about 50 to 60 very well known people from many parts of the world. (We had aimed at a few very well-known rather than many not so well-known).

Until the last few days we had been given to understand that this Commission would be meeting in Paris about next A pril. We have just heard, however, that it will be meeting in New York from 23rd February to 16th April next, and the local United Nations Information Centre is not able to let us know the names and nationality of the members of the Commission. Neither has Charles Malik (Lebanese Ambassador at Washington, who has previously been sympathetic to our request) been able to give us the information.

As time is short we wonder w hether you could find out from the Division of Human Rights at the United Nations the names of the members of the Commission and the countries which they represent, and let us have this information urgently.

We had planned to approach personally any members of the Commission who might be sympathetic and give them copies both of our own letter and the letter with the signatures of well known people, thus hoping that the matter might be carried a stage beyond the mere receipt of correspondence, into actual discussion by the Commission, and possible action.

P.T.O.

With the shorter time available, and the venue New York, it does not seem as if we can do this from the office and we would appreciate your advice as to whether the W.R.L. would be prepared to do this particular piece of work for us. If this could be arranged we could let you have copies of all documents sent to the Commission immediately after the originals had been dispatched, i.e. at the beginning of February.

If you could, as soon as possible, let us have the information concerning the Commission and an indication of whether you could do the lobbying for us as suggested above, we'd be very grateful.

All good wishes in which Grace joins,

Yours,

Obny.

P.S. I enclose a draft copy of list of signatures to the appeal for your interest. Please do not release this list yet as it is not complete.

P.P.S. We're sending a copy of this letter to A.J.Muste for his information as W.R.I. Council Member.

Not for publication until notified

HUMAN RIGHTS LETTER - SIGNATORIES.

NAME	STATUS	ADDRESS
Prof. Albert Einstein		112 Mercer St.Princeton, N.Jersey,U.S.A.
Aldous Huxley	Author	740 North Kings Rd. Los Angeles 46.Calif.
Dr. T. Kagawa	Author,Christian Minister President Japanese Consumers Federation.	603, Nichome Kami Kiyasawa, Tokyo, Japan.
Mrs Tomiko Wada Kora	Member Upper House of Japan.	808, 2 Chome, Shimo-Ochiai, Shinjiku-ku, Tokyo, Japan.
Prof. André Phillip		32, rue Calvaire, St. Cloud, Nr. Paris.
Mr. Halvard Lange	Min of Foreign Affairs	Parkveien 45, Oslo, Norway.
Senator E.A.Lindblom		Falun, Sweden.
Mr. Manilal Gandhi	Editor"Indian Opinion"	Phoenix, Nr. Durban, South Africa.
Lord Boyd Orr	Member House of Lords	House of Lords, London, S.W.1.
Dr. John C. Spencer	University Lecturer.	London School of Economics, Houghton St.WC2
Benjamin Britten	Composer	4, Crabbe St. Aldeburgh, Suffolk.
Peter Pears	Singer	4, Crabbe St. Aldeburgh Suffold.
Prof. Kathleen Lonsdale.	Prof. Chemistry.	121, Station Rd. West Drayton, Middx.
Lord Bertrand Russell	Author and Peer	House of Lords, London S W 1.
Lord Chorley		London School Economics,Houghton St.WC2
Dr. Margery Fry	Doctor of Law	48, Clarendon Road. W.11.
Prof. Norman Bentwich	formerly Prof.at Hebrew University Jerusalem	Hollycot, Vale of Health, London N.W.3.

Mr. Reginald Sorensen	Member Parliament.	38, Woodside Park Ave. London E.17.
Mr. Henry C. Usborne	Member of Parliament	House of Commons, London S.W.1.
Dr. Somerville Hastings	Surgeon(Ret.) M.P.	12, Westminster Palace Gdns. S.W.1.
Mr. A.W.J.Greenwood.	Member of Parliament	38, Downshire Hill, N.W.3.
Philip Noel Baker.	Member of Parliament.	16, S.Eaton Place, S.W.1.
Rector Ole Olden	Headmaster(Ret.)	Stavanger, Norway.
Diderich Lund	Civil Engineer, Director Norwegian Indian Development Project.	Tuengen Alle 9, Vinderen i Aker, Norway.
Prof. Lionel Penrose FRS	University Prof.	1, Rodborough Road, N.W.11.
Dame Sybil Thorndike,	Actress	98, Swan Court, Chelsea, S.W.3.
Christopher Isherwood	Writer	165, Mabery Rd, Santa Monica Calif. USA.
Prof Edmond Privat	Prof.l'Universit$ de Neuchatel. D.Lit.	3, Evole, Neuchatel, Switzerland.
Archdeacon Hartill	Archdeacon Stoke-on-Trent	The Rectory, Stoke on Trent.
Prof. L Massignon	Prof. Collège de France.	21 rue Monsieur, Paris Vll. France.
M. le Baron Allard		38, Avenue Emile Duray, Bruxelles,Belgium.
Rev. J.M.Finley	Past Chairman Canadian F.O.R.	11, Carlton St., Toronto, Ont. Canada.
Vera Brittain	Writer	121a Whitehall Court, S.W.1.
Prof. G.D.H. Cole	Prof Social&Political Theory, Oxford Univ:	Freeland, Holders Hill Rd, Hendon, NW4.
Dr. G.P.Gooch.	Author.	Upway Corner, Chalfont St. Peter, Bucks

Prof. John MacMurray	Prof. Moral Philosophy	10, Bright's Crescent, Edinburgh, 9.
Dr. C.E. Raven		Christ's College, Cambridge.
Dr. H.G. Wood	Chairman Woodbrooke Council, Formerly Prof. Theology&Dean Faculty of Arts.	Woodbrooke College, Selly Oak, Birmingham.
Pastor Niemöller	Kirchenpräsident	Wiesbaden, 3, Brentanostr. Germany.
Frau Helene Wessel	Fürsorgerin	An der Reichsbank 14.
Dr. Gustav Heinemann	Präses der Synode der Evangelischen Kirche in Deutschland	Essen, An der Reichsbank 14.
Prof. Iwand	Universitäts Prof. Für syst. evgl. Theologie.	Bonn, Wegelerstr. 2.
Prof. Bruno Snell	Professor	Universitat, Hamburg.
Prof. Rudolf Sieverts	Prof. Criminal Law, Criminology&Penology, Univ. of Hamburg.	Hamburg-Rissen, Rheingoldweg.
Prof. Dr. Johannes Ude.	Univ. Professor.	Bruhof 47, Grundlsee, Upper Austria.
Yonosuke Nakano,	Founder, Ananai-Kyo	International General H.Q. Shimisu City, Japan.
Dr. M. Sadayasu	Secretary W.R.I. Kyoto Branch.	Seigen-in, Ryoanji-temple, Ukyo-ward Kyoto, Japan.
Rev. J. Lavell Smith	Superintendent, The Church of All Nations	423, Queen St. W. Toronto, Ontario, Canada.
Frank Wood	Bishop of Middleton	8, Kersal Bank, Bury New Rd. Manchester 7.
J. Hatalmi (Rabbi Binjamin)		Beth Hama'aloth 4, Jerusalem.

Rev. Rafiq Farah.	Anglican Priest.	4, St. Luke St., or P.O. Box 1796, Haifa, Israel.
Prof Dr. Eng. Franz Ollendorf,		15, Hillel St., Haifa, Israel.
Elias N. Koussa,	Advocate.	51A, Abbas St., Haifa, Israel.

November 4, 1954

Dear Rusti:

Night before last we played a Paul Robeson album that I gave Doyt for our anniversary for the first time. (We've just got an old record-player in shape – the first time since our marriage that we've had one.) One of the songs was Balm in Gilead, which inspired me to get your records out and play them. We were both so moved, and so impressed with their excellence, that we wanted to write and tell you so. Doyt wonders if you play the lute much now. I hope so.

This morning when we got up (at 5 o'clock – can you imagine me? It still amazes me.) we found it was snowing, and the ground was white. It's still snowing heavily at 8:30, and shows no signs of a change. I love snow — what is it that makes a fall of snow and a white landscape seem like enchantment? [illegible] very

bad for Doyt, tho. We have really just gotten into harvesting, with only one field of corn finished, the soybeans hardly begun. From now on, Doyt says, he won't be able to do any of that unless the ground is frozen solid; so we must hope for a hard winter! Of course a very mild and dry one would do, but is very unlikely.

Do you or Arlo ever come this way? We'd love to have you stop if you do, and can put you up, one or both, very easily. Doyt says we'll promise not to call a meeting, but maybe that's not an inducement? I don't know if you have any WRL members here — we're close to Indianapolis, and would see to getting you back and forth. Please, both of you, keep us in mind, for we would love to see you.

Best from both of us —

Connie + Doyt

Alan too. I'm sending you a picture of him driving Doyt's tractor and the combine. Everybody works on a farm!

APT. 3 B 15 WEST 81ST STREET NEW YORK 24, N. Y.

May 23rd, 1955

Dear Bayard —

Here are the songs I told you about. I've included the part-song since it comes off quite well singing either of the top two lines, and playing the others.

Hope you have fun with them

Ed

American Shakespeare Festival

Theatre and Academy

Box Office • 1850 Elm Street, Stratford, Connecticut • EDison 7-4457
Administration • 823 Stratford Avenue, Stratford, Connecticut • EDison 7-2478
23 West 53rd Street, New York 19, N.Y. • CIrcle 7-7345

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Stratford
September 9th

Dear Bayard,

Arthur has kept me posted on your activities in town — the composite was impressive and should pull a lot of weight.

I wish I could feel that I was shaping public thought in some helpful direction — I suppose I can derive some satisfaction in feeling that I am at least <u>conditioning</u> some thinking.

The lute has been an immeasurable asset both to the festival and to me.

The American Shakespeare Festival Theatre and Academy of Connecticut was chartered as a non-profit educational institution by Special Act No. 227 of the 1951 General Assembly.
ALL CONTRIBUTIONS ARE TAX DEDUCTIBLE

I wish you could have seen some of the shows. Much Ado, a late starter, came across much better than either Caesar or Tempest. The lute and I were particularly conspicuous, with interpolated musical interludes of lute, flute, song, and clowning. I enclose a program.

I'll be in New York next week, and hope to see you before putting in two weeks on a special job in Washington. I'll phone you.

With much gratitude and congratulations,

God bless!

Don

THE AMERICAN SHAKESPEARE FESTIVAL

presents

A SPECIAL PRODUCTION OF

"MUCH ADO ABOUT NOTHING"

A Comedy by

William Shakespeare

with

FRANCIS BETHENCOURT — GWEN ANDERSON

ANTHONY KEMBLE COOPER

Directed by John Burrell

Scenery and Costumes by Robert Fletcher

Music Arranged by Donald Mörk

The Production Supervised by Lincoln Kirstein

CAST

LEONATO, Governor of Messina	*Bern Lenrow*
BEATRICE, his niece	*Gwen Anderson*
HERO, his daughter	*Rebecca Lombard*
ANTONIO, his brother	*Peter Donat*
DON PEDRO, Prince of Arragon	*Anthony Kemble Cooper*
BENEDICK, CLAUDIO — his followers	*Francis Bethencourt, Roger Hamilton*
DON JOHN, his bastard brother	*Casey Allen*
BORACHIO, CONRADE — henchmen to Don John	*Robert Geiringer, Walter Mathews*
MARGARET, URSULA — friends to Hero	*Dorothy Whitney, Pola Chasman*
BALTHAZAR, minstrel to Don Pedro	*Donald Mörk*
DOGBERRY, the local constable	*Rex Everhart*
VERGES, his deputy	*Jonathan Bush*
THE COURT CLERK	*Louis D'Almeida*
FRIAR FRANCIS	*Robert Hacha*
WATCHMEN	*Donald Mörk, Robert Hacha, Henry Southwick, Joseph Zeigler*
SERVANTS TO LEONATO	*Art Alisi, Thomas Daniels*

The action takes place in and around Leonato's garden in Messina, Sicily.

There will be one intermission of fifteen minutes

STAFF FOR THE AMERICAN SHAKESPEARE FESTIVAL

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THEATRE ARCHITECT	Edwin L. Howard
MASTER CARPENTER	Al Johnson
MASTER ELECTRICIAN	Eddie Dignam
STAGEHANDS	Walter Dzialo, Mario Fedelli, Cornelius Feeley
WARDROBE MISTRESS	Grace Rowsell

CREDITS

Scenery for "Much Ado About Nothing" built by Al Johnson, Walter Dzialo, Mario Fidelli, and Cornelius Feeley. Costumes Executed by Manhattan Costume Co. Fabrics by Dazian's. Lighting Equipment by Century Lighting, Inc. Warren Harlan, assistant to Mr. Fletcher. Dances rehearsed by Ania Romaine.

WHO'S WHO IN THE CAST

Francis Bethencourt (Benedick)

British-born, Mr. Bethencourt crossed the Atlantic to play in "Anne of the Thousand Days" and stayed to become a citizen. He made his debut in a London production of "The Recruiting Officer" and appeared in Gielguid's "Lady Windermere's Fan," "The Cherry Tree," "Partners in Crime," and others in the West End. After "Anne" Broadway saw him in "Dial M for Murder" and television viewers saw him in Maurice Evans' two-hour productions of "Hamlet" and "Richard II." A member of the Festival Academy's Professional Shakespeare Group directed by John Burrell, Mr. Bethencourt has also written successful TV scripts.

Gwen Anderson (Beatrice)

Born in Iowa, Miss Anderson started her performing career at nine in Children's Theatre in Des Moines. She served her adult apprenticeship at the Pasadena Playhouse, and won the title role in Brock Pemberton's Broadway production of "Janie" only two weeks after coming to New York. Her other Broadway appearances include "Decision," and "Mrs. Sykes" and she has been seen on major television drama hours, most notably as Louka in the Omnibus "Arms and the Man." Miss Anderson has worked this past year in the Festival Academy's Professional Shakespeare Group.

Anthony Kemble Cooper (Don Pedro)

Owner of an illustrious theatre name, Mr. Kemble Cooper believes he had an ancestor in Shakespeare's Globe Company. Although London-born, he never acted in England. He left a Wall Street brokerage house for the Broadway stage, where he has been seen in "Ten Little Indians," "Richard III," the Theatre Guild's "Mary of Scotland," and "Anne of England" among many other productions. He has acted on television in the Steel Hour, Kraft Theatre and Studio One. He has worked in the Academy's Professional Shakespeare Group this past year.

Bern Lenrow (Leonato)

An alumnus of Cornell, Mr. Lenrow made his N. Y. debut at the Provincetown Playhouse in "The Final Balance." He has taught Speech and Drama at Cornell, Hunter and Iowa State College. For over a decade he has been extremely busy on radio and TV, appearing most recently as Menelaus in the Omnibus "Iliad." This is his first appearance in Shakespeare and follows work in the Shakespeare Academy's Professional Shakespeare Group. He is also in the Festival production of "Julius Caesar."

Roger Hamilton (Claudio)

Born in San Diego, raised in England, Mr. Hamilton studied at the Royal Academy of Dramatic Arts, remaining in London to appear in "Dark of the Moon" and "The Great Adventure." He has toured here as Peter Quilp in "The Cocktail Party" and in "John Brown's Body," and appeared recently in New York in Clarence Derwent's "The Merchant of Venice." Seen last year as Malcolm in Maurice Evans' TV "Macbeth," Mr. Hamilton is of the Academy Professional Shakespeare Group and is also in the Festival productions of "The Tempest" and "Julius Caesar."

Casey Allen (Don John)

Mr. Allen, who teaches speech at the Festival Academy, has directed, stage managed, and written as well as acted on the stage, radio and TV. An alumnus of the University of Minnesota and the Pasadena Playhouse, he will be recognized by television watchers as the announcer of Omnibus and an actor on Studio One, Danger and the Philco Hour. He is a charter member of the Academy's Professional Shakespeare Group.

(For notes on Mr. Everhart and Mr. Burrell, see regular program)

4 Patchin Place

November 1 1956

Dear Mr Rustin--

many thanks for the enclosed periodicals,which(as it happens) are not for me;since I don't "feel to do"--as my friend Gaston Lachaise would say--anything even slightly ressembling propaganda, and so cannot accept your most kind invitation

--sincerely

E. E. Cummings

February 21, 1956

Mr. Carroll G. Bowen
Oxford University Press, Inc.
114 Fifth Avenue
New York 11, New York

Dear Carroll Bowen:

I was very sorry to miss you just prior to Christmas. I am wondering if Oxford University Press is still interested in my doing a short memoir. If so, I would like to talk the matter over with you.

Unfortunately, I can not do so within the next two weeks since I have just been called to Alabama to consult with the Negro leaders about the possibility of setting up a workshop, the purpose of which is to bring the Gandhian philosophy and tactic to the masses of Negroes in the South. I am afraid that nothing short of the adherence to non-violence on the part of the Negroes can save us from widespread racial conflict.

If Oxford is still interested, I will be back in New York for a short time in about two weeks.

Sincerely yours,

Bayard Rustin

BR/ms

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS, INC.
114 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 11, N. Y.
TELEPHONE: WATKINS 4-1200

Aye Beck

December 2, 1955

Mr. Bayard Rustin
Room 825
5 Beekman Street
New York 38, New York

Dear Mr. Rustin:

It has been two years since I wrote you asking after your writing plans within an eye to the possiblities of making a book of your experiences, something in the nature of a memoir. Because I did not pursue the matter, the project has nearly been dropped. Therefore, I am writing again, hoping to bring it up afresh.

Looking forward to hearing from you, I am

Sincerely yours,

Carroll Bowen

Carroll G. Bowen
Assistant Editor
Trade Editorial Department

CGB:EC

HOFSTRA COLLEGE
INTER-OFFICE MEMO

TO Rusty DATE 12/13/56

FROM Bob D.

Thanks again for the good talk (also the brief visit at 141-10).

Thought you might like to see your "press".

Bob

Miss Margaret Crain
Division of Christian Education
American Baptist Convention
Valley Forge
Pa

Recording - yours - the most moving I ever heard!

Margaret C.

Telephone: 72853

Telegrams: FILMEMORY

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ROOMS 301-307, TOP FLOOR
20 HAINES ROAD, MAHALAKSHMI
BOMBAY 11

Ref. No. 51/c/1868

September 18, 1953.

My dear Bayard,

I am much obliged to you for the gramophone records of 12 songs sung by yourself. This has just arrived and I will write to you again on playing it on a radiogram. One of these songs, viz., 'Were you there', I have heard sung by another group. In this connection I would like to request you kindly to send me the texts of all these 12 songs. We have seen by experience that it is difficult for us to follow the words of the songs in Western music. It will, therefore, be very helpful if you do me this further favour. By the by, is there a book available in which a collection of Negro spirituals is given? If so, I should like to purchase it for our library.

I hope your work is flourishing.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

Chandrashanker

Mr. Bayard Rustin,
Fellowship of Reconciliation,
21 Audubon Avenue,
New York 32, N.Y.

No. 274

GANDHI FILM COMMITTEE

(OF THE GANDHI NATIONAL MEMORIAL TRUST)

51/C 1468

To,

Bombay, 18-9-1953.

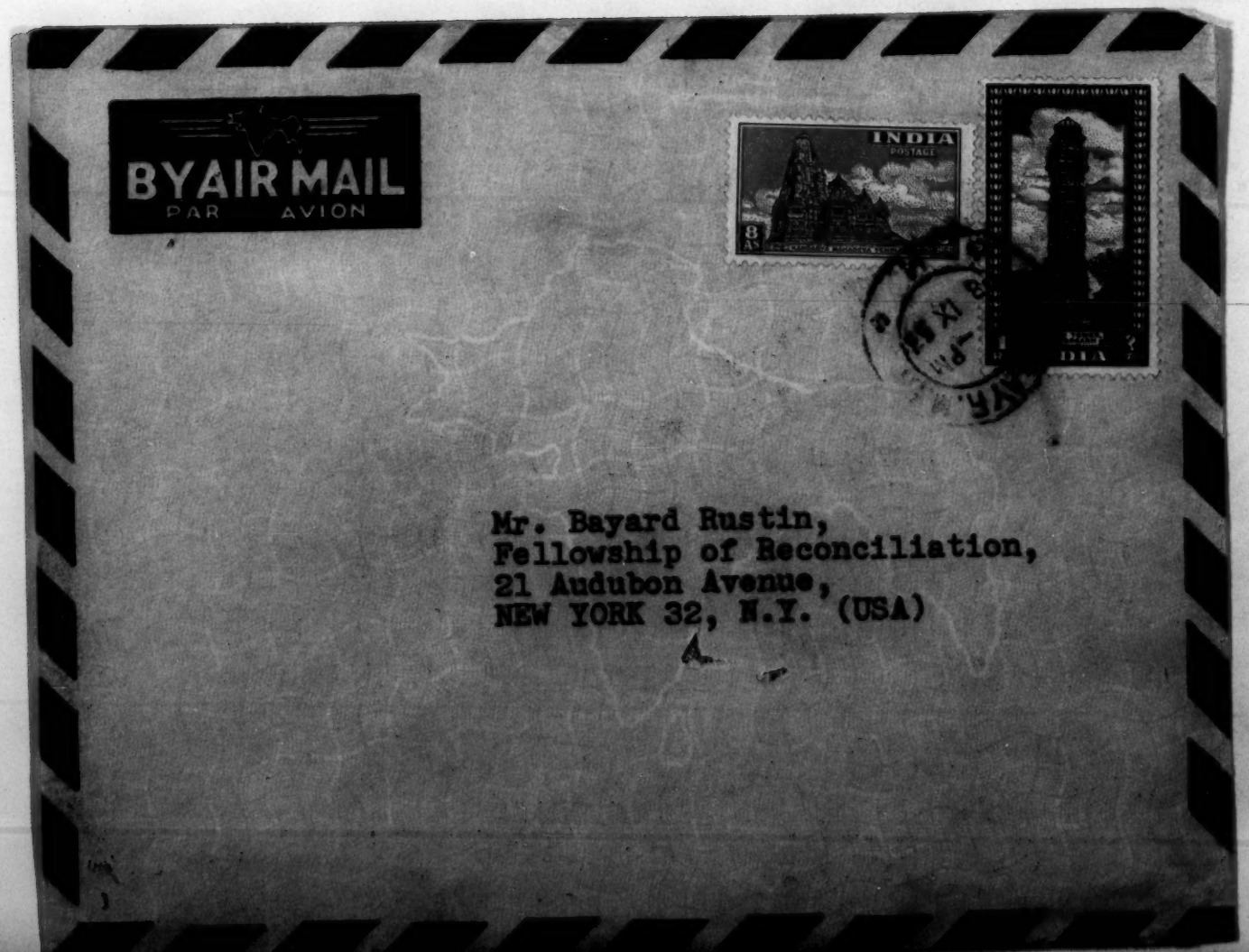
Mr. Bayard Rustin
New York

Sir,

This is to acknowledge receipt of the following articles from you:

No.	Article
1	Gramophone record of 12 songs sung by Yourself

Yours faithfully,
C. P. Bhavla
Secretary.



✓

Dear Russ —
I am sending this on to you. I have no other copy. Please see that Hefner gets a copy. If your mimeograph it. send me on
BB.

"IN FRIENDSHIP"
122 East 57th Street
New York 22, N. Y.
PLaza 5-7169

January 30, 1957

Memorandum
To: Mr. Bayard Rustin
From: Ella Baker

When I left Atlanta after the conference on Transportation January 11th, I went to Cleveland Mississippi for five days. While there I had the opportunity to visit a number of families on plantations and found a great deal of deprivation and suffering. In addition to the fact that the "houses" were nothing more than shacks with large holes in the floors and walls, the families with whom I talked were in many cases without any food and only the clothing that had been sent from this area by persons who attended the meeting at Community Church at which you spoke in the fall, and persons who had been directed to do so by "In Friendship". On the coldest day of the year, I saw youngsters with only a little shirt on and nothing else and a number of both small and large children with only one piece on.

I have names and addresses of families who had no clothing except what they are wearing, whose children have not gone to school because of lack of clothing and shoes, and whose only food is what has been given them from the Farm Surpluss Commodities Agency. This "food" consisted of some rice, bolted corn meal, cheese, and dried milk. The irony of this help is that when a family receives surpluss commodities it has to give to the commodities office the statement which has been received in settlement of his farm account for 1956. This means that a man no longer has a record of his annual settlement from the land owner and therefore is left without any basis for protest even if he desired to make one. Families who made as many as sixteen bales of cotton and received no more than $180 to $270 as furnishing from March 1st through harvest time ended the year with absolutely no cash and in some instances received bills of two-hundred or more dollars indebtedness to the landlord.

There is no doubt that these people are in great need of clothing and other assistance. While they are not victims of economic reprisal as a direct result of any position they have taken on civil rights issues, there is evidence to show that the landlords are "taking it out" on their tenants more this year than in previous years. In reality there is no clear line between the reprisals incurred because of civil rights action and the general economic squeeze to force Negroes out of the Delta and to destroy existing and potential leadership. No research is necessary to establish the fact that people who are without food and clothing are not likely subjects for leading an assault on segregation. Therefore, it seems to me that all that can possibly be done to provide these people with clothing and other assistance should be done with full recognition that this is an essential part of the struggle in the south today.

I personally visited nine families, and have detailed reports of the needs of ten others, and saw shack after shack that had been left vacant by those who had left the land at the end of 1956.

The following cases are typical:

<u>The Porters</u>

Family of twelve (12), (10 Children ages 17 years to 9 Mos.) Seven (7) are of school age. ---Raised sixteen (16) bales of cotton, picked by hand, which should have sold for $175 to $200 a bale. Received $45.00 a month for six months as "furnishing" —a total of $270. When statement for 1956 was received from landlord it only listed $232.28 as <u>balance</u> due landlord. This family had no clothing except what had been given to them through the Delta Farmers and Businessmen's Association. No food except surpluss commodities.

Very little wood --- and the baby with a "touch of pneumonia". School age children have not attended school this year. The six small children had on one thin cotton garment even in freezing weather, and the older ones were not much better. — Clark.

The Hobbs

A fifty-eight year old widower with six (6) children — ages 10 years to 3 years. Children sleeping on pile of rags with no cover, and little wood for heating -- all huddled in one room of the shack and the other room entirely bare. Absolutely no food in sight. No clothing except the few pieces that had been sent from New York to the Delta Farmers Association. Had made five (5) bales of cotton-and picked it all by hand. Received no money during the year except $30 a month for furnishing-for six months --- a total of $180. Had no extra bills with landlord except that one child was taken to the hospital to take a piece of glass out of his toe and this took less than an hour. At settling time, a statement was received listing no details but simply saying balance due $190.00. (To landlord, of course.)

CONFIDENTIAL: NOT FOR PUBLICATION COPY

"IN FRIENDSHIP"
122 East 57th Street
New York 22, N. Y.
Plaza 5-7169

January 30, 1957

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To: Mr. Bayard Rustin
From: Ella Baker

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I personally visited nine families, and have detailed reports of the needs of ten others, and saw shack after shack that had been left vacant by those who had left the land at the end of 1956.

The following cases are typical:

<u>The Porters</u> - Family of twelve (12), (10 children ages 17 years to 9 months.) Seven (7) are of school age. Raised sixteen (16) bales of cotton, picked by hand, which should have sold for $175 to $200 a bale. Received $45.00 a month for six months as "furnishing" - a total of $270. When statement for 1956 was received from landlord it only listed $232.28 as <u>balance</u> due landlord. This

family had no clothing except what had been given to them through the Delta Farmers and Businessmen's Association. No food except surplus commodities. Very little wood -- and the baby with a "touch of Pneumonia". School age children have not attended school this year. The six small children had on one then cotton garment even in freezing weather, and the older ones were not much better clad.

The Hobbs - A fifty-eight year old widower with six (6) children -- ages 10 years to 3 years. Children sleeping on pile of rags with no cover, and little wood for heating -- all huddled in one room of the shack and the other room entirely bare. Absolutely no food in sight. No clothing except the few pieces that had been sent from New York to the Delta Farmers Association. Had made five (5) bales of cotton - and picked it all by hand. Received no money during the year except $30 a month furnishing for six months -- a total of $180. Had no extra bills with landlord except that one child was taken to the hospital to take a piece of glass out of his toe and this took less than an hour. At settling time, a statement was received listing no details but simply saying balance due $190.00. (To landlord, of course.)

DOROTHY DAY GOES SOUTH COPY

Dorothy Day, editor of the Catholic Worker, 223 Chrystie St., New York 2, N.Y., recently made a trip through Southern States. In a letter to persons interested in the paper and St. Joseph's House she reported, in part:

"I have been traveling through the South, through Memphis where Helen and Jesse Riley live down an alley in a slum with the poor all around them, and where Helen has for five years run a little nursery for the colored of her neighborhood. She is married and having a baby herself now, but she will always be taking in others. There is always a Christ room in their house. I have visited the Blessed Martin de Porres Center in Greenwood, Mississippi, which is a center for the works of mercy, and there too I visited the homes of Negroes living in dire poverty, who, though they have raised and picked the cotton, have neither sheets nor towels nor the clothes they need, in the largest cotton producing state in the country.

"The legal battle against segregation is won, but the community battle goes on. 'It's as much as a man's life is worth to speak out,' one Negro said. I saw the crater-like scar in the windshield of one man's car where he had been shot at for writing a ballad about the death of Emmet Till. I talked to a Negro priest and people, to leaders and students, and they are standing firm through the poverty and persecution they endure to serve their people. The work the missions are doing is magnificent. But still fifty thousand people a year are leaving Mississippi, to come to the North, to the slums and unemployment of our cities, to swell the ranks of our breadlines."

American Friends Service Committee

INCORPORATED

New England Regional Office

P. O. Box 247

130 Brattle Street

Cambridge 38 Massachusetts

National Office

Chairman Henry J. Cadbury
Honorary Secretary, Clarence E. Pickett
Executive Secretary, Lewis M. Hoskins

Telephone, UNiversity 4-3150

Regional Office

Chairman, Louisa Alger
Executive Secretary, Robert A. Lyon
Finance Secretary, Herbert Huffman

February 12, 1957

Bayard Rustin
War Resisters League
5 Beekman Street
New York, N. Y.

Dear Bayard:

I am coming to New York again this week with a U. N. Seminar, and will give you a call on Thursday or Friday to see what's new. I am particularly interested in getting your judgment as to the next step in relation to getting someone from Montgomery to the Avon Institute. You will note by the enclosed announcement that we have Bill Worthy lined up. We are also, of course, very much interested in possible developments in Philadelphia that might make it possible for you to be there on a faculty basis.

I have appreciated the material you have sent us on the Delta area, and we are reprinting Ella Baker's memo. A stencil was run off here, but unfortunately some trouble developed with the mimeograph, so we've got to make another try. I'm returning the original. I also have the material you just sent on the National Sharecroppers Fund, and will make use of that. Our Executive Committee approved, Saturday, the shipment of 1,000 pounds of baby clothing to the Delta area. I am writing Amzie Moore directly to get his suggestion as to the best procedure on shipping, etc.

Maybe we can get together in New York late Thursday or Friday. Irene will be with me, and we will be staying at the Tudor Hotel. Some other good people from my Peace Committee will be there as well. And it would be wonderful if we could all get together with you for awhile, because I'd like some of the others to meet you. But let's see how things are for you.

As ever, your friend,

R

Russell Johnson
Peace Education Secretary

RJ:pdl
enc.

33

February 12th, 1957.

Dear Bayard:

I just received your letter today. What a bitter disappointment to me to hear you are not coming...what the hell happened? Your letter sounds like you are frozen up inside. Is it the same old story of your "past"? Who gave you the axe this time? Is there anything I can do from this end? I hope it didn't have anything to do with your not having an official invitation, but these are scarce as hen's teeth. I'm willing, however, to go down on my knees in the official circles in an old school try even though I don't think it would do much good.

There are many letters I have to write these days, so would you please transfer the following information to the Kings:

1. Mr. Gbedemah definitely assurexd me that Mrs. King was included in the invitation so that must have been an oversight.

2. I cannot say definitely where they will be staying, but probably it will be the new Ambassador Hotel. As far as a mailing address is concerned, they can receive all their mail at this office C/O The Minister of Finance who suggested their names.

3. Hints:

a) dress: An official notice has come around that the Duchess of Kent desires as simple clothing as possible in the afternoons and evenings(!)--at afternoon affairs men can wear lounge suits of tropical material if they prefer; women do not have to wear hats or gloves--if they wear gloves they do not have to be white, short afternoon party dresses are in order. In the evenings, either summer formal(white coat and black tie) or full dress, ladie's summer evening dresses are in order.

b) climate: this will probably be the hottest time of the year--and the driest.

c) health: the most effective drug on the market seems to be Arylen(or something like that) an American anti-malarial drug to be taken once or twice a week. It is difficult to get out here so have the Kings bring a good supply. (any they have left over they can leave with me.)

d) gifts: it might not be a bad idea to bring token gifts to their hosts, the Gbedemahs, say a nylon shirt(size 16 for him--sport or formal) and some flimsy thing for her (she's short and stout). Also something from the Negroes of America to be presented to the Prime Minister say, a replica of Savage's "Lift Every Voice and Sing" or a similar work of

art.

Incidentally, couldn't you guys get together and contribute towards a summer suit for me? I don't care much about going to the formal affairs, but my clothes are all worn out and I see that there are some good tough summer materials on the American market. I'd like one of a dark material size 37--waist 32, length 30. If you could do it, please send it by King as part of his wardrobe because the duty is terrific.

3. Please let me know when Ben Harry is coming, so I can be on hand to meet him... we've just successfully put the pressure on for a visa for Home Jack--I'm writing George in more detail. Incidentally, tell George that I'm going to do that tape with the Prime Minister tommrrow at 6:30PM and if there is no hitch it should be over there in about 10 days(I may be able to write him before the plane tomorrow. Tell Dan(when is he coming?), Ralph, Debbie, Paula that the baby girl was named Muriel. Maida Springer brought me Paula's greetings. Hope you'll loosen up in your next letter.

Love,

Bill

← First fold here →

BY AIR MAIL

AÉROGRAMME

AIR LETTER

BAYARD RUSTIN

RM 825, 5 BEEKMAN STREET

NEW YORK 38, NEW YORK

U.S.A.

← Second fold here →

Senders name and address:

SUTHERLAND

C/O MINISTER OF FINANCE, P.O. 1420

ACCRA, GHANA, WEST AFRICA

← To open cut here

AN AIR LETTER SHOULD NOT CONTAIN ANY ENCLOSURE; IF IT DOES IT WILL BE SURCHARGED OR SENT BY ORDINARY MAIL.

February 12, 1957

Amzie Moore
Farmer's and Businessmen's Association
614 Christman Street
Cleveland, Mississippi

Dear Amzie Moore:

Bayard Rustin has shared with us his concern for the need for clothing in the Delta area of Mississippi. Our office of the American Friends Service Committee has agreed this week to send 1,000 pounds of baby's and children's clothing to the Delta for use there. We understand that the Farmer's and Businessmen's Association is prepared to distribute this clothing to those who need it most. We have just read a memorandum from Ella Baker describing her visit with all of you, and the distribution of clothing in which she participated.

If you can give us any special information on clothing needs, and also advise us as to exactly where it should be shipped, how much of it you can use at a time, and what kind of storage facilities you have, this will help us in interpreting to our Committee here the real need and opportunity for service which is presented. We may also be able to arrange for larger shipments from the Greensboro office of the A.F.S.C.

I will hope to hear from you at your earliest convenience. You have many friends in this part of the country who are anxious to do all they can to help.

Very sincerely,

Russell Johnson
Peace Education Secretary

RJ:pdl
c.c. Bayard Rustin

Southern Negro Leader's Conference
Meeting February 14, 1957
New Zion Baptist Church
2319 Third Street
New Orleans, Louisiana

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

97 Negro Leaders from 35 communities in 10 southern states met today in New Orleans to answer President Eisenhower's stated inability to come south to speak out for law and order.

The basic action of the Conference is contained in the following telegrams sent to President Eisenhower, Vice President Nixon, Attorney General Brownell, Senator Hennings and Congressman Cellers.

SOUTHERN NEGRO LEADERS CONFERENCE

February 14, 1957

New Zion Baptist Church
2319 Third Street
New Orleans,Louisiana

Telegrams sent to
following:
Feb. 14,1957
3:P.M.

1.) Senator Thomas C.Hennings
Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights
Senate Office Building
Washington,D.C.

2.) Congressman Emmanuel Cellers
House Office Building
Washington,D.C.

In connection with the Hearing on Civil Rights legislation, we sincerely urge that your committee immediately conduct some sessions in the South, in those communities where violence has been directed toward Negro citizens who merely seek their rights under the American Constitution.

We address this appeal to you because we believe your subcommittee can get facts in this first hand manner that will clearly indicate to congress the urgent need to enact a vigorous Civil Rights program if order is to be maintained and justice upheld for all me, regardless of color in the South.

We are certain that such hearings would be of very real importance to congress in support of legislation designed to establish constitutional rights for many in the South of both races.

May we hear from you at your earliest convenience.

Sincerely,

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Rev.E.L.Shutlesworth,
Mobile,Ala.

Rev.T.J.Jemison,Baton Rouge,La.

Rev.K.Steel,Tallahasse,Fla.

Rev.A.L.Davis,New Orleans,La.

For: Southern Negro Conference

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Meeting, February 14,1957
New Zion Baptist Church
2319 Third Street
New Orleans,Louisiana

Telegram sent at 3:P.M.
February 14,1957
Thomasville,Georgia

Dear Mr.President:

Permit us to acknowledge receipt of the White House communication of January 18,1957, stating your inability to schedule an address in the south to encourage the maintainence of law and order as requested by the Southern Negro Leaders Conference on January 11,1957.

We pointed out in our letter to you that lawlessness was becoming a deeply disturbing feature of the daily life of our communities. Violence has continued to erupt by night and by day. It has grown to alarming proportions. Some of the acts of violence would be unbelievable were the grim ruins not mute testimony. Under the cover of darkness, dynamite bombs have been exploded in our churches and the homes of our ministers and citizens. We have been compelled to post unarmed gaurds nightly to protect our church property. We are no longer faced with sporatic violence, but with what appears to be an organized campaign of violence and terror.

Against this shocking background, we have met in New Orleans to consider your response to our request.

While we are sensitive to the burden of your responsible office, we are aware that human life and orderly, decent conduct of our communities are at stake. These imperative considerations make it difficult for us to accept as final your message that you cannot make a speech in the South at this time. It is our sincere belief that action on your part at this moment can avert tragic situations by cooling passions fostering reasonableness, and encouraging respect for law. In saying this, we are not unmindful of the immense responsibility of your office in the conduct of our national and international affairs. However, morality like charity, begins at home. Here at home, as we write, we are confronted with a breakdown of law, order, and morality. This condition is a sinister challenge and a threat to government by law. It calls for drastic and remedial action.

The flouting of the Supreme Court decisions serves not only to deprive a part of our citizenry of its rightful privleges but even more, it weakens the fabric of our democratic society for all citizens, Negro and White. The unleashing of violence against individuals who peacefully pursue justice, against Christian clergyman, and againt the House of God are unspeakable crimes. They arouse the conscience of all honorable Americans to compel an end to those outrages as proff of their devotion to democratic and spiritual ideals.

To this end,

1. We implore you to re-examine your decision not to

speak out to the south on the question of law and order.

2We further urge you to call a White House Conference on the maintainence of law and order similar to those held earlier on Education and Juvenile Delinquency. We beleive such a conference can help develop in the South and in the nation an orderly growth toward Civil Rights.

We ask you to do these things because our people, though resolute and courageous, cannot be expected forever to be targets for rifles, shot-guns, and for bombs, particularly when our women and children are brought within range of those deadly weapons. We know that if a halt is put to these terroristic practices, our appeals for non-violent Christian behavior will come into serious question by those whose frustration it has already been difficult to contain.

We believe your inability to come south is a profound disappointment to the millions of Americans of goodwill, North north and south, who earnestly are looking to you for leadership and guidance in this period ofinevitable social change.

Mr.President, we urge you to give democratic leadership to the confused citizens of the south and the nation in this critical hour. We implore you to enunciate whether in the North or South an Eisenhower Doctrine for Democracy at Home.

In the absence of some early and effective remedial action, we shall have no moral choice but to lead a Pilgrimage of Prayer to Washington. If you, our president cannot come south to relieve our harrassed people, we shall have to lead our people to you in the capital in order to call the nations attention to the violence and organized terror directed toward man women and children who merely seek freedom and first class citizenship of goodwill from across the nation will undoubtly join in such a pilgrimage for freedom and human dignity.

Mr.President, we prayerfully urge you to give early and serious consideration to the two requests we have made in this letter, for the violence our people face by day and in the dark of each night, makes it imperative that we hear from you at your earliest convience.

Respectfully yours;

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For: The Southern Negro Leaders
Conference

SOUTHERN NEGRO LEADERS CONFERENCE

Meeting February 14,1957

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2319 Third Street
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Telegram sent at 3:P.M.
February 14,1957

Attorney General Herbert Brownell
Department of Justice
Washington,D.C.

Dear Mr.Brownell:

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In this connection, we were elated with your statement in Washington a few days ago to effect that 165 years is far too long a period for Negroes to have sought justice. We were further impressed with your public support of the Civil Rights legislation now pending before congress.

There appears to be a wide discrepancy between your public statements and the manner in which some of the District Attorney's are inclined to act in the matter of prompt enforcement of Court decrees. (Of particular instance is your pronouncement that bus Segregation laws are dead letter and unenforceable in view of the Supreme Court Decision, and the lack of federal initiative and leadership in this area in the south).

We therefore, feel that it is urgent not only to meet with you, but also to ask you to invite all Southern district attorneys to join in this meeting. In this manner existing discrepancies can be cleared up, and a positive approach can be gained toward enforcement decrees.

Since there is every reason to believe that Federal District Courts in the South will extend Intergration into several areas, we believe that such a Conference should be had without further delay.

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For: Southern Negro Leaders Conference

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February 14,1957
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Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr.Nixon:

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Meantime, we note that you have been chosen to represent the United States government at the gold coast Independence Celebration March 6th, when that first Negro country in Africa receives its freedom from colonial domination.

We are convinced that you will better be able to represent America's defense of justice and freedom at the celebration, if prior to your leaving for Africa on March 6th, you arrange for the fact-finding trip we have proposed into the South.

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For: Southern Negro Leaders Conference

SOUTHERN NEGRO LEADERS CONFERENCE

Thurs. Feb. 14, 1957

NEW ZION BAPTIST CHURCH

2319 Third Street

THE REV. A. L. DAVIS, JR., MINISTER

TENATIVE AGENDA

Morning

10:30 -12:30	----	(a) Worship ---- Rev. F. L. Shuttlesworth (b) Welcome ---- Rev. A. L. Davis, Jr. (c) Opening Remarks - Rev. M. L. King (d) General Working Session On Communications (e) Mass Meeting

AFTERNOON

12:30 - 1:00	Free Time and Committees
1:00 - 2:00	Lunch: New Zion Baptist Church
2:00 - 2:30	Free Time and Committees
2:30 - 4:00	(a) Organizational Business (b) Approval of Press Release
4:00 - 4:45	Press Conference
5:00 - 8:00	Supper - Free Time - Committees
8:00 - 10:00	Mass Meeting - New Zion Baptist Church

Southern Negro Leader's Conference
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For: Southern Negro Leaders Conference

February 19, 1957

Amzie Moore
Farmer's and Businessmen's Association
614 Christman Street
Cleveland, Mississippi

Dear Amzie:

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It was awfully good to see you in New Orleans. Give my regards to Ruth.

Sincerely,

Bayard Rustin

BR:sd

cc. to Ella Baker

February 19, 1957

Mr. E. D. Nixon
647 Clinton Avenue
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Nick:

I am sorry to say that we have run into some serious trouble in finding a banquet hall for the dinner we had hoped to have on Wednesday, February 27th. This creates some problems for getting the publicity out and we have therefore had to postpone the dinner. When it will be possible to re-schedule it I do not know; however, I shall let you know. It will probably not be until late April now.

This requires that I have another chat with Mr. Randolph concerning your meeting with us about the voting clinics. I suppose the 27th is still okay with him and if not I will let you know however the new situation will require getting you here in another way since the organization can not take the responsibility for the expenses until the banquet time and I assume you need to have the voting clinic conference as soon as possible.

write

write

BALTIMORE
COMMITTEE ON RACIAL EQUALITY

1900 BARCLAY STREET
BALTIMORE

1830 Westwood Avenue
Baltimore 17 Maryland
April 24, 1957.

Bayard Rustin
Beekman Street
New York N.Y.

C

Dear Bayard:

Baltimore Chapter of CORE is planning a public meeting on Sunday, June 9th, to be held, we hope, at Homewood Friends Meeting. The event marks the culmination of this year's work and the beginning of a new year with our new slate of officers. There is an important and pressing need of reviewing in a telling way the basic philosophy of CORE and its meaning in the present national and local picture.

O

CORE's Education Committee feels that there is no one we know who could fill this need as you can, with your spiritual insight and years of experience. We would like so much to have you as our guest speaker for this occasion.

If it is possible for you to add this to what we know is a crowded schedule, let us know the honorarium, so that our committee can complete its budget.

R

Best wishes for a healthful and happy spring.

As ever,

Adah Jenkins.

E

203 West 107th Street
New York 25, NY
May 20, 1957

A. J. Muste
American Forum

Dear A. J.:

For twenty years I have advocated nonviolent means for achieving social and economic progress. My basic convictions are neither secret nor obscure. Thousands of people are acquainted with them. You know them well.

As a pacifist and Quaker exponent of Gandhian nonviolence I am in principle convinced that violence is self defeating under any and all conditions. I am opposed to totalitarianism in all its forms and believe that communist and other political parties can bring neither peace nor security to mankind until they renounce dependence on violence. I have therefore steadfastly refused to join in united action with the communist or any other political party.

At the same time I believe in civil liberties for all in a democracy. I have thus engaged in discussion and debate with representatives of numerous parties and groups with whom I have basic disagreement. I am convinced of the power of truth in open contest of ideas. In such discussion I have been free to state that the philosophy of nonviolence is the sound spiritual approach to the terrifying problems of our nuclear age.

It therefore follows that although I cannot engage in united action with communist and many other groups at this time, I do feel free to discuss and debate with them, publically and privately, any issues confronting contemporary society.

When the American Forum was proposed, its purpose was specifically defined and limited to debate and discussion. It explicitly excluded any united political action in its program. I therefore joined it.

However, in its initial presentation of the Forum to the public, the press created the distortion that the Forum's purpose was to provide a new political action group for the Communist Party. In the present climate of fear and political conformity, this distortion has done grave injury to work I am doing in another area. I defend my action in standing for free discussion in America today, but I must reluctantly withdraw completely from the American Forum.

In resigning I deplore the distorted misrepresentation of the American Forum's purpose. I do not for a moment question the sincere desire of those individuals who remain in it to keep the market place of ideas free. I take this step solely to refrain from compromising in the eyes of a confused public those with whom I am currently associated in other very important endeavors.

Sincerely,

Bayard Rustin.

DOUBLEDAY & COMPANY, INC., 575 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 22

MURRAY HILL 8-5300

Called

July 22, 1957

Mr. Bayard Rustin
War Resisters League
5 Beekman Place
New York, N. Y.

Dear Bayard:

Do you have any word on the Martin Luther King book project?

I would, of course, rejoice to hear that the book was written, but if this is not the case, then I feel I must keep in touch with him, seeing him fairly regularly, if I am to do all I can to help him to produce a book which can be distributed to maximum effect. Do you not agree?

I will be at the N.Y.A. meeting at Silver Bay from Friday, July 26th, to Friday, August 2nd. I gather from the War Resisters League office that you are not likely to be there. If, however, you are in New York and could call my secretary, Mrs. Bennetts, and tell her what the position is, however dim or bright it may be, and whether you have any advice to offer, then I'd be grateful.

Yours sincerely,

Clement

Clement Alexandre

CA/cb

core CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY

A National Federation of local interracial groups working to abolish racial discrimination by direct, nonviolent methods.

38 Park Row COrtlandt 7-1076 New York 38, New York

July 30, 1957

Dear Bayard:

I intended to write you while you were in London, but never got around to do it.

I would like to see you as soon as possible to see whether any connection between your work and CORE can be worked out. From our earlier conversation, I would think that some connection other than field organizer might be possible if the major portion of your time is actually to be spent with Martin Luther King.

At this point, of course, I am not guaranteeing that CORE's National Committee would necessarily go along with what we work out or suggest. And I would not be surprised if your position re WRL, Liberation, and Martin King is still undecided too.

But I think the sooner we can discuss the whole matter the better.

My home phone is OR 4-6250. I shall be in after 9:30 Wednesday evening, July 31. If you cannot call then, I shall try to reach you at the WRL office after 4:30 and before 5:00 Thursday, August 1.

Calls to my home phone up to midnight any night are o.k. or between 7:30 and 8:00 in the morning. It is possible that I shall be off work on Thursday in which case I shall try to contact you during the day.

Hope things work out for you and for CORE whether or not we can get together on anything now.

In haste,

James R. Robinson

James R. Robinson
Finance Secretary

Spec. Delivery

JRR/jrr

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Gordon Carey, *Vice-Chairman*
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Ralph O. Blackwood
408½ Fourth Street
Hutchinson, Kansas

Lula Farmer, *Treasurer and Group Coordinator*
James Peck, *CORElator Editor*
James R. Robinson, *Finance Secretary*

7

October 10, 1957

Mr. Jackie Robinson
Vice-President, Personnel
Chock Full O'Nuts
425 Lexington Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Robinson:

In keeping with your request by telephone this morning, I am sending you this letter outlining in some detail the aims, purposes and sponsorship of the City Hall demonstration in support of the Sharkey-Brown-Isaacs Bill.

The demonstration is planned for Wednesday, October 23, from noon until 1:30. We have chosen this time to insure at least 2,000 people.

An ad hoc committee composed of a number of labor, church, NAACP, civic and fraternal groups has been established to sponsor this demonstration under the name Committee for Immediate Action on the Sharkey-Brown-Isaacs Bill.

Following is a partial list of sponsoring groups:

Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, AFL-CIO
District 65, United Retail Wholesale & Department Store Union, AFL-CIO
Bronx NAACP
Brooklyn NAACP
Jamaica NAACP
New York NAACP
Committee of Racial Equality (CORE)
Americans for Democratic Action (New York)
American Jewish Congress, Metropolitan Chapters
Grace Congregational Church
Inter-denominational Ministers Alliance
Mid-Harlem Community Parish

Flushing NAACP

Mr. A. Philip Randolph has agreed to act as an advisor to this ad hoc committee and the purpose of this note is to ask you to join him in this capacity.

Rev. Eugene Callender is chairman of the Committee, and Dr. William Herbert King is assisting him.

The budget for carrying out this project is being raised by contributions from the sponsoring organizations. We are not asking you or Mr. Randolph to take any financial responsibility whatsoever.

We sincerely hope that you will see your way clear by lending your name, which we are convinced will be most helpful in encouraging the citizens of New York to take seriously their responsibility to eliminate segregated housing, which has far-reaching effects on the lives of millions of citizens.

It is urgent that we hear from you at your earliest convenience since time requires that we get our letterhead, leaflets and other promotional materials before the public as soon as possible.

Sincerely yours,

Bayard Rustin

Bayard Rustin
for the Committee for Immediate Action
on the Sharkey-Brown-Isaacs Bill

BR/jrr

BAYARD RUSTIN - CORRESPONDENCE 1958

962 Ordway
Albany, California
January 28, 1958

Dear Bayard--

Have given just about every available minute since talking with you to try to get this music copied to send you. Still have a couple of other things I might send, but can't get them ready now. Have made two copies so the vocalist and accompanist can both see the music. Sorry for the occasional bad luck with ink eradicator, but hope they're all legible.

I am constantly trying to work these over and make improvements, and this is why I had a lot of revising to do on the old copies I had. I think I have them corrected up to the point where I now am, in my thinking about them --- but maybe there are better approaches and treatments which will come later.

Being a beginning composer, I find that I have learned quite a bit in the process of writing these --- but I still have a lot to learn, and I have no illusions about my present skill. I had only a year of college harmony and not very much piano background -- and no vocal training whatever, so I have "a long way to go."

On the positive side I have performed a lot of good music when I played trumpet with the Columbus Philharmonic under Izler Solomon (now with the Indianapolis Symphony) and with various chamber music groups, playing violin, viola, and cello -- after a fashion.

Our two years in Marion and one year at Fisk gave me the background for some understanding of "spirituals" -- and working with two different "Mothersinger" groups since we moved here has increased my understanding of vocal possibilities and problems.

As you know, I wrote "My Feet are Tired" (now called "Walking for the Glory of the Lord") for Coretta to sing for that concert in New York. I worked out the accompaniment while visiting my father in Indiana during November, but I had the melody line before we left Montgomery that summer when a group of us from here visited.

I sang it for her in the car as we traveled to Marion, and she later wrote and asked me to send it to her. It was her idea to use it in New York, not mine, and she later sang it on nearly every occasion -- A tlanta, Chattanooga, Gary, etc., etc. I also wrote "Little Children, Don't Cry" while I was in Indiana in November, but I don't believe she has ever used this.

All of the other songs resulted from Martin's visit to California last spring. In other words, they were "inspired" by his words, and writing them was more an act of "receiving" them. I suppose all would-be composers feel that their songs are "given" to them -- but rightly or wrongly, this is the way it seems, and with the gift comes a feeling of obligation to explore all possible ways of sharing whatever of truth and beauty may be found in them.

This is why I am so hopeful that you will be able to interest Leontyne Price or Carol Brice or someone in looking them over --- as well as Jonathan Brice to check the accompaniments. Even if they don't like them, their comments will be of help to me as I continue writing. (Seems like I can't turn it off.)

I only began trying to compose a little over two years ago, and I have now about 35 things which have been performed, 12 for solo voice and 23 for group. Most of these songs are supposed to be humorous -- these I am sending you are really my first attempt at anything of a more "serious" nature. Some of these songs have been done about 15 or 20 times, some only once, but they have been tested by such critical groups as the executives of the community chests and councils of northern and central California and the Berkeley branch of the California Writers' Association. Songs we did for these groups and other community chests and PTA's are about life as a community volunteer, life in the PTA, life as a parent, life as a writer, etc.

Thus far, I have never submitted anything for publication, because I haven't really felt ready. I hope very much, though, to try for publication with the setting of Langston Hughes' poem, because I think it's a great poem and I believe my setting is basically one which serves the text. When I feel more satisfied that the various technical aspects are refined sufficiently, I plan to send it off.

As I mentioned to you, I sent him a copy this fall, and he wrote that he liked it and hoped it would achieve publication. He also gave permission to publish it under the title of "No Crystal Stair" so that it might be sung more appropriately by male singers, if any should want to.

As I also told you, I have copyrighted these songs ---the spirituals under registration #497983 as a song cycle. There are two other songs included in this copyright - "They Say the Time's Not Ripe" and "The Eyes of the World", but I don't have the arrangements worked out to the point where I could send them to you yet. I have a separate copyright, with Langston H ughes (#497984) on the Mother to Son poem.

I have pencilled in a possible grouping of the songs I am sending you were they to be presented as a song cycle entitled Walk to Freedom. I. Walk to Freedom II. We Still Have a Long Way to Go III. Little Children Don't Cry IV. Keep Movin' Along V. Walking for the Glory of the Lord.

Possibly 3 and 4 might be interchanged. Using this order, the keys would go F, G minor, F, E-D-C, and G. I am sending two slightly different versions of Little Children Don't Cry--- two copies of #1 and one copy of #2. #1 has a straight line melody approach, and although I know singers aren't fond of this, I still think it could sound well with good pure tones and a sensitive projection of the words and thought.

Now concerning the use of these songs publicly --- for instance in connection with the movie, as you mentioned over the phone. Of course, you may decide after hearing them that they won't be suitable -- or you may want to use perhaps one or two --- or you might have time to try out the whole sequence (if it seems like one to you.....)

I have only two thoughts about this possibility. The first is this: I can't remember what group or organization or occasion this was for, but there may be some groups with which you work which might have a more "radical" (for want of a better word) approach to problems than I share. As you know, we are Quakers and FOR members; and groups which work in the non-violent and Quakerly way are the kind I would prefer to have these tested in . I may be wrong about this, but I would rather wait for such an occasion, rather than have the songs identified with a group or a singer or an occasion which wasn't in keeping with my general outlook.

To be specific, I would be very grateful to have someone like Paul Robeson sing these songs privately, so that I might have the benefit of his knowled ge as a musician and a singer, but I would rather not have him introduce them. (Of course, he might not be at all interested, but this is just to explain what I mean.) Naturally, if they ever get published, I won't have anything to say about who sings them -- but meanwhile since I wrote them because they are an expression of my deepest feelings and because, as I said, I have a sense of being at the same time more of a recipient than a creator, I want very much that they be used in the service of the "causes" which I believe to be important.

Actually, since they were inspired by the Montgomery situation and Martin and Coretta in particular, and since I wrote them with her in mind, I would most of all like for her to sing them --- but if the demands of motherhood prevent her concertizing --or if she isn't able or willing to use them for whatever other reasons --- then of course I would be grateful to anyone else who would use them. (Well, almost anyone....)

This may seem like making a mountain out of a molehill, but I also wonder about presenting these songs (again I say <u>if</u> you feel they would be suitable---) in such a way that it would not be considered a New York "premiere." Although some of them have been tried out around here, we have announced that it was only a sort of test run,--not a real performance,--so I don't consider that any of these has really been performed and premiered with the exception of MY Feet areTired. If Carol Brice or even Leontyne Price or anyone else you can get to sing them through should happen to want to use one of these songs in a performance, then of course that would be fine. But if someone on the level of the singers in our Mothersinger group, for instance ----competent and sensitive, but yet not an artist--- should make the "premiere" and then one of the others should eventually be willing to do this---well, I'm lost in dashes and clauses, but you see what I mean. Maybe I'm all wrong here. Maybe I should just forget that and let the chips fall where they may. I'm sure you know more about this angle than I---but at least now you know I at least wonder about it.

(over)

In a way I know that composers can't afford to be too choosy---the important thing is to get your work heard. But on the other hand, these thoughts occur. Actually, since the songs are rather "specialized" material, the spirituals may not appeal to very many regular singers. I still feel someone like Coretta singing them would multiply their effectiveness, even though she might not bring the training and quality to the job that someone else could. (I mean like Price — I imagine Coretta sounds good but I haven't heard her.)

Do you know a singer named Betty Allen? I think that's the right name. Her husband, Ed (Ritten) Lee is another of our former students from Marion. He's the guy who sang the lead in our high school production of Ballad for Americans. Leonard DePaur's wife, Louise, is also a student from there, and she was with us in Berkin in 1951-52. (P. S. She can't sing!)

Well, sorry this is so long and involved---but it's the 2nd version at that. I finished #1 yesterday but found that the post office had closed, so I gave it another try today. If I haven't said things quite right, please excuse,---and if I seem all confused on my "reservations" about public use of these, I will be glad to know your thinking on the subject.

And of course, I'll be most grateful for any effort you may have time and opportunity to make to bring these songs to the attention of any singer, player, or musician whose reactions would help me learn how to "do better." And thanks for calling me the other day. Who pays your phone bills?

Cecil says hi.--

Bram

BAYARD--Attached is the reply to Wilkins, which evolved through a complicated series of events: 1958

1. Stan sent me a draft which was written in style so unlike mine that it was out of the question for me to sign it.

2. I wrote him this and offered him 2 alternatives:
   a. that HE send his own letter as he had drafted it.
   b. that he list the points you and he wanted to make IN OUTLINE FORM (1, 2, 3, etc.) and that I would draft the letter.

3. He chose b. and the result is this letter, which I cleared with him before sending out.

552 Riverside Dr.
New York 27, N.Y.
Jan. 26, 1958

Dear Roy Wilkins,

I am not one to prolong a discussion endlessly. However, the issues you raise in your reply to my letter regarding your talk at the South African protest rally are so important that I am writing you again.

As you stated, the boycott is a method which should be used skillfully. The reason the Baton Rouge boycott failed was not a reflection on the technique's effectiveness; it was because Baton Rouge did not have the skillfull leadership which Montgomery had. You mention the Chicago "Don't Spend Where You Can't Work" campaign as exemplifying the inadequacy of boycott. I am not familiar with the Chicago campaign but I can vouch for the success of a similar campaign on New York's 125th Street. The boycott is an effective method of protest deeply rooted in our history and going back to the Stamp Act and the Boston Tea Party.

If, as you stated "the official public policy of the NAACP is not to advocate boycotts," this policy should be changed forthwith and you should take the initiative in so doing. I say this in view of your reply to a letter I wrote you early in 1957 protesting NAACP's non-support of Montgomery in the first months prior to the mass arrests. You answered that while NAACP could not support the boycott officially, it did so indirectly and to prove the point you enclosed a newspaper clipping citing an "anonymous" $1000 donation to Montgomery.

But our basic difference, I believe, is not over the boycott per se but over the long-standing NAACP policy of limiting its sphere of action to the legal and educational. You say "with all the magnificent dividends of the Montgomery effort counted in, the objective of desegregated bus transportation was not attained until a court test case was filed and won by plaintiffs served by NAACP lawyers."

While the court case was a factor, it certainly was not the major one in the Montgomery situation. Without the peoples' protest action, the buses would still be segregated despite the court case--just as interstate buses in the south remain segregated despite the Supreme Court.

NAACP should bring its policy abreast of the times so that it would endorse not only the boycott but other forms of non-violent protest which have proved so effective in combatting racial discrimination. If NAACP does not do this, some other organization (or organizations) may well have to develop to fulfill this need. You mention how "the Tallahasse bus boycott sort of raveled away." Thiswould not have occurred had it received the nation-wide support which an organization like NAACP can mobilize.

Having worked for 12 years in this field and being a lifetime NAACP member, I feel very strongly on these matters. I hope you will give them your most serious consideration.

Sincerely,

James Peck

February 7, 1958

Dear Steve,

Enclosed you will find a copy of a letter to the Reynolds Foundation. You no doubt recall our telephone conversation recently in California.

I've been down here having some extended conversations with Martin and working on the Crusade described above. If you will return the Foundation letter to me with any comments you have I shall see that the revised form is then sent to the Foundation.

I have some questions: To whom should the letter be sent? What is his or her address? You spoke of our possibly having a talk with the Foundation representatives after Martin's letter had been received. What is your present inclination in this regard? Finally, am I to assume that you arrange for the meeting with them at the proper time?

May I hear from you soon?

Sincerely,

ALDERMASTON MARCH COMMITTEE

Supported by the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament and in Association with the Hydrogen Bomb Campaign Committee and the Committee for Direct Action Against Nuclear War.

3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.
Telephone: STAmford Hill 2262

2nd April 1958

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George Pargiter, MP
John Rankin, MP
Julius Silverman, MP
John Stonehouse, MP
Stephen Swingler, MP
George Thomas, MP
Konni Zilliacus, MP

Dear Bayard Rustin,

The meeting on Bank Holiday Monday starts at 3.15 p.m. in the field opposite the Falcon Inn, Aldermaston. This field is on the south side of the plant on the Newbury side of the main gates, and near the entrance to the Atomic Weapons plant, police will be on duty to direct traffic.

Speakers should come to the Co-op van parked in the middle of the field. The time-table of the meeting is as follows:

1) Chairman - Sydney George Conbeer (8 mins)
2) Stuart Morris (15 mins)
3) Bayard Rustin (15 mins)
4) Stephen Swingler (15 mins)
5) Dr. Niemoller (30 mins)
6) Harold Steele (8 mins)

Speakers are asked to make every effort not to overstep the time allotted to them as marchers have several miles still to go in order to catch the train from Aldermaston.

Yours sincerely,

Pat Arrowsmith
Organising Secretary

Remarks by Bayard Rustin at Trafalgar Square (An American Negro, introduced as one who helped the ketch project and the Walk for Peace from Philadelphia to New York.)

When first invited to take part in this meeting this morning I almost declined. Then I realized that it was quite appropriate that I should come, for this is really a human problem which is only going to be solved when we act as humans should. In the United States there is a great deal more going on than most people would gather from what the Press report in Britain, or what is reported in the American Press. Four men in a ketch - costing about 50 thousand dollars to get them out there - taking the view that, come what may, even if they are burnt to death they are going to sail into the test area if they can possibly make it, as a protest of the best in humanity - Russian, English, French, as well as American.

I think there is a new situation in international affairs. We are not going to solve this problem because people try to preserve their way of life. What is the American, or British or Russian way of life? We must first begin by having life, and not annihilating ourselves. We are not going to settle this problem while we go on acting as nations within the power struggle in our own interests. There must be an act of faith, which is a dangerous act - the danger of behaving creatively. There must be unilateral action by a single nation, come what may. There must be no strings attached, and we must be prepared to take the danger of it. This is what we are asking our nation to do. There are thousands of people in the United States who are prepared to stand behind this, and Mr. Dulles does not speak for the best in the United States.

Our problem basically is not so different from that of millions in the world. We cannot find political expression in Washington. This means there must be a new responsibility amongst people, and nothing short of a social organization of personal responsibility will do it. We must use our bodies in direct action, non-cooperation, whatever is required to bring our Government to its senses.

In the United States, when the Government Officials and the major political parties would not give the masses of people in the South the means of achieving justice, what we had to do in Montgomery was to organize people who said: "We are going to accept responsibility ourselves; we will not co-operate with discrimination." And the action of the people achieved tremendous results, and today these people are riding with dignity because they were prepared to accept the sacrifice of walking. It was not that Montgomery itself found the inspiration for doing what it did. We got it because we had seen the tremendous thing which Gandhi had done when he got the Indian people to say, without violence, "we want freedom": and because of Patrick Duncan in South Africa, and others there, who said: "We will not co-operate". America is a very young nation. I do not believe that Americans twenty years ago wanted the power which we have today. It was thrust upon us by a historical event. I am not sure we are capable of meeting the challenge without the help of Europe. When disarmament is discussed, the America are likely to say: "If we were to do this for ourselves, perhaps we could be prepared; it is the Europeans we must protect." If Europe would say "We are prepared to take the chance" - Perhaps not until then can we get the U.S. to stop. We are dependent upon one another. When we behave responsibly, we must take the motto used by the Negroes in

Montgomery; although they are lynched, beaten, discriminated against, they accept the slogan : "We shall not co-operate with Government or Authority where it is wrong, but, on the other hand, when we protest we do it on the understanding that not one hair of one head of one White person is to be harmed in our struggle. We are non-violent because injury to one is injury to all."

Martin Luther King, Jr.
Dexter Avenue Baptist Church
454 Dexter Avenue
Montgomery 4, Alabama

AMherst 3-3970

Return to Ralph

December 3, 1958

Dear Brother in Christ:

I have been deeply concerned with the present school-closing in Virginia. It has disturbed me because I sincerely feel that what happens in Virginia today will critically affect the future of our concerted desegregation efforts in the South.

This is a time for action in Virginia. No person of color can afford the luxury of standing idly by with public education in such great jeopardy. Today is a day for great men, great ideas, great movements, a day of new self-esteem and dignity for Negro Americans; a day for all Virginians of good will to speak to our millions of disenfranchised and disinherited brothers all over the world. Virginia, in this critical hour, has the opportunity to give direction and destiny to our troubled South. As Virginia goes, so goes the South, perhaps America, and the world. Christian democracy is at stake.

Some of my friends, whose names are affixed to the bottom of this letter, have asked me to especially encourage you to join them in a Pilgimage for Public Schools on Emancipation Day, January 1, at the State Capitol. This non-violent demonstration to dramatize Virginians' insistence for free, public, desegregated schools will involve thousands of Virginians and speak to the soul and conscience of America if you will give it your support.

As ministers and leaders of our people, each of us has an obligation to Jesus and His quest to elevate each human personality, to rally his community in support of this project. We ask but little of you. We ask only that each church in the state of Virginia send at least two bus loads of people to petition the Governor on Emancipation Day for the opening of schools in compliance with the Supreme Court Decision of 1954. We, as leaders, must do much more in this struggle for first-class citizenship.

Let us then, proclaim Emancipation Day, January 1, as a day of Prayer and Sacrifice for the sufferings of all oppressed people. Let it be your personal responsibility to send at least 50 persons to Richmond from your church community on that day. Let us make this small sacrifice as a symbol of our faith in Christ and His Way.

My good friend, the Reverend Wyatt Tee Walker, minister of the Gillfield Church, Petersburg, has accepted responsibility for the coordination of this pilgrimage. He will contact you in a few days.

My prayers and good wishes are with you in this great undertaking. If my health permits, I shall join you on this great day.

Sincerely yours,

Martin L. King Jr.

Martin Luther King

on behalf of:

Dr. W. L. Hamilton, President, Virginia State Council, Southern Christian Leadership Conference
Dr. J. B. Henderson, President, Lott Carey Foreign Mission Convention
The Rev. S. C. McCall, President, Baptist General Association
Dr. E. C. Smith, President, Virginia Baptist State Convention
Dr. Robert L. Taylor, President, Goodwill Baptist Convention, N.B.C., Inc.
The Rev. Wm. B. Abbot, Minister, Oakdale Presbyterian Church
Dr. Philip Wyatt, President, State Conference, NAACP
Mrs. Vivian Carter Mason, President, National Council of Negro Women
Mrs. Sarah Patton Boyle, Authoress, Charlottesville, Virginia
Dr. Hugo A. Owens, President, Old Dominion Dental Society
The Rev. H. G. Hairston, Grand Master, Grand Lodge of Virginia, A.F. & A.M.
Mr. Joseph F. Simmons, Esq., President, Virginia State Association IBPOEW
Mr. Eugene West, Esq., Grand Master, Odd Fellows of Virginia

and sponsored by
The Congress of Racial Equality, CORE;
The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

YOUTH MARCH FOR INTEGRATED SCHOOLS
312 W. 125th St.
New York 27, N.Y.

UNiversity 6-1740 UNiversity 6-1850

I N T E R I M R E P O R T

December 30, 1958

THE YOUTH MARCH OF 1958

Two months have passed since 10,000 young people marched to the Lincoln Memorial in Washington D.C., where they solemnly pledged: "We shall come back to Washington again and again to consult the leaders of our nation, to petition Congress, to press for the laws which will guide and sanction our advancement to a fuller, more just interracial democracy."

All of you who helped to organize the Youth March of 1958 are no doubt aware of its outstanding achievements:

1) It dramatized the nation-wide support among young people for the Negro and white students in the South who are bearing the brunt of the fight for integrated schools.

2) In preparing and participating in this, the largest youth demonstration ever held in Washington, students and young people in general were awakened and mobilized to active participation in the movement for racial equality.

3) A remarkably broad group of individuals and organizations worked together in closest harmony to make the March the tremendous success it was. These included some of the most distinguished churches on the Eastern Seaboard, over 50 trade unions of the AFL-CIO, as well as "Y"s, colleges, high schools, junior highs, parent associations, and varied civic and community groups.

4) A solid foundation was laid for the Petition Campaign and Youth March on a vastly expanded basis in the spring of 1959.

WHAT HAS BEEN GOING ON

What has happened since October 25, 1958? What progress has been made in planning and organizing the Petition Campaign and March projected for 1959?

1) As you know, the Youth March for Integrated Schools of 1958 was organized by an ad hoc committee. Upon accomplishing its purpose of organizing The March, the committee paid off its bills and dissolved. We were charged with responsibility for calling together a new committee for the purpose of carrying out the mandate of the old one: the Petition Campaign and March of 1959.

(more)

2) On November 20, about 100 leaders of the old March met in the headquarters of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters in New York City to set up the new committee. A tentative budget providing for the expenditure of some $26,000 was approved. A complete financial report of all receipts and expenditures of the 1958 March was prepared and released to the press. (Copies are available for your examination on request.)

3) On December 6, the "Presidential Delegation" which had visited the White House on October 25 met again. It planned a national newsletter and discussed the convening of a meeting of delegates from national youth organizations to consult on maximum youth participation in the new March.

The New York Youth Committee, composed of young people from colleges and high schools in the New York area, has met weekly. A successful party to honor volunteer workers was organized and held on December 6. Plans have been made for a conference of young people in the New York area to launch the petition drive some time in January. Similar youth meetings have been held in Chicago, Philadelphia, etc.

Settlement House and Community groups in the New York area have also begun preparations for the new March. Hudson Guild Community House held an organizing meeting of young people on December 30 to evaluate the 1958 March and to launch the 1959 campaign.

PLANS AND NEXT STEPS

The 1958 March was an action planned and carried out primarily by people on the East Coast. The Youth March in 1959 will be much broader. We hope to have contingents from all parts of the nation.

The Petition Campaign is planned to be a truly national effort. It will give people in the smallest and most distant communities a chance to participate actively in this campaign by organizing to get signatures and signing petitions themselves.

1) The nature of our campaign and the ad hoc character of the organization has made it inevitable that a certain lull should intervene between The March of October 1958 and the kick-off of the Petition and March campaign of 1959.

This period has been used to good advantage in laying the groundwork for a broad, sound, enthusiastic and successful campaign in 1959. Some $1300 was left over from the 1958 Youth March. It was turned over to us to start the 1959 effort. We have used a considerable part of these funds in reserving an office, working on lists, setting up the new committee, etc. We now have less than $600 left.

2) After consultation with Mr. Roy Wilkins of the NAACP, and other community and student leaders, it was determined that the interests of The March would be best served by holding it on Saturday, April 18. This will avoid conflicts with dates already set for important activities of organizations in the civil rights field, as well as with examinations and pre-examination study schedules of students in many colleges, which

(more)

are reasons why the date of May 17, suggested earlier, proved impracticable.

3) The NAACP on both its national and branch levels are prepared to give the benefit of their experience, organizational and financial support to the 1959 campaign.

4) Enclosed you will find the text of the Petition To the President and To the Congress. Our objective is to conduct a massive, nation-wide petition campaign and to give hundreds of thousands of Americans, who stand for integration, an opportunity to register their sentiment to the President, to Congress, to the nation, and to the world.

The printed copies of the Petition actually used to secure signatures will carry, in addition to this text, endorsement by people of national prominence in the field of civil rights such as Daisy Bates, Mrs. Ralph J. Bunche, Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., A. Philip Randolph, Jackie Robinson, and Roy Wilkins. Also, Rev. Harry Emerson Fosdick, outstanding theologian, Morris Iushewitz of the New York AFL-CIO Council, Father La Farge of the Catholic magazine America, Clarence Pickett of the American Friends Service Committee, and Rabbi Joachim Printz of the American Jewish Congress. Such people as George Meany, Walter Reuther, Eleanor Roosevelt, Carl Sandburg and Mrs. Wendel Willkie are being asked to co-sponsor the petition also.

These petitions will be available for distribution by the middle of January. They are to be signed and returned to New York before the March on April 18.

* * * * *

We are confident that all of you who worked so magnificently to make our last March a historic event in the struggle for integrated schools will see to it that the 1959 campaign strikes an even more effective and lasting blow for human brotherhood and dignity.

Respectfully submitted,

A. Philip Randolph

A. Philip Randolph
Co-Chairman

Bayard Rustin

Bayard Rustin
Coordinator

P.S. Though this is not a formal appeal for funds, we could use some money. Printing the petitions will cost a lot of money. Start thinking about how to raise funds for our campaign, and send in any which are readily available now.

Brunn T
Kingston 3 . 5605

Sy Posner

420 C.P.W.

103rd.

33

BAYARD RUSTIN - CORRESPONDENCE 1959

cc: Bayard Rustin
Stewart Meacham
Alex Morisey

January 13, 1959.

Rev. R. E. Nelson
General Secretary
American Baptist Convention
152 Madison Avenue
New York 16, New York

Dear Rev. Nelson:

Bayard Rustin has informed us that the American Baptist Convention will be sponsoring a visit by Martin Luther King to Russia immediately following on his American Friends Service Committee - sponsored visit to India in February and early March, of this year. Bayard Rustin has told us that Dr. King would prefer to have a single press release covering both aspects of his time away from the States this year. We have agreed with Bayard Rustin that we will submit to his Committee any press release prior to its being given to the press, but we felt that there should be some coordination between the AFSC and the American Baptist Convention on the general nature of such a release before submitting it to Bayard Rustin and his Committee.

Alex Morisey, of the AFSC Information Service has drawn up a draft copy of a news story that we propose to release announcing the forthcoming trip of Dr. King to India and Russia. We would expect to give the story to all the media and include a select list of weekly religious and secular magazines. If you desire we could furnish you with copies of the story for your use within your particular constituency.

We will be glad to have your suggestions and comment on this draft so that we can add other material or make such changes as may seem advisable. We think this should be released as early as possible so would appreciate a quick reply.

We have a carbon and, if practical, this might be discussed on the telephone. In that case you should talk to Alex Morisey in our Information Service who, as indicated above, is working on the story.

I hope that you will find all these arrangements satisfactory and that we will be able to move ahead quickly now to get together a release which is satisfactory to all parties involved.

Very sincerely yours,

Corinne B. Johnson,
Foreign Service Section.

Encl.
CBJ:bjm

Chairman
HENRY J. CADBURY

Executive Secretary
LEWIS M. HOSKINS

Executive Secretary Emeritus
CLARENCE E. PICKETT

American Friends Service Committee
INCORPORATED
Twenty South Twelfth Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania
Telephone, RITTENHOUSE 6-9372

c.c. Stewart Meacham

January 16th, 1959.

Bayard Rustin
War Resisters League
5 Beekman Street
New York 38, New York

Dear Bayard:

A further note from Jim Bristol today indicates that it will not be necessary for you to have funds in his hands by January 31st in order to obtain travel reservations for Reddich. He indicates that TWA has agreed to make all reservations and bill Jim for all costs on February 28th which will mean that there will be ample time for Reddich to settle his accounts with Jim in person. If you have already sent the money off to Jim, this was of course all right, but if you have not, there is no need to do so now immediately.

With all best wishes.

Very sincerely,

Corinne

Corinne B. Johnson,
Foreign Service Section.

CBJ:bjm

local 1199
retail drug
employees union
affiliated with RWDSU, AFL-CIO

300 west 45th street, new york 36, n. y. JUdson 2-1890-1-2-3-4

Leon J. Davis, President
William J. Taylor, Vice President
Edward Ayesh, Secretary-Treasurer

(P) Hosp. tal strike

August 10, 1959

Mr. Bayard Ruston
c/o Youth March for Integrated Schools
312 West 125th Street
New York, N. Y.

Dear Bayard:

Please accept on behalf of all the members of our union and particularly the thousands of hospital strikers, our sincere thanks and appreciation for your help.

It was primarily through your efforts that a Citizens' Committee of prominent and influential individuals was organized to help bring about the successful conclusion of the strike. It was through your efforts that so much public support was mobilized for the strikers. We will be forever grateful for your help.

Please extend our thanks to all your colleagues.

Very sincerely yours,

Leon J. Davis
President

LJD fw
oeiu/344

Frederick, Maryland
Sunday, Oct. 25, 1959

Dear Bayard:

Your London report has been mimeographed and is now going out to CNVA committee members. I cut it a bit here and there, but very little. Have asked people to write direct to you in Ghana with carbons to CNVA in Philadelphia. Hope you will get a vigorous response.

I don't see how the Sahara project can operate from Moracco and not get involved in the crosscurrents of the FLN-French conflict. The complications of a Moraccan based project look almost impossible. Nor do I see how Direct Action can accept Moraccan money contingent upon a Morracan based project. The Sahara project is difficult enough without getting involved in, shall we say, the international intrigue that is a part of the North African struggle.

Another thought -- unless there is real African participation I question that CNVA should give further active participation.

Your report on the financial basis of Direct Action in regard to the Sahara project is very discouraging. I really doubt that African money will be forthcoming in any generous amount without strings attached. If this proves true and assuming CNVA is otherwise sold on the project I do not think we should be expected to undertake anything much beyond the expenses of one or two Americans to participate,assuming we have the right people prepared to go.

Luitwiler talked to me on the telephone before he left for Europe. He has since written me. Think it is good that Direct Action get CNVA's okay on any American participation. I don't know Bob well enough to know if he is the man. You know I have great confidence in Jim Peck, but reservations about his health. Brad Lyttle may still be a possibility but I have not yet had a report on the extent of his interest. I doubt that he would be the ideal man, but he is capable and tough for such a task. At this point we don't need to make any decisions, personnel wise. Will keep you aware of other possibilities that look serious.

If your next report or two from Ghana indicate a clear enough situation for CNVA to act on we will call a meeting and try to reach a decision.

Am asking Bob Gilmore to contact Michael Scott as you requested in regard to seeking the Prime Minister of Moracco. Will check with Bob on this again when I return to Philadelphia on Tuesday.

Have been at the Vigil in Detrick for several days to relieve Lawrence Scott. A great experience. Julie Finch, Roy's daughter was down for the weekend. Q uite excited about the Vigil.

If you get out to the university you might run into Jim McCorkle, Roy's son who is there for the year. A promising young C.O.

Greetings from Lawrence who still is most cool to the Sahara project.

Love, best wishes, etc.

George Willoughby

801 Second Avenue
New York 17, N.Y.
October 29, 1959

Dear Bayard,

Since I haven't heard from you in several days, I assume you are very busy. Homer mentioned to me that he had received a copy of your report, but I have not as yet, and so have little idea of what you're doing and how the project is going as a whole. Some of your remarks at the beginning, indicating that things were pretty confused and disorganized, led me to think you might be returning earlier than expected. Are there any grounds for so thinking?

A couple of interesting things have happened since my last letter:

1) The SP National Committee met in Cleveland, and put the CALL on a quarterly, rather than the present monthly, basis. The victory here is that Singer is virtually thrown off the payroll. A committee was appointed to draw up plans for a new press. The committee is made up of good people, including me as the YPSL rep; the outcome will almost certainly be a recommendation for a fortnightly newspaper. Our report back to the NC and the necessary subsequent discussion will probably postpone actual publication to sometime mid-winter.

2) Mike and I went to see Stan Tuesday night. The two conversationalists enjoyed each other, of course. Then, when Mike explained Anvil's needs ~~xxxxxx~~ Stan explained how he liked to conserve his strength for the civil rights field. At this point, the figure Mike and I had carried in our heads dropped from $50 to $25 and then some. Well, Stan thought for a few minutes, and then said: "Hmmm...I guess that without killing myself I can let you have a couple of hundred." Mike and I nearly fell out of our seats!!! Don't ever tell Stan we hadn't dreamed of getting so much. His contribution just about ensures our coming out with a January issue (our second) and goes a long way in guaranteeing a third in early summer. You can imagine how we felt, walking out with ten $20 bills in our hands. I hope we managed to convey the depth of our gratitude to him.

Have you and Stan been corresponding? You know, after you left Randolph told Stan he was "shocked" by your departure, and thought it very unfortunate in terms of the project. Stan says we should have understood that it is not in Randolph's ways to protest your leaving, feeling it improper to attempt to exert pressure on you. I don't know your reaction to this, but I tend to think there's a good deal to it and that, in a sense, the same factors may be at work here that operated in Randolph on the business of the Urban League award to Meany. And, typically, in both cases: sweet sentiments, bad politics.

Stan also reports that a meeting with Randolph and some other of our people (Lawrence, Kilgore, Haida, etc.) will take place Thursday to discuss Project X. Randolph and King will speak to Wilkins in advance, so there's no stink about conspiracies and deliberate exclusions.

I'm all over my cold now, fortunately, for the weather is beginning to take a bitter turn. Of course, it's dark by five these days, and it's always kind of depressing to spend the whole day in an office, and to come out to find there's nothing left of the sun, not even dusk. I don't know what logic operates for such a time system, but it is certainly without sensitivity.

Write.

Tom

FOLD SIDES OVER AND THEN FOLD BOTTOM UP
MOISTEN FLAP WELL AND APPLY PRESSURE TO SEAL

COMMITTEE FOR NON-VIOLENT ACTION

2006 Walnut Street
Philadelphia 3, Pennsylvania
RIttenhouse 6-2540

October 30, 1959

George Willoughby
Chairman

Lyle Tatum
Treasurer

Lawrence Scott
Coordinator

Committee

Albert Bigelow
David Dellinger
Ralph DiGia
David Gale
Robert Gilmore
Alfred Hassler
William Huntington
Ernest Kurkjian
Stewart Meacham
A. J. Muste
Mildred Olmsted
Theodore Olson
James Peck
Adele Rickett
Bayard Rustin
Glenn Smiley
Robert Swann
Charles Walker

Consultants

David Andrews
Robert Gussner
Irwin Hogenauer
Homer Jack
Russell Johnson
Bradford Lyttle
Milton Mayer
Robert Pickus
Wilson Riles
Jack Shaffer
Orion Sherwood
Emily Parker Simon
Arthur Springer
Ralph Templin
Howard Ten Brink
Cecil Thomas
Samuel Tyson
Robert Vogel
Mel Zuck

April Carter
Direct Action Committee,
344 Seven Sisters Road,
London, N.4

Dear April Carter:

Your long and most helpful letter of October 26 followed a full report from Bayard Rustin . Our Committee will be meeting on Wednesday, November 4. I'll report any actions it takes or questions we may have in regard to the Sahara project.

Since we will meet on Wednesday the Committee can consider your request that CNVA undertake to send a representative to Morocco to explore possibilities. Assuming our committee would agree on the necessity of such exploration we would have two problems — whom to send, and the money.

It may be that there is no need to explore on the spot in Morocco. I wrote Bayard some days ago that I seriously doubted that the Sahara project should in any way get involved even indirectly in the conflict raging between the French and the Arabs. I seriously doubt that any money from the Moroccan government could be accepted even without strings, without endangering the nature of the protest against the Sahara bomb explosions. This is certainly one of the questions our committee will discuss at its meeting.

Michael Scott will be with us at our next meeting in New York City. We hope by that time to have further word from Bayard.

Yours sincerely,

George Willoughby

cc: Bayard Rustin
Lawrence Scott

Sponsored by: FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION, FRIENDS PEACE COMMITTEE OF PHILADELPHIA YEARLY MEETING, WAR RESISTORS LEAGUE, WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM

The following original page is of poor quality. UPA has made every technical effort to provide the best possible reproduction.

October 31, 1959

Hi Bayard - We got your first report and it sure made everyone green. At our Exec mtg, we learned for the first time that the French pacifists (chiefly, Trocme) were not supporting this thing. So, I'm supposed to write to ask you for more details about all this and its meaning. CNVA is meeting in New York Wed. with Michael who is concerned about the lack of organization and co-ordination. Arlo arrived OK and we had a fair turnout for his meeting - about 90 and we collected $80(damn good for the crowd). The coffee and cakes went over very well. Rosemary Shirly(Bill's wife) took over and did a great job. Calendar sales are 300 as compared to 100 last year. We finally got them Oct. 27. That is, we got 300. Dave rushed them, so the ink is smeared on some of them, and he left out part of the design on the inside of the front cover - but otherwise(?) it was OK. Just disgusted is what I am. The good copies will be in next week. Merde! Roy has written Congressman Meyer and Steve Allen about the Dinner. We have Hudson Guild for conference - either June3-5 or 17-19.

Nancy has come in a few times, but our personal relations are at an ebb, so... Anyway, Harold Fackert has been coming in regularly. I've been working nights and Saturdays. So the WRL can use the dough it got for replacing you. No, I'm not being a martyr..it's good therapy to bury yourself in work. Tom (funny how I went from Nancy to Tom) has not called, so I still have your keys. (What arrangements did you make about your mail at home?). However, I'm calling Tom Monday about that Soiree list...I'm just getting to these financial letters. I have written only to Mrs. Herrick and am awaiting an answer.

Anne Taussig sends best wishes. Mend'art Galleries called about a table of yours. Something about it being inconvenient for them to something. Patricia McMahon (that lovely volunteer with 3 children) has an uncle whom she thinks might be sympathetic to you. I don't know how since I believe he is in the British civil service what have you. Anyway, a pretty girl does not have to be logical to convince me, so here's the name and address - maybe you can use it some how.

Maurice Ruppert Metcalf, Deputy Commissioner
Salisbury, Rhodesia Nyasaland.

You can mention her name to Uncle Maurice.

The Civil Defense case was argued Oct. 22. We are meeting with Greenwalt this Wednesday. The election ballots are going out Monday - and, with the new mimeo machine, they are the best we've had in years. You'd be proud to send them out in spite of your alleged opinions on democracy. LIBERATION struggles on without you, but mainly without money.

So, how are you doing? I suppose we may have a report from you before the CNVA meeting on Wed. Let me know if there is anything I can do for you here. Write, call or use some one, etc.

Say hello to Joy Billy-Ray. They're still talking about him here - but I cant say what they are saying.

Love to you, Bill - and the whole gang in world

Ralph

1

225 West 106th Street
New York, New York
November 1, 1959

Dear Bayard,

We have an embarrassment of riches in opportunities and of the realization of our plans. Aware that some of the aspects would seem to be in conflict as far as you are concerned, Tom, Joe Filner and I spent several hours discussing the picture and have come to the conclusion that there is no real conflict.

To begin: As I indicated in my letter, Phil proposed having Martin King along when Roy was seen. Since Martin was in town Thursday and Roy and Phil were in town, I felt the opportunity had better be seized and set up an appointment. In addition to the four of us, John Morselle sat in. Phil made a 4 or 5 minute presentation, very brief, succinct and having none of the vague, overblown quality he used in describing it the last time. Roy's first response was to start discussing how getting people to write letters was the most important task of the period. We chatted about this for a few minutes and then, to my utter astonishment, Roy said it was a good idea, but we would have to take into account certain political realities around conventions, to wit: the manuevering and position-taking by delegations begins developing some time before the conventions and many positions are solidly crystallized by the time the conventions meet.

At this point, it looked as if he was saying "Yes, but..." However, he was addressing himself not to the demonstrations outside the conventions, but to the usefulness of the simultaneous demonstrations in various cities. In the course of discussion, Morselle proposed that the May 17th observances, which take place in a number of communities, might be organized as kickoff rallies which could appoint delegations to visit state governors (they are considered key figures in the structure of the nominating convention) and party leaders, all such actions intended to accumulate pressure on key forces and, at the same time, stimulate the mobilization of people to attend the climax demonstrations.

Roy began evaluating the forces available in the two major cities, agreed that Chicago should be no problem, but pointed out that in L.A. their branch is weaker than it used to be. On reflection, however, he emphasized that in a whole group of cities surrounding L.A. they have strong, active branches, so that in a 100 mile radius there are a very large number of NAACP branches and members. An interesting point to note is that in the whole discussion the usual concern about how interracial it would be was not mentioned at all. In addition, no discussion about how we guarantee that it is not composed almost entirely of local people. Indeed, Roy remakred that in L.A. we could not expect many from the outside.

Roy suggested that since he has to consult the people in the leadership conference, Phil should write him a letter and he would take it up this coming Friday. At that time they are holding the first of their series of meetings to begin planning the 1960 strategy.

We did not get into more details because we were satisfied with the general agreement at this point and did not want to go into areas that could produce differences of opinion and approach. Roy was occupied with elaborate discourse on the complexities and subtleties of political work, establishing that few people realize the profound importance of the work behind the scenes and the brilliance and skill of its actors. All of this was obviously for Martin's benefit. He was trying to dazzle him, but it revealed how important Martin's presence was and I sum it all up with the thought that Roy was behaving as he did in the Prayer Pilgrimage conference, when he bellowed like a militant that they were ready and able to go it alone. He had clearly put on his militant suit for that day.

Another interesting feature was his inner tension. He was not jaunty, his banter was heavy-handed and, in general, he had an arm's-length approach to the three of us. I think the other important point is that he feels something like this project is needed. After all, as an organization they have done nothing in a whole year. He may also have perceived that

this project does not have seeds for continuation, in contrast to the Youth Marches.

Finally, we must note how important Martin's presence was. Though he said very little, it is perfectly clear that Roy refrained from throwing up objectives in his cynical style with us and Phil because he does not want to reveal this side of himself to Martin, but rather to give Martin the impression that they are competent and oriented to filling all needs of the movement, from specialist tasks to mass action projects. Therefore, the SCLC and King can drop dead. Whatever they do is duplicatory.

It would appear that we will be involved for a few weeks in really pinning down the agreement and then a further period in which the exact form will have to be devised. At this point I have the feeling that we may find it possible to take advantage of the NAACP branch apparatus to a greater extent than we have ever before in our projects. It is conceivable that the principal branches will take this on as the major function of the year, rather than as one of many projects, and not a very important one at that, Which was the manner in which they treated the Prayer Pilgrimage, Youth Marches, etc. I

If this is true, some modifications of the forms we said up may be dictated. I think it can help us, reducing our budgetary problem and certainly eliminating the spectre which always haunts us at the beginning of our projects: is NAACP with it, opposing it, faking cooperation, etc.

We will move away from this to the discussion I had with Martin and then we will return to it in order to synthesize. At the Columbia conference, a committee was appointed on personnel. I don't know all the members, but Martin, Reddig, Abernathy and Lowry were on it. They discussed you and the conclusion was unanimous that you be sought. The unanimity is of the following quality:

Martin's position, of course, you know. Ralph is so strongly for you that if you were not to come he would not consider the job as Executive Director. Reddig is strongly for you. Martin said one or two had reservations. Of course, none related to respect for you, but only the possible public relations problem. Their reservations were, however, not so deep or firm that they would vote against you or abstain. They voted for you. Indeed, the person who played the role of firmly and unyieldingly opposing you was our buddy, Ella. She used the fears as well as the argument that the organization didn't need someone like you, but a field secretary. The substance and method of her argumentation became so provoking that Lowry, who had entertained some doubts about you, took Martin aside and suggested that they agree to hire you and simultaneously to fire her at that meeting.

The character of your duties at the beginning would involve half acting as administrative assistant to Martin and the other half as Associate Director. The reason for Martin's urging me at present is that he has now resolved his doubts and is definitely making the move to Atlanta. He plans to give his church notice December 1st and to move in February.

Now, naturally, he is more vividly conscious of the public relations problems involved in the move and is deeply dependent on your guidance and imagination. While he feels that the SCLC needs an early program of action, he's primarily concerned that this move should not turn out to wash him out as a leader. I did not feel this was vanity or opportunism. He knows how much the group rests upon his prestige at present. As an aside, I might say, in discussing meetings he has addressed in recent months, I was strongly impressed with the fact that his popularity remains high. Despite absence of action, people still overflow virtually all new meetings. Neither time nor Roy Wilkins appear able to destroy him. He is extremely eager to have you start as early as the first part of December in order to deal with the transition.

At this poiht you will no doubt have discerned the apparent conflict between Bayard Rustin of the SCLC and Bayard Rustin, Director of the Political Conventions Civil Rights Mass Demonstration Project. However, in our collective discussion, we felt that the two

responsibilities are not completely antagonistic because there are different tempos and stages of development. For example, it seems reasonable that in November and December only planning will be involved before the Political Conventions project. A separate apparatus and office probably would not be set up as quickly as we had contemplated. In short, I think we will move somewhat slower there, but I think we will compensate for the slower beginning by the greater depth of involvement of the key NAACP branches. Indeed, as you have pointed out, it would be very important that we sit down with the Chicago and L.A. leadership to let them feel they were brought in at the very earliest time, and we will benefit more from this approach than if we begin too much activity out of the New York office.

Hence, it appears to me possible for you to attend to Martin's problem in December and part of January, breaking away from time to time for decisive meetings and perhaps in February reversing the situation, spending most of your time getting the conventions project under way, but leaving it for some conferences in the South. It seemed to us that in your function as Director of the Political Conventions project, you will already be known as a Director of the SCLC. This will be good for you, but even better for the SCLC. As you make contacts in many Northern centers, these will become part of the bundle of assets you will later draw upon for support for your work in the South. Indeed, even if there were no Political Conventions Project, it would be the soundest practice for you to travel across the country, meeting leaders and telling them the job you are undertaking--they know you personally when they later hear from you, and you know them.

Since one of the reasons you are so valuable is because of your acquaintance with so many people, the fact that the Conventions Project will enlarge the number and quality of your contacts while you are actively a Director of SCLC is a matter of very special importance. Turning it all around the other way, the fact that you will be operating on the Conventions Project will be of help to the SCLC because this can be one of their first action projects. You will, I'm sure, find the ways in which your reports written especially for SCLC leaders will dramatize the project and suggest areas of practical support for them. Indeed, by this experience and by the title you will have as Director of the Conventions project you should become the very sought after figure to make appearances in the different Southern cities, reporting on the political situation, how various parts of the country are organized for the struggle and what they in their communities can do. It tends to create a new image for you as a public figure, blotting out some of the past shadows.

Doubtless, there will be some overlapping, some conflicts to be worked out, but I feel that just as we have built a certain continuing tradition of mass projects, we've also built a group of dedicated, realistic and practical people, and, operating as a team, we ought to be able to carry both responsibilities forward.

It is late, I am losing my voice, Tom's hand is showing signs of decay, but feeble though we are, we have to let out a little cheer to recognize that two of the projects we sought most eagerly are now in our laps! WHAT THE HELL ARE YOU DOING IN AFRICA AT A TIME LIKE THIS!! We had intended to send you a cable reading, "Come home. All is forgiven"--signed Roy Wilkins!

The moment of truth has arrived. When do you...?

Love and affection from the masses--and us,

STAN (dictating)
TOM (recording)
JOE

NOv. 3, 1959

Hello Esther, Bayard and Bill -

Under separate cover, air mail parcel post, I have sent the pictures of Bayard you requested and a dozen each of 2 bomb leaflets. You should note that the cost is $1.18 for the first 4 ounces, and 64¢ for each additional 4. The cost of the 25 or so leaflets I'm sending is $1.82. It seems to me that if you need large quantities of lit, you should mimeograph, reprint or something in Ghana. Anyway, we will discuss it Wednesday at the CNVA meeting.

Yes, Esther, I did receive your letter this summer. And I did answer it in September - writing you at Council of Europe (or something like that) in Strasbourg. Didn't you get it?

I heard over the radio this morning that the French are planning to explode their A-Bomb when the weather is right; and that the experts (?) say that the weather is right during the first 3 months of the year. I suppose your central intelligence has already reported this to you.

Anyway, happy armistice day, happy Thanksgiving and bon voyage.

Ralph

AMERICAN COMMITTEE ON AFRICA
801 SECOND AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

November 3, 1959

Mr. Bayard Rustin
c/o Bill Sutherland
P.O. Box M.40
Accra

Dear Bayard:

George is in Washington. We don't have any listing in one place of all the protest and political groups in Africa, but I will give you the names of the members of the Steering Committee of the All African Peoples' Conference, which I should think would among them cover most of the field.

A Guinean Pay ~~Minister~~

— Diallo Abdulai of Guinea, Resident Minister in Ghana, P.O. Accra Guinea

— Mr. F. Amorin, c/o Taieb Slim, 3 Belgrave Place, London, S.W. 1

— Hon. Kojo Botsio, M.P., P.O. Box M.53, Accra

— Mr. Ahmed Boumendjel, 3 Rue de Rome, Tunis

— Hon. S. Cassel, True Whig Party, Monrovia

— Mr. Galal M. Fouad, 10 Tolombat Street, Garden City, Cairo

— Dr. J. Gikonyo Kiano, P.O. Box 12175, Nairobi Kenya

— Mr. Patrice Lumumba, Président du Mouvement National Congolais, B.P. 8201, Leopoldville 1

— Hon. Tom Mboya, M.L.C., P.O. Box 10818, Nairobi, Kenya

X Mr. P. S. McEwen, 23 King George Avenue, Yaba, Lagos Nigeria

— Mikasha, Ministry of Interior, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

— Mr. Ntsu Mokhenle, P.O. Box 111, Maseru, Basutoland, S. Africa

— Dr. Felix Rolland Moumie, 5 Ahmet Heahmet Street, Samalek, Cairo

— Mr. Joshua Nkomo -- now here under our auspices

— Mr. Abdoulai Queye, B.P. 840, Dakar, Senegal

— Mr. Taieb Slim, 3 Belgrave Place, London, S.W. 1

Love,

Kitty

FOLD SIDES OVER AND THEN FOLD BOTTOM UP
MOISTEN FLAP WELL AND APPLY PRESSURE TO SEAL

CONSULTING FOR NONVIOLENT ACTION
2006 Walnut Street, Philadelphia 3, Pa.
November 5, 1959

Dear Bayard: The eight-page report from the team arrived on Wednesday. Happily, we had a CNVA meeting scheduled for that afternoon. So the report was presented and the following "actions" taken: (Michael Scott was present at the meeting.)

1) CNVA is committed to the Sahara project and will endeavor to raise up to $25,000, if necessary, but will try to raise $2,000 within two weeks, with the understanding that the money may not be needed.
2) The Committee was in full unity with the teams' recommendation that Bayard Rustin remain in Africa to participate in the project.
3) The team was asked to consider the possibility of a later date in December to commence the project, thus giving more time to lay groundwork for fund raising.
4) The Committee agreed that the team must have freedom to make decisions of strategy, acting within the broad framework already established by the English Committee and the agreed principles of nonviolence.
5) There was some feeling that the team should be more international in character and that it ought to include at least one Asian. The Committee is willing to accept the judgement of the team on whether Kamlata Devi Chattopadhyaya should join the project.
6) If a second American is to join the team the trend of thinking of the Committee was that it might be a more useful addition to add a non-Negro American, rather than Bill Sutherland. However, if Bill is deeply moved to participate, the Committee has every confidence in him and would feel a moral obligation to help provide for his family in the even of jail.
7) The English Committee is urged to attempt the organization of a French Committee to give moral support to Esther Peter. A.J. Muste was asked to confer as quickly as possible with Andre Trocme on this matter.
8) The Committee did not have time to fully discuss the question of committee structure for the project. Trend of thinking favored an ad hoc committee of prominent pacifists to sponsor the project, and with the cooperation of the Ghana Council for Nuclear Disarmament, the English Committee and CNVA.
9) Only the team can decide on the question of wireless.
10) The Committee agrees with the team recommendation that no further explorations be made with Moroccan officials for the time being.
11) A.J. Muste will call a press conference just before Michael Scott leaves NYC for Africa (about November 11). Jim Peck will assist in this.

Scott expects to leave Nov. 11. He expects to stop in Morocco to talk and stir things up. Collections at such public meetings may be one way to raise money in Morocco without any strings attached.

Scott expresses some concern about Nkrumah. I urged him to share it with you when he arrives. In the meantime, you are "alerted".

The shaping up of the project as per the long report is most encouraging. The problem will be funds unless local Sahrawis do come through. We will go to work here and make an heroic effort. I'm ready to change places with you! Affectionate greetings from all the Committee to all the team.

George Willoughby

cc: April Carter, London
Michael Scott, NYC
A.J. Muste, NYC

November 9, 1959

Dear Bayard,

Its very strange to write to you in Ghanna, I prefer to think you're in Vermont. Nothing very much is new here. Tom has written all the politically interesting news, I'm sure, and I'm leading a "stable,""mature" type life. The job is still bearable, am getting a five dollar raise in two months (what joy), and am much happier away from "mother," I'll have my own place in March or April. Norm wants me to come to Chicago, and I want him to come to New York. This presents interesting, agonizing problems.

Tom seems well and healthy, eats well (so he tells me) sleeps decent hours and looks fine. The coming of the cold weather hasn't affected him the way it usually does -- there is even a slight hint of brightness about him. However, he is obviously bored and disoriented by your departure. I have nothing much to say about this either -- really a good sign, because all my theories about him are derived to understand and explain some of the lesser things about him. I'm still delightfully suprized at his responsible attitudes, his friendly (not demanding or coaxing) affection his just sitting and waiting now, (not looking for excitement but reading and functioning politically)

I'm still not talking to Sy, and Sy has stopped talking virtually to everyone (Tom, Naomi, Joan, etc.). He is mess that would take too long to go into. I sometimes think that half of our political problems this summer were caused by dteriorating social relationships. (Okay, stop smiling, I know you knew).

Harrington is writing a book, based on his Commentary article, McMillin is publishing -- has gotten a five hundred dollar advance. Can you see the elusive Mr. Harrington addressing ladies clubs now? he should have old crows swooning.

What would Roy Wilkins say if you married a 14 year old African girl and brought home a few others. Heh, heh...

I think I'll close now it's about 2:AM, and I'm feeling silly. It's funny writing to Tom is the best way to communicate with him, and to you the least sucessful. But of course, I want you to write more. Ifind your letters much more interesting than mine, it is I, who, having the communications problem.

Promise we will have dinner together when you return? There are a few questions I'd like to ask you, and of course, I'd really like just to chat.

Love,
Rachelle

INVITATION TO THE OPENING SESSION OF THE ALL AFRICAN TRADES UNION FEDERATION BY THE RIGHT HONOURABLE DR. KWAME NKRUMAH, PRIME MINISTER OF GHANA

Mr. Bayard Rustin

I have pleasure on behalf of the Secretary-General of the T.U.C. (Ghana) to invite you to the opening session of the All African Trades Union Federation by the Prime Minister at the Legion Hall, Accra at 6.30 p.m. on the 5th November, 1959.

You are required to be in your seat at 5.55 p.m.

Yours in the ~~service of~~ the workers,

(B.T. BARTIMEUS)
REGIONAL SECRETARY

COMMITTEE FOR NONVIOLENT ACTION
2006 Walnut St. Philadelphia 3
November 11, 1959

Bayard Rustin
c/o William Sutherland
Box M40
Accra, Ghana

Dear Bayard:

Your memo of Nov. 5 received and your letter of same date. By now you should have received my letter of Nov. 5 reporting on action of CNVA at its Nov. 4 meeting in NYC.

A meeting has been set up in NYC for Friday, Nov. 13 with Randolph, Levison, A.J., Finch, etc. I cannot be there since I will be in the midwest. Have tadked to A. J. about the problem.

Am convinced that fromthe standpoint of the success of the Sahara venture and CNVA's ability to raise funds for it that your continued participation is essential. Whether it is more essential for you to be there or back in in light of your previous committments I cannot say. Will depend on A.J. and others to try to work this out. I hope you can stay for the entire project; but you certainly must stay at least until the project gets underway.

Your first report from Ghana was received and used at our meeting on Nov. 4. I did not circulate this report both from lack of time and feeling that its contents were best not widely divulged. Will see that future reports do go to Stanley Levison and Tom Marcel as you have requested.

CNVA's story of the project and request for funds will go out shortly to all our contacts. The initial response will give us some indication of our ability to raise funds. Following it, we will try more direct requests from selected persons. After that, much will depend on what happens out there. I return from Ohio Sunday night and can give more time to pushing this along. We are handicapped not having Scotty to help out. But, as you know, he does not feel this project as one that calls him and he is completely involved with Detrick, which indidently is picking up support again after lagging considerably. It will continue through December, perhaps longer! But Scotty is not hostile to the Sahara project.

A.J. reports that the Tuesday press conference in NYC for Michael Scott was successful. I have not seen news accounts yet, but was out of the office because of sickness. Scott was to have telephoned you in regard to your cable that he must come by the 15th.

Ralph and A.J. will cable you the outcome of the Friday meeting.

Best wishes to all. Expect to see Bigelow in Ohio and will talk to him about the project. Will urge him to contribute generously. Charlie Walker reported that Al Hassler is favorable to the project.

Your friend

George Willoughby

cc: Ralph DeGia

Wednesday

November 11, 1959

Dear Bayard,

By the time you received this letter, you should already have got a number of other communications and should also be aware that people have been writing to you at Box 1420 instead of M40. The 1420, I understand, is Bill's old address, but it appears in your London report, which means that mail coming out of that report may go astray. Katy tells me that some of the letters sent to the old address have been returned, others forwarded. I hope you get in touch with the post office and see whether they've got any of my previous letters (I think there were 4 in all).

Stan and I, after a meeting with Joe Filner, sent you a long letter regarding recent encouraging--if not amazing--developments here in the civil rights field. After receiving your memo, Stan cabled you the essence of that letter, but much he obviously couldn't condense has an intense bearing on the choice you now have to make. I have therefore sent a carbon of the letter to you at the proper address and hope it arrives in time for you to take it into account.

Stan sent the cable, feeling that Wilkins' reaction to the 1960 project and King's needs should be communicated to you immediately, even before any meetings with the pacifists took place, and especially as there was a strong likelihood you would not get our previous letter. After I got that wonderful hunk of mail from you Monday morning (letters dated the 3rd, 4th, 5th and 6th), I arranged to see Stan that evening in order to impress him with the need you expressed for prompt action--a need expressed more forcefully in your letters to me, I thought, than in the memo. Stan had got the memo on Friday and had already spoken with Muste and Ralph. I will not attempt to describe their positions second-hand, because you will probably know their thinking by the time you get this. Stan and I talked from 10:30 to 2:30a.m. Monday night (You know Stanley!) and came to some conclusions I'll go into later--some directly, some not directly related to the Sahara business. He called me this morning, said that he had seen Randolph for an hour and had arranged a meeting with him, Muste, Ralph and some others. It's set for this Friday afternoon. The decisions they arrive at will be cabled to you immediately, hence will reach you before this letter.

During his meeting with R. Stan learned that he had received a copy of your memo. Stan thinks sending it to him was not wise and I rather concur. 1) R, reading the first paragraph, sees his comments to Stan relayed back to him, having gone through a series of 3 or 4 stages of interpretation; 2) the memo a criticism of R for not having told you of his real attitude toward your leaving, a criticism which, if you wanted to make it in the first place, should properly have been made in person, or in a more diplomatically phrased letter to him; 3) it suggests that a liaison role between you and him is played by me, whom he probably doesn't remember very clearly and whom he certainly would not invest with such powers if he did, knowing me very slightly.

Leaving this aside, Stan & I feel that whatever the outcome of the talks with Muste, etc., we are categorically convinced you should return by the first. While we understand the problems you would face coming back to a disgruntled band of pacifists (and are therefore trying to persuade them to our views), the situation is such that they cannot have the final say in the matter. Our previous letter to you should demonstrate that. Assuming that the odds against your being jailed for any length of time are overwhelming, it is nonetheless not at all unlikely that the process of deportation and its consequences will enmesh you in a lot of dilatory legal meta-hearings, court appearances, bureaucratic run-arounds and the like. I do not for 2 seconds envisage the U.S. government jumping all over itself to get you disentangled. Deportation could

set in motion, I think and Stan agrees, all kinds of forces to knock you out of the domestic picture for a while. I'm sure you understand that I can see the value, under certain circumstances, of certain people going through such a business (like Bob Burke and Ted Brown). But from no point of view can you be permitted the luxury of such martyrdom.

And froma political and personal vantage, if there is only one chance in 10,000 that you will face a jail term, and I am still to be convinced that the chances are so slight, I am opposed to your setting the first hair of your big toe into the area. It is unthinkable and that's all there is to it! I see no political value flowing from it. If important African leaders werejailed or arrested by the French, that's one thing. If 50 African men, or 10 African women, pregnant or with babies on their backs, were jailed or arrested, or injured by French violence, that too would serve a purpose, and could lead to mass action. But the jailing or deportation of you, an American, not an African leader, is without symbolic or agitational significance. Undoubtedly, you would be warmly feted by some American pacifists when you finally got yourself extricated from the mess, but this is not adequate compensation for the losses the civil rights movement here would chalk up during your absence.

I have a good deal more to say on this, and I've left many thoughts formulated badly or not at all. But I must run to a meeting. Please forgive me. I have not set myself clearly to the task of giving you a ~~political~~ thoroughly political set of reasons for returning by Dec. 1st. That would take a deal more time, for I think the Sahara project and the problems it now poses touch an area in which we have always had some disagreements, by no means basic, but requiring that we focus on the same terms of reference, and this I cannot do until I hear from you further.

And,in any case, you did not ask me for an extensive political analysis, but for my opinion, which you said was important to you. Even though some of what I've said here seems sketchy and full of little holes, I do trust ~~myopolitical instinct~~ myself on this, and feeling myself invested with an historic responsibility to get you home, let me put it this way:

COME HOME, YOU SON-OF-A*BITCH, OR I'LL NEVER TALK TO YOU AGAIN!
(not really, but I hope I've made my position clear!)

I've many other,important, though less pressing things to tell you b about. I will soon.

Tom
TOM

The following original page is of poor quality. UPA has made every technical effort to provide the best possible reproduction.

Nov. 13, 1959

Hi Bayard! Just sent you a cable that Michael Scott will arrive Wednesday. No flight details because he doesn't know. He is leaving Monday for Liberia and from there will go to Ghana. For some reason, he wants this trip kept quiet. He will explain. Anyway, we just met with Randolph and Stan (You'll have a cable before this letter). Present were AJ, Peck, Orlie, EdGottlieb and me. No real decision. Randolph and Stan very strong for you to return no later than January 1st. Orlie and Ed also in favor of return. Aj, Peck and myself for your going all the way. Dellinger, Finch, Willoughby feel this also. It is not important how many people feel what. It's what they feel that counts. I could start by saying if, if, if, --but that wouldn't help. Let's start from where we are. I dont know what the feeling is over there, but I imagine that you are pretty essential to the project, that the africans who are to participate would feel very let down and it would hurt morale for you to pull out - even though it be for a very important reason. You have to decide how essential you are there. Here Randolph and Stan state that you are essential, that the civil rights movement is the greatest thing for peace, for the world wide struggle for equality, etc. In other words, they think that this is <u>it</u>. (Just as Suthy felt that the Sahara project is <u>it</u>). They want you back. Meanwhile we want you to stay. There is no question in my mind that from the pacifist viewpoint this Sahara project has much more potential than the civil rights stuff. Which will turn out to be more important, I don't know. But the big money rides on the Sahara for importance. For me, the Sahara is directly a pacifist thing, not so with the civil rights and from the WRL viewpoint the Sahara should take precedence. This is a sloppy letter because I'm in a hurry or something. Bayard, you personally stand to lose some prestige no matter what you decide. If you leave, the africans will not really understand, and those pacifis who believe in direct action (yes, a minority - but important) will be down on you, for awhile. If you stay, Randolph, King, Stan (your friends) together with people who are out to get you will attack you. It seems to me that if you leave, you will not again be able to regain any prestige in Africa because you wont be there and you will not be able to undo the harm you cause by leaving (by harm, I mean, loss of confidence, etc.). On the other hand, in America you will be back on the scene and by your effort and works you will be able to regain any loss on confidence that you may incur by staying on and not participating in the civil rights struggle here. (By the way, Bayard, if this project were to get started and you were arrested and deported and back here by Jan 1st, everybody would be happy. Cant you arrange this?) Bayard, in the future, WRL reps must have conferences with Randolph and Stan before any basic decisions are made as where you will work! As you know, it is impossible for me to know the feeling that exists there. If there would be no loss of confidence, if there was not let down, etc., then it would be OK. How do the participants feel? I know that if I were in the team, I would fight for your staying, even though I might be fighting you all the way on strategy, etc. How would your leaving affect the willingness of the Ghana Government to support the project financially? We don't have these answers, so you have to evaluate the importance of the answers to them. Anyway, from the facts I have and from my view point, I [illegible] you to continue there ... and then straighten out things [illegible] as well. I dont feel that I have [illegible] the back. I wish we could sit down and [illegible] talk decisions, but. As you know, Bayard, [illegible] I still love you and I'm not kidding, cause I do [illegible] as a human unit. Good luck to you, Bayard. [illegible] and to the [illegible]

KNISTERN PRINTING AND ART

Text of cablegram to Bayard Rustin 11/14/59: prepared by A. J. Muste and Stanley Levison:

Conferees unable agree single view. Randolph expressed firm view civil rights struggle paramount and decisively important to African colonial struggle as well as peace fight. Your indispensable role in domestic actions requires return which should not be regarded as desertion of responsibilities but assuming more effective role for both. Randolph felt key figures would perceive this relationship. He felt if you assessed situation and could not agree he could not order your return but maintained view that only correct conclusion was necessity to be back by end of year. A. J. Muste holds that Africa project potentially

more important, capable of major contribution to civil rights struggle here as well as struggle against neo nuclear colonialism and war which is primary War Resisters concern. Bayard should exert every effort including joining Sahara phase if necessary and risking detention for some time to realize projects full potentialities, Has no clear right abstain from Sahara phase now that he is there, unless he feels Accra group and other figures there accept, however reluctantly, and Bayard personally clear he has done utmost can be expected in light

both of situation then and responsibilities here.

Dear Bayard, Bill etc. - Hope to God this reaches you before final decisions taken! written in snatches

Both the Africa project and the work in connection with the civil rights campaigns in the U.S. are highly important. If the former is looked at in the light of possibly enlisting masses in Africa in the world campaign against nuclear war and of establishing a pattern of international and interracial brotherhood in such a campaign; and if, on the other hand, the work here in connection with Southern Christian Leadership Conf. and the big party conventions is seen as a major contribution to ending colonialism and ushering in an era of world-wide racial equality, as Philip Randolph suggests, then clearly both are tremendously important and it is hardly possible in an objective fashion to judge which of the two is more important per se. There are just too many big factors involved to make that possible.

Just read your "considered opinion"! 4 times. Wy

The question as to what to suggest to B. R. cannot be resolved by asking what

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FOR METROPOLITAN AND SUBURBAN NEW YORK

Room 1601 • 1133 BROADWAY (at 26th St.) NEW YORK 10, N. Y. • WAtkins 4-7874

A. J. MUSTE, ACTING SECRETARY

CORINNE BOWERS, CHAIRMAN

we would have advised him to do — or would now advise him — if the choice of his going or not going to Africa were before us. The fact that he is in Accra, that he bears a relationship to the ~~Sahara~~ African project, and this project is at a certain stage has to be given full weight. There are times when a strike or other struggle in which one may be involved is at such a stage, and one's relationship to it of such a character, that one has to see it through, no matter how important and seemingly imperative another job may be. Failure to do so means letting people down, raising doubts as to whether one can in future ever be trusted to "see it through", ~~which~~ doubts about one's stability (absence of dilettantism) which simply must not be permitted to happen. This is an intangible but such intangibles may be the decisive element in one's career.

"We believe that love .... must serve as the true guide of personal conduct under all circumstances; and we seek to demonstrate this love as the effective force for overcoming evil and transforming society into a creative fellowship."

– From the F.O.R. statement of purpose

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A. J. MUSTE, ACTING SECRETARY CORINNE BOWERS, CHAIRMAN

in determining whether one is a leader or an adventurer or perhaps simply an employe of others – in this case King, Randolph etc. – who can call one at any time to leave another job and carry out their requests or behests.

A good deal would seem to depend in this case at this moment on what B.R's actual relationship is to the Africa project at a couple points. One can imagine a situation in which ~~if~~ a cable ~~came from~~ was sent by King or Randolph saying that it is essential B.R. be in U.S. by end of December if very grave injury to the Negro movement here is to be avoided, that they regret that the picture was not that clear a month ago when B. left or that they did not take time enough to assess the situation, but that now they simply have to beg B – to transfer his responsibilities to others

and set back home; and where it might be right for B. to bow to that mandate and his doings would not entail near-fatal consequences. But there could be two conditions in Africa which would outweigh the King-Randolph summons. One would be that ~~the Sahara project~~ B's withdrawal from the Sahara project would be regarded as an irreparable loss by other group members, and hence a sort of betrayal, a letting down, and that the project with B in it would be capable of becoming politically significant, stirring the African peoples deeply, whereas without B. it would be simply a more or less significant act of witness on the part of a few devoted people which might gain little attention, certainly be heavily discounted etc.

The other, closely related, condition is that getting substantial Ghanaian financial and other backing really depends on whether the key figures there believe the Sahara project is politically important and think it will or probably could be with B in it, but

not without him. This might also mean that significant African youths would come in if B were personally involved but otherwise would not, or would at least feel seriously let down.

(In connection with the first condition above there is also the possibility that without B's organizational, strategic and inspirational contribution to the attempt to enter Sahara, the project would peter out at the border, prove abortive, possibly silly or at least trivial.)

I cannot but feel that if the whole character of the project now hinges — whatever may have been the case if B. had not gone out at all — on B's participation in the respects indicated above, the only possible objective conclusion would be that he cannot at this stage pull out. The situation would be different if the African money was in hand, if key African leaders were on the whole convinced B had made his essential contribution and somehow indicated that,

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A. J. MUSTE, ACTING SECRETARY CORINNE BOWERS, CHAIRMAN

and if the team, including its African members, concurred, however reluctantly, in the verdict that B was needed in U.S.

No one in our discussions here regards it as essential for B - to get back here before end of December. This could be stretched a bit further — even a month, in my view.

All here are agreed that we did not contemplate B - being absent indefinitely and transferring his base to Africa as it apparently were - W.R.L. as well as Randolph etc., want him back. If the present picture is as indicated above I would feel that B simply has to be in the party that makes the first attempt to enter "forbidden territory", providing that attempt is made reasonably soon, that e.g. the party begins the journey from Accra not later than early December. Obviously, this could mean

"We believe that love .... must serve as the true guide of personal conduct under all circumstances; and we seek to demonstrate this love as the effective force for overcoming evil and transforming society into a creative fellowship."
– From the F.O.R. statement of purpose

that B is arrested and out of circulation for quite a while. This is a risk which under the circumstances has to be taken and all here would understand that.

If a first attempt were made and then the question arises whether, after a delay, to try another strategy for getting in, this in my view might well create a new situation, in which B could point out that while committed to the risk that he might be arrested etc., he could not commit himself — and had not — to devoting months to repeated attempts to enter. He is not a permanent member of a traveling "peace army".

By the same token if the situation there is such that the start of the trek to Sahara is substantially delayed, B would be freer in our opinion to say that, however serious the loss, he had not been given permission by W R L etc. to hold

himself indefinitely available for a project which involved the risk of indefinite immobilization.

Similarly, if there were a proposition that, while not going with the Sahara group, B should stay on beyond end of year in order to develop anti-testing demonstrations etc. throughout Africa, our verdict would be that, both from WRL and from civil rights movement standpoint, he should turn this down and return to U.S.

I am not sold on Phil-Stan argument that success of African independence movements largely depends on notorious civil rights movement here. The Africans can move under their own steam, and will, tho U.S. civ. rights progress will help. At this stage it seems to me more the case that progress of African independence movements is bound to soften up opposition to civ. rights by reactionaries here who can't afford to alienate all Africa.

[My last word — chronologically, ~~the~~ in this piece written at intervals in past 2 days; personally, emotionally, I feel the Africa thing is coming marvelously + is the big thing now. I back both Bayard + Bill 80 the limit. Lord AJ 11/15/59

Addendum: Michael Scott, who has just told me he leaves for Accra via Monrovia Mon. 5.30 via Pan-Am, points out that the debate on French test in U N has brought out that the issue is a very crucial one in opinion of Africans and it thus becomes of great importance, for Africans and for radical pacifist movement both, that the latter should be in on this struggle with its best forces. Africans regard the test as a symbol of the new colonialism intended to intimidate the newly independent states.

Ralph and I join in pointing out to you that to a number of our friends the pattern of a general who so to speak tells his troops to enter the battle, but himself stays behind, is not a Gandhian one and that the group on the scene has to decide whether a given number joins in a particular act of civil disobedience.

We want to mention also the fact that King, Randolph etc. are the leaders before the world of the project you really put over. You do not emerge publicly as

the leader, which might redound to advantage of W R & etc. Still more important, you are not permitted to make the basic political decisions but have to yield and compromise. Also, there is considerable feeling that organizing demonstrations at Rep. Dem. conventions is not the most "natural" job for you to take on and why in h – don't these people & their organizations put a thing like this over. Also, if you can't get back in time for this project, they're still going to be dependent on you.

P.S. Am finishing this in route Omaha for trials! I gather from latest cable re Scott from B & R that money is available. Good. If money was made available largely because B was to be fully involved, then it seems obvious we can't use the money honestly if B does less than expected of him. Re the cable – Stan & I wrote it after Conf. with Phil, Orlie, Ed G., Ralph, Stan & myself – Stan wrote Phil's position; I wrote mine. Personally, I think Phil will "accept" if B decides to stay a while. Stan, of course, desperately wants B back. Ralph & Jim would go fully with me in cable – Orlie would on whole go along with my mind – Eddie G inclined to Phil's.

Dear Bayard,

Your letter on the question of my participation arrived this morning. I find the decision logical in all respects and want you to know that I do NOT feel offended--as I did regarding the original selection of the fourth "Golden Rule" crewman.

I had a busy weekend getting Scott off: he leaves this afternoon (Monday). Immediately upon receipt of your cable Saturday afternoon, I phoned him at the seminary and left an urgent message for him to call back. He did--at 2:30 a.m. and I read him the cable. Sunday he called again to discuss with me the question of whether he should stop over in Monrovia for his appointment with Tubman, which wouldn't get him to Accra until Thursday. I expressed the viewpoint that the language of the cable was definitive about getting there Wednesday and he finally agreed. I added the suggestion that he might phone you during the plane's 3/4 of an hour stopover in Monrovia if he had any further doubts. On Sunday, I sent out a news release giving his departure time and flight number. This was a follow-through to the press conference I called last Tuesday at the Carnegie Endowment Center. Because Scott could not conduct the conference himself without violating his conditions of residence here, it was conducted by AJ--with Scott present to answer questions. The turnout was pretty good: 6 newspapermen including UPI, Reuters and a woman from the Latin-American press. However, the resulting coverage, in New York, was poor: only the Post carried a story (a good one, though). I hope some of the other papers will pick it up at the airport today (that's why I sent out a second release).

Ralph tells me he has written you about the meeting in Randolph's office, so I won't rehash the whole thing but simply point out what I think I succeeded in adding to it. I spoke as one who has worked closely with you on BOTH peace and civil rights projects. None of the others there could speak in that particular capacity to evaluate the Sahara project versus the National Political Conventions project. Secondly, I emphasized that the Sahara project goes far beyond the scope of a peace project: it is a demonstration of brotherhood because of the interracial makeup of the team and it is a demonstration against colonialism, whose most ugly manifestation of recent times is the explosion of this bomb. The rest of the story, you know. The lineup was AJ, Ralph and myself versus Randolph, Stan, Orlie and Eddie Gottlieb. The final decision was for AJ and Stan to draft you the cable which you have by now received (Stan agreed in advance to foot the bill for it). The main theme music throughout the meeting was your indispensability for ALL non-violent action projects. While this is a merited and genuine tribute to you, it certainly does not speak well for Randolph, King or the civil rights movement in the U.S. It is a sad situation when one non-violent action on such an immense depends on a single individual in order to take place. And such is the case because Randolph said as much.

I hope you airmailed that picture I requested for [illegible]. It hasn't arrived yet and we have announced the departure for the end of this week. [illegible]

[illegible]

Legon, 18.11.59

Dear Bayard,

I have been approached by Mr Bempong, President of the Student Union, to find out whether you and Michael Scott would be able to come and give a talk to the students in College. They have been hoping to arrange this ever since Francis and Michael R. addressed them last month, and have been waiting to know when Michael S. would be here. The topic they propose is "Race Relations" and they would like to hear you on the subject of American race relations and Michael on "Apartheid".

I don't know what your programme is and when you would be able to come if you were willing to do so. The Union asked me to suggest Friday the 27th of November if that is at all possible. They have booked the Hall for that night. If that day is out of the question maybe you would be good enough to let us know on which days you could accept such a committment. I don't know any days which would be ruled out except perhaps the 24th (Duke's visit) and Saturdays and Sundays when students tend to go away in the evenings.

We would be very grateful if you can let us have your views on this as soon as possible.

Best Wishes

David

URGENT

BAYARD--Please airmail immediately a photo of those team members now in Accra (including yourself). The one in the Ghana Times (of which you sent a clipping) would be OK if available. If it is not available, take another. As you know, a box-camera photo will do. If you can't get the Times one and have to take another, you might try to include in it some of the Africans who are going. But this isn't a must. The photo is a must, however--for WRL News. Ralph agrees with me on this: that it is important for the League finance-wise and every other way. So, we are delaying going to press for a week to await receipt of this photo.

Here's hoping that the demonstration is a success!

My best wishes to all the team members, as plans go ahead,

Jim

Jim Peck

Monday, Nov. 23, 1959

Dear Bayard

I have just received your letter of the 17th and am wondering whether we might not be wise to number our letters and keep carbons on file! I am afraid the P.O. has lost my first two letters to you, the second of which was page 1 of the first two-pager I sent you. I don't recall what it said, but have the feeling it was important in some way.

I rather suspected you hadn't sent the memo to Randolph. It didn't sound like the kind of blunder you'd be guilty of. A.J., in my view, showed bad judgment in passing his copy on to Randolph and I can't see any good reason for his doing so.

I am very happy to hear you expect to be back before Christmas. Though less than we had hoped for. This arrangement is considerably better than what we had feared. I hope you can swing it. Of course, if it can be swung, certainly you can swing it. Needless to say, all of the same element here are anxious for your return. In this period of heightened political activity in many spheres your absence is conspicuous, and acutely felt. The City is not quite the same without you.

How good that you'll be home for Christmas! Shall we have a big turkey dinner at home? We'll have to do something to compensate for this lost Thanksgiving. Rachel will probably spend the holiday in Chicago with Norm. Half of the NY chapter is going out to Chicago for turkey dinner. Half of the Chicago people are coming into NY. It appears that only you and I are static in the flux.

Well, A.J. will arrive before this letter. He's a nice chap, and all that, but I think he's too old to be as much help to you as I could be out there! I'm sure we'd have much more fun driving around in that limousine (I'd do the driving of course) than you'll have with him. That's what you get for being a pacifist instead of a beatnick!

I hope you get back soon. I'm beginning to feel like your pen-pal!

Love
Tom

November 25, 1959

Dear Bayard

Remarkably, I have just received your letter of the 22nd. Three days traveling time isn't bad; it's certainly well above the rate we've been averaging. Maybe we can attribute the improvement to your increasing influence in the government circles out there!

With your letter I also got today your report from the CNVA. It is encouraging from the point of view of both the progress of the project and the prospects for your early, safe return home. I spoke briefly with Stan (who is very busy arranging the Randolph testimonial) and we hopefully see in some of your comments in the report signs of groundwork being laid for the fulfillment of your semi-promise to be back before Christmas. This is indeed good news and makes us both feel much better. We had been more than slightly disturbed at not having received early word from you of the invitation to Muste, and did not know what to make of it, given Muste's position (antagonistic to ours) at the Randolph meeting.

The pique--is the word accurate?--which you seem to show at the failure of a collective decision regarding the Sahara and Civil Rights projects to come out of the Negro and pacifist movements is, of course, understandable. It makes things difficult for you, adding another great burden to those you already have. But in this too there are good signs. If Muste's inflexible position made a single, unified directive impossible, so did Randolph's firmness on the matter of your role in the civil rights project preclude compromise. I don't believe he has ever before taken so strong a stand on you and we should be heartened by this.

I am glad you find my present life "very sound now" but am certainly not prepared to condlude that perhaps it is better when you are away. I do think, though, that "a long go at this" would be important when you come back, if it is geared toward consideration of adjustments of some aspects of the relationship and not toward radical change. I am, on this question, very definitely a liberal reformist and not a Leninist.

Ann asked me for your address and said she wanted to write to you. I assumed her letter would be a sad one. She is really very unhappy and her neurosis reveals itself ina thousand little ways when you get close to her in a working situation.

I have almost completed my civil rights pamphlet. But I said that before. What a chore it is for me to think clearly and to organize ideas! You could be of such help if you were here. I will have the first draft finished and mimeod by the end of the holidays and will send you a copy for criticism. I am not too much satisfied with it, for in the process of putting it together, I've realized how much I really lack an overall, historical perspective. My experience in working with you has given me many practical insights into current problems, but my background lacks what can only be had from serious reading. I think this will probably show in the document.

Must run now to a YPSL Education Committee meeting. I will write some more over the holidays.

TOM

P.S. Got back my Youth Mend article from Liberation. What happened with it?

c/o Miss Ethel Hime
C.M.S. Guest House
29 Marina
Lagos, Nigeria
Nov. 25, 1959

Dear Bayard:

Fancy almost meeting you here!

When I ran into you in a restaurant on 40th Street one night last Spring, you did not tell me you were coming to West Africa! Remember — I was telling you about my trip here?

On Sunday, I happened to read that you and Michael Scott are in Accra. I tried to telephone you thru Mr. Quaye but its a life-time job to make a local call in Lagos — to say nothing of a long distance call! I gave up on Tuesday. There is a connection to Accra only 11 to 1 AM

to 1 PM, Nigeria time.

I was in a hurry to reach you to find out whether I could join up with the team going into the Sahara. I could change my plans to do that, if it's practicable. The only problem is that I'm not scheduled to arrive in Accra until Dec. 2nd.

Will there be a second group of Marchers leaving later, by any chance?

What route are you using? It might be possible for me to join you in Kano, if you are approaching the Sahara by flying to the edge of it.

I came to Africa hoping I could go to the All African

People's Conference in Tunis, but I understand from reliable source that the date has been moved ahead to Dec. 25 to 29. I'm due at work on Feb. 2nd, so that's probably out.

Then I thought I could go to the Afro-Asian Conference in Conakry, but that has been set for February — too late.

If you get this in time, could you drop me an air letter by Friday to let me know whether there is anything I can do about the "desert march?" I leave here by plane Fri. night at 7:00 for Kano, and from Kano I'm not sure where I'll be until I return to Ghana between Dec. 5 & 11 — depending on dates of flights yet.

[illegible] to the project team, [illegible]

BY AIR MAIL

AEROGRAMME
AIR LETTER

LAGOS
T - AM
26 NOV
1959

POST AIR MAIL
6d
FOR CHRISTMAS
IFE BRONZE
NIGERIA

Mr. Bayard Rustin
% Mr. E.C. Quaye
Chairman of Anti-Nuclear Committee
Accra Municipal Council
Accra, GHANA

M. K. Delany
% CMS Guest House
29, Marina
LAGOS, NIGERIA

AN AIR LETTER SHOULD NOT CONTAIN ANY ENCLOSURE.
IF IT DOES IT WILL BE SURCHARGED OR SENT BY ORDINARY MAIL.

BAYARD RUSTIN - CORRESPONDENCE 1962

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8

ANNIVERSARY OF ASSASSINATION OF GANDHI

JANUARY 30, 1962

Statement by A.J. Muste, Chairman, Committee for Nonviolent Action USA and Co-Chairman with Jayaprakash Narayan of India and Michael Scott of Great Britain of World Peace Brigade organized in Beirut, Lebanon, January 1, 1962.

* * * *

Gandhi was the exponent both in word and in personal life and in political action of the concept of Nonviolent Revolution. In combining the two he revolutionized the idea of nonviolence. It ceased to be passive and personal. It became active, positive and in the deepest sense political. He also revolutionized the concept of revolution itself by infusing into it the attitude of respect for human dignity and insisting on using methods which would make peace possible, not bitterness and social chaos.

The assassination of Gandhi did not disprove the validity of nonviolence or put an end to its spread. If practitioners of nonviolence were not prepared to suffer and lay down their lives for it, it and they would be impotent.

Even the failure of the government of India to practise Gandhi's ideas, as when Goa was taken back recently by force, does not invalidate Gandhi's idea. Most Western criticism of that action was, incidentally, hypocritical and childish. Where is the pacifist government that had the right to criticise the minor show of force by India?

One result of the Goa incident was a new resolution on the part of the Gandhians of India to apply his ideas to the contemporary situation in India and around the world, and their joining on January 1st in setting up a World Peace Brigade, along with peace workers from a dozen or more other countries, in Beirut, Lebanon. It was Gandhiji's hope that such an international "Shanti-Sena," Peace Army, should be organized before his death. It has now been done as a monument to his memory. A thousand volunteers are sought in the next couple of months.

One of the basic elements in Gandhi's philosophy is that the pattern of conflict itself is misleading and invalid. The true enemy is not the other man whom you regard as your enemy. The enemy is the enmity, the violence in which both of you are trapped, and which disables both of you from solving the problem which has arisen, disables each from saving himself and his neighbor.

The nuclear age has now brought it about that Gandhi's thesis that violence itself, war is the enemy, is literally true of the relation between nations, and especially between the biggest powers: the more heavily armed they are the more firmly are they trapped, imprisoned, in the institution of violence which they have built.

The call Gandhi sounds on this anniversary, the call sounded by the Strikes for Peace, is: Stop the Arms Race -- Stop it now, Stop it unconditionally. The U.S. and the Soviet Union, the Soviet Union and the U.S. -- and the rest -- are caught in the same trap. Each can save himself only by helping to save the other. The way of nuclear violence is the way to death -- death of human beings everywhere, death of systems, death of values and ideals. The way of life is the way of nonviolence.

World Peace Brigade,
P.O. Box 822,

Dar-es-Salaam.
Monday, 21st May, 1962.

STATEMENT TO THE PRESS BY THE THREE CHAIRMEN OF TH E WORLD PEACE BRIGADE FOR NON-VIOLENT ACTION.

--A.J.Muste, Chairman, North America Committee, New York.
--Jayaprakash Narayan, Chairman, Asia Committee , Varanasi(India)
--Michael Scott, Chairman, European Committee, London.

We have met in Dar-es-Salaam, following the PAFMECA Mbeya Conference, to consider how best can we assist Mr. Kenneth Kaunda and his party, UNIP, to achieve self-rule in Northern Rhodesia and to advance justice and a free society in Zambia.

Since our arrival we have conferred with Mr. Kaunda; with Mr. Julius Nyerere President of TANU; with Mr. Maswanya, Minister without portfolio; with Mr. Koinange, General-Secretary of PAFMECA and with Mr. Bhoke Munanka, Parliamentary Secretary to the Prime Minister. Mr. Rashidi Kawawa . As a result of a series of conferences with these gentlemen and with other members of the Africa Freedom Action Committee, we have made the following decisions:

I: We shall return to our respective areas to intensify preparation for the March from Tanganyika into Northern Rhodesia, in accordance with the expressed desire of the African leaders mentioned above.

Mr. Kaunda feels that positive action both within and from outside Zambia must be held in readiness until his party is satisfied that the conditions he has demanded for participation in elections have been met and his objective of an African majority has been established.

Such preparations are all the more urgent since it is clear that Mr. Kaunda's opponents are using African agents provocateurs to create disturbances and violence to prevent legitimate campaigns for self-rule.

On returning home we shall urge our sections to organise public demonstrations, to send representatives to British representatives in their countries and to engage in sit-downs and other forms of pretest to arouse public opinion to support Mr. Kaunda and his cause.

2; We shall continue to raise funds to support UNIP which is valiantly carrying on its struggle against ruthless opponents who are supported by powerful economic interests with assets worth millions of pounds.

Michael Scott was one of the initiators of the Freedom fund headed by Lord Listowel, that has been established in London and that has already begun collections.

A.J. Muste has been instrumental in raising most of the funds to support the averseas aspects of the March and the American Committee has now accepted primary responsibility for its overall direction.

Jayaprakash Narayan, since the Mbeya conference, has already raised a first instalment of over £ 1,000 in Tanganyika to assist Mr. Kaundas's party. After completing his fund-raising here he will go to Kenya with Mr Koinange to raise additional funds for UNIP. Fellowing his stay in Kenya, he will then proceed to Uganda.

3; In addition to the March , both Mr Nyerere and Mr. Kaunda felt that the establishment of a Centre for Non-violent Positive Action, concerned with strategy and other activities for the attainment of freedom and the building of a just society, could prove to be of great benefit in Africa.

Therefore, the World Peace Brigade is preparing, in consultation with Mr. Nyerere, a plan for such a centre in Tanganyika.

4. We wish finally to reaffirm our faith in Mr Kenneth Kaunda as a person who is trying against heavy odds to bring freedom and dignity to his people through methods which are compatible with his aims for a just and non-racial society. He has, thus, become a leader of humanity and is making a distinct contribution t the development of a peaceful and human world society.

Therefore, the World Peace Brigade has had no difficulty in signing up hundreds of volunteers from Europe, Asia and the Americas who stand ready to join the march.

The World Peace Brigade will send the most experienced of these volunteers to Dar-es-Salaam whenever Mr.Kaunda calls.

These volunteers are determined to cross into Northern Rhodesia to identify themselves with the people struggling there for freedom. Volunteers are prepared to face any consequences that may develop.

Jayaprakash Narayan and his wife have pledged to return to Tanganyika from India to join Michael Scott whenever the March is called.

It has been agreed that the third chairman, A. J. Muste, will take responsibility for the general guidance and direction of the March and other aspects of the World Peace Brigade's activities throughout the world.

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1962

The following is a brief summary of the views of Senator Goldwater on five basic issues of our time: Civil Rights, Social Welfare, Education, Right-Wing Extremism, Disarmament and Peace.

Civil Rights

Senator Goldwater states that he personally is free of racial prejudice, but that the only way to free the nation of discrimination is to change men's hearts. He opposes legislation to outlaw the denial of civil rights to members of minority groups. Thus, he voted against the Civil Rights Act of 1964 on the grounds that its FEPC and public accomodation provisions were "unconstitutional." He refused to allow the courts to determine that issue, although that is the function assigned to the judiciary under the American Constitution. He voted against cloture on civil rights bills in 1960, 1962 and 1964. He has said, "The 1954 Supreme Court school desegregation decision is not necessarily the supreme law of the land," (N.Y. Times Magazine, Nov. 19, 1961). He has also said, "We have no right to tell the Southern states what they must do about school integration and segregation," (CBS Reports, CBS-TV, March 8, 1962).

Social Welfare

The Senator takes the position that welfare programs on behalf of the poor, the aged, the sick and the disabled ought not be conducted by the Federal government. As for programs already in existence, such as social security, he makes it clear that he was

opposed to them when they were first introduced, but he backs down or avoids the question of their repeal or drastic reduction. His principle is clearly stated in his book The Conscience of a Conservative. There he states, "Let welfare be a private concern." He has consistently voted against increases in old age pensions under social security. He has opposed every effort to increase minimum wages or to broaden their coverage. On January 26, 1961, he said on CBS' "Face the Nation","When you say to Johnny, 'Don't worry about the old man or your mother, we're going to take care of them when they get older,' you've destroyed his freedom there, the freedom of responsibility."

Education

Senator Goldwater opposes any federal support of education, whether in the form of grants-in-aid, school construction or other forms of assistance. He voted against the 2.5 billion dollar school construction bill of 1951 and the 2.7 billion dollar higher education bill of 1962. His views were well summarized at the hearing of the Senate sub-committee on Education on April 30, 1963, when he said, "I do not believe we have an education problem which requires any form of federal grant-in-aid program to the states."

Right-Wing Extremism

The Senator has never openly condemned the John Birch Society or, so far as the record indicates, any other extreme right-wing organization in this country. He has made favorable statements about them. For example, of the Birchers he said in March, 1964 at Paradise, California, "They believe in the Constitution, they

believe in God, they believe in freedom." On April 16, 1964 in San Francisco he said, "I don't consider the John Birch Society as a group to be extremist." Furthermore, the extremists make no secret of their enthusiastic support of him for the Presidency. In the Blue Book of the John Birch Society, Robert Welch says that Senator Goldwater would make an excellent President. WE THE PEOPLE, an organization led by Billy James Hargis, one of the nation's most rabid right-wing extremists, openly endorsed Goldwater for President at its convention on September 21st and 22nd, 1963. In general Goldwater's political views never clash on any important issue with those of the Birch Society and on no public question of importance does he take a position of conflict with theirs.

Finally, it would appear that the Senator, like the Birchers, is not publicly advocating democracy as an ideal. For example, in his acceptance speech at the Republican Convention he spoke of "freedom" as a national ideal no less than 23 times. He called for "liberty" eight times. He avowed his support of "God", "the Republic", and "constitutional government," but never once did he mention the word democracy among the ideals to which he is devoted. This is, of course, consistent with the Birch Society view that this is "A Republic, not a democracy; let's keep it that way," and, "Democracy is a perennial fraud."

Peace and Disarmament

Senator Goldwater states that he is for peace, but in practice advocates international policies that tend to weaken the U.N., destroy the possibility of negotiations, and take the country to the

Peace and Disarmament (con't)

brink of war.

On Foreign Policy: "I don't give a tinker's damn what the rest of the world thinks about the United States as long as we keep strong militarily." Congressional Record, Sept. 23, 1963

On the United Nations: "Frankly, I think the fact that it is proven to be unworkable is ground enough for us to quit wasting our money on it." Interview, WOR-TV, May 12, 1963.

On Disarmament: "A dangerous exercise in complete and total futility." Speech at Wings Club, New York, Nov. 12, 1962.

He also voted against approval of the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty.

BAYARD RUSTIN - CORRESPONDENCE JAN.-
OCT. 1963

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MRS. FARLEY W. WHEELWRIGHT
125 ELMWOOD AVENUE
HEMPSTEAD, LONG ISLAND
NEW YORK

January 1, 1963

Dear Bayard,

Happy New Year!

This note comes to ask two things:

① Alice & I have saved the first week in July for you to come to Fire Island and visit us. Can you look ahead this far? If this week is not convenient name your own any time in July or up to August 9 when we're off for Paris. I'd like to know soon as you have first priority on our guest room, but there are others

whom we want to book in.

(2) Please don't be embarrassed to say "No" to this, but: would you like to give me a letter of introduction to Lord Russell for any time the last week in August? I'd like to have tea with him in Wales --- indeed, anywhere in the world! But I'd love to reproduce your trip there — what a sermon (as well as what an experience).

My God, Bayard, you never told anybody you cruel sin! What talents you have to be sure —

Alice joins me in a fond hello.

Cordially, Farley

Sunday, 17 Feb., 1963

Dear Friends,

greetings to Mr. Randolph and others in the office.

Dar Es Salaam is very hot this time of year but there is usually a good breeze from the sea and nights are cool and sleep comes easily.

Bill Sutherland who is here with me talked with Maida yesterday and she is expected here soon. I called here when I came through Nairobi, but alas she was out of her Hotel and I could not locate her office.

The white people may talk of the backwardness of Negroes but the rate of progress being made here is wonderful. The spirit is high and every person seems to be working for a common end.

I have seen the President, Mr. Nyerere and the Vice President, Mr. Kawawa and their plans for this nation are truly great. It makes one feel good to be black.

Will see you about March 1st - Love BR.

March 4, 1963

Dear Bayard,

I hope you are fine. I am glad to know that you are back and enjoyed yourself in Rome. You are probably wondering why I am writing so to ease your curiosity - I will tell you. I need a favor. I am applying for the Russel Bull Scholarship and one of the prerequisites is that I have a letter of recommendation from a person or organization concerned with promoting and furthering civil rights and civil liberties.

I know that you are extremely busy, but I do hope that you will squeeze in some time to write this letter for me - as it is of the utmost ~~performance~~ importance. The letter should "describe and evaluate the applicant's interest and activities in these fields and his potentialities for leadership therein, and provide any other information considered relevant by the writer".

I would appreciate it if I could receive this letter no later than March 17, as I have a time limit. You can mail the letter to me.

Stokely Carmichael
Administration Building
P.O. Box 58
Howard University
Wash. 1, D.C.

As I said before I know you are extremely busy, but this matter is of some concern to me as I am sure you understand. ~~why~~ Thanking you in advance and hoping to see you soon.

Sincerely Yours
Stokely

I am enclosing the following to aid you

Some of the Activities I was involved in. Freedom Rider. June 1961. I spent a month and a half in jail in Mississippi. Then off to Tenn. ~~con~~ during the same summer. I was arrested in Nashville did some work there, then came to N.Y. and worked under you with the Harlem situation and getting all the groups together. Returned to school to work on Route 40. was arrested in Baltimore. In June of 1962 ~~arrested~~ for the hospital strike and then found myself working under you again for on the Hospital Committee. Returned to school for some minor picketting etc.

27 March 1963

Chairman UPWA
Public Review Advisory Commission
c/o Ralph Helstein, President
United Packing House Food and Allied Workers
AFL - CIO Room 1800
608 South Dearborn St.
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Sir:

I'm writing on behalf of Mr. Stokley Carmichael, student at Howard University who has been associated with me in a number of important projects over the past few years and who I understand is making application for a fellowship. I would like you to know that Mr. Carmichael is not only an excellent student but is deeply dedicated to justice and freedom. He is the leader of the civil rights group at Howard University, which has had extraordinary success in desegregating institutions in Washington, D.C.; he was extremely helpful in two youth marches for integrating schools which I had the pleasure of organizing for brother A. Philip Randolph; he has shown his great dedication by being arrested several times in connection with desegregation in Baltimore and in the south; and his approach is that of being deeply concerned with all minority as was demonstrated by the immense help he gave me in organizing the Puerto Rican community during the hospital strike when I organized the Committee for Justice to Hospital Workers for Local 1199 under the leadership of brother Leon Davis.

I sincerely hope that you will give his application every consideration.

Sincerely,

Bayard Rustin
Executive Secretary

copy to Russel Lasley
BR:hc

TURN TOWARD PEACE
Cooper Station Box 401
New York 3, New York

INTERNATIONAL LIAISON COMMITTEE
June 12, 1963
Minutes

PRESENT: Homer Jack, presiding, Robert Gilmore, Alfred Hassler, A. J. Muste, Mildred Olmsted, Robert Pickus, Bayard Rustin, Norman Thomas

Guest: Arlo Tatum

REGRETS: Stewart Meacham, Anne Stadler

1. INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE: There was extensive discussion concerning a proposed international conference to be held in this country next year. The recommendations which the two American members of the Continuing Committee of the International Confederation for Disarmament and Peace would make at its meeting this summer were specifically considered. The Committee felt that this is not the time to have a world congress of the Moscow type, but rather it would be most useful to have a modest off-the-record conference similar to the first London Conference, to which individuals from both the Communist world and the West would be invited, with some representation from other parts of the world. The purpose of the conference would be to discuss and discover agreements and disagreements, and to prepare the ground for a future larger conference if it seemed feasible.

The Committee agreed that Al Hassler and Homer Jack should present this proposal to the Continuing Committee and urge it to move forward if the many problems involved in the undertaking can be solved. In the meantime, the Committee directed Homer Jack to prepare a draft of the proposal with A. J. Muste, and circulate it to the Liaison Committee before presenting it to the Continuing Committee.

2. PAULING STATEMENT ON OXFORD CONFERENCE: The Executive Director reported that, in accordance with Committee instructions, he had written to M. S. Arnoni, editor of The Minority of One, requesting publication in that periodical of the report by eleven members of the American delegation to the Oxford Conference entitled THE OXFORD CONFERENCE AND OBSERVERS FROM THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE. A reply had been received in which Mr. Arnoni refused to publish the report.

3. VISIT FROM SOVIET AND POLISH PEACE COMMITTEES:

A. J. Muste reported that the plans are proceeding with no new developments.

Submitted 6/24/63

Robert Gilmore

BAYARD RUSTIN

A Quaker:

Active in peace and civil rights movements for 25 years

Former advisor to Martin Luther King, Jr. arrested over 20 times in the civil rights struggle

First Field Director of CORE

Conscientious Objector to war, spent three years in prison during World War II

Member of Sahara Protest Team which acted to protest first French firing of nuclear weapon.

Executive Committee Member, World Peace Brigade

Coordinator, Prayer Pilgrimage to Washington, 1957

Director, Youth Marches for Integrated Schools, Washington D.C. 1958 and 1959

An Editor of Liberation magazine

Presently Executive Secretary of the War Resisters League

Travelled widely in Asia, Europe and Africa in connection with colonial revolution.

Deputy Director of the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom, in which 210,000 persons participated.

Ret to AJ

WILLIAM K. HEFNER
278 MAIN STREET
GREENFIELD, MASS.

June 17, 1963

A.J.Muste
Room 1025
5 Beekman St.
New York 38, N.Y.

Dear AJ:

The other day in New York Bayard told me of your plans to try to raise $20,000 to put additional non-violent training efforts into the racial situation in the South. I have urged a number of people concerned about this problem to send you money for this purpose. I don't know whether any of them will respond or not. I'm afraid they feel it is too little and too late.

I am enclosing two checks for a total of $100 toward this fund you are raising. I also feel, that if it is additional non-violent training efforts we have to depend on alone to prevent widespread violence breaking out on the integration front--then it is true $20,000 is too little and too late. I think this is the kind of time in which you approach big foundations for not $20,000 but $200,000 to set up adequate non-violent training centers. It isn't just the Negroes who have a stake in their efforts remaining non-violent--everyone in the US does. But the President has a greater stake than any other single person. If he can find funds to support training centers for preparation to invade Cuba why are not similar sources of funds available to help support a massive increase in non-violent training centers? Also, how about the National Council of Churches, which has just gone on record urging their constituents to get out in the streets and demonstrate on the race question? Why wouldn't they put large sums into crash programs of non-violent training? I think they would if they were approached in the right way with a well thought out proposal--not something that is thrown together overnite on a panic basis. The leadership of CORE, SCLC, SNCC and NAACP should jointly present a concrete proposal for at least a half million dollars for such expanded training to start now. And you and

Bayard should take the responsibility to see that this is done.

If, as Bayard feels, the lid can blow-off this summer, they you must realize that your $20,000 isn't going to keep it from doing so. And this is precisely the attitude I get from those I talk to about giving money for this purpose. If they knew it was going to part of a larger program they would feel more like giving. But they don't want to pour money down a hole.

If you and Bayard really feel the heat is going to generate widespread violence this summer, then in good consciende it seems to me you've got to go for the larger sum and the larger program.

Sincerely,

Bill

Bill

P.S. I suppose you must be planing to approach Mrs. Peter Farnsworth on this. I presume most all the Peace Groups and Civil Rights Groups are on her doorstep most of the times these days.

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE, INC.
Chicago Regional Office for Illinois and Wisconsin
431 SOUTH DEARBORN STREET, CHICAGO 5, ILLINOIS HArrison 7-2533

CHARLES S. BEAL
Regional Chairman
KALE WILLIAMS
Executive Secretary
HUGH P. MAXWELL
Finance Secretary
GEORGE R. BENT
Finance Secretary Emeritus

June 28, 1963

To: Key leaders concerned with non-violent direct action for civil rights
From: American Friends Service Committee.
Subject: Consultation on leadership training for non-violent direct action on civil rights.

The American Friends Service Committee is concerned that the civil rights movement in Chicago make the fullest and most effective use of the method and spirit of non-violence which has revolutionized the drive for racial justice through-out the country.

To that end we invite key leaders of this movement in Chicago to join in a consultation on leadership training for non-violent direct action. Present as resource people will be two outstanding civil rights workers from both North and South, Bayard Rustin and J. Metz Rollins, Jr. We will consider such questions as: How to identify situations of injustice to which non-violent direct action can be addressed? What is involved in organizing for non-violent direct action? Does non-violence have the same relevance in the North as in the South? What are the possibilities and problems of organizational cooperation in non-violent direct action?

We do not expect to come out of this meeting with any new action programs, nor with requests for organizational commitment. We do hope to have a clearer understanding of what kind of training can make non-violent direct action most effective in Chicago and how that training might be provided.

Here are the details. We hope you can come.
DATE and TIME: 1:30 - 9:00 p.m., Sunday, July 14, 1963
PLACE: Washington Park YMCA, 5000 So. Indiana Ave., Indiana Room (air-conditioned!)
RESOURCE PEOPLE: Bayard Rustin, Executive Secretary, War Resister's League. Long experience with non-violent direct action in U.S. and over seas. James Metz Rollins, Jr., Minister and field representative, Board of Christian Education, United Presbyterian Church. Leader of Nashville, Tennessee demonstrations.
CHAIRMAN: George Watson, Roosevelt University and AFSC Housing Opportunities Com.
ATTENDANCE: Limited to 40 to assure full participation; advance registration required. Further information: Jane Weston or Tony Henry, AFSC office, HA 7-2533.
COST: Evening meal in cafeteria at own expense.

REGISTRATION FORM. -- Return to AFSC, 431 South Dearborn, Chicago 5, Illinois.
I wish to participate in the consultation on training for non-violent direct action on Sunday, July 14, 1963 from 1:30 to 9:00 p.m.

Name_____ Address_____ Phone_____

Organizational affiliation (s)_____

_____ Position_____

AT NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS
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PARTICIPANTS in the June 21-23, 1963, NYACK CONFERENCE

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Rosen, Sumner	61 Myrtle St. Boston
Breeden, Rev. James	c/o Noel Day, St. Marks Social Center, 216 Townsend St., Roxbury 21, Mass.
Burlage, Robb	115 Russel Avenue, Watertown, Mass.
Day, Noel	Executive Director, St. Marks Social Center, 216 Townsend St.
Hartman, Chet	235 Western Avenue, Cambridge 39

ATLANTA

Forman, Jim	SNCC, 6 Raymond Street
Miller, Mike	SNCC, 6 Raymond Street
Minnis, Jack	Research Director, Voter Education Project, Southern Regional Council, 5 Forsyth Street

CHICAGO

Beverley, Leon	United Packinghouse Workers, 4859 S. Wabash Ave.
Prozden, Jesse	United Packinghouse Workers, 4859 S. Wabash Ave.

NEW YORK

Aronowitz, Stanley	117 Bank Street, NYC 14
Brown, Ray	15 Abingdon Square, NYC 14
Cannon, Terry	c/o AFSC, 2 West 20 Street, NYC 11
Hayden, Tom	c/o SDS, 112 East 19 Street, NYC 3
Heifetz, Bob	243 Riverside Drive, #96B, NYC 25
Jenkins, Becky	100 West 14 Street, NYC 11
Johnson, Rev. Forrest	220 Lakeview Place, Bronx
McDermott, John	4525 Henry Hudson Parkway, Bronx
Mahoney, Bill	SNCC, 5 Beekman Street, NYC
Moneomis, Jim	c/o SDS, 112 East 19 Street, NYC 3
Muste, A.J.	War Resisters League, 5 Beekman Place, NYC
Roy, Beth	76 Horatio Street, #3A, NYC
Sinclair, Hamish & Janet	96 Greenwich Avenue, NYC 11
Sklar, Marty	c/o Studies on the Left, Box 33, Planetarium Station, NYC 24
Swados, Harvey	R.R. 1, Box 398, Valley Cottage
Thabit, Walter	Room 202, 76 Reade Street, NYC 7
Webb, Lee	c/o SDS, 112 East 19 Street, NYC 3

PHILADELPHIA

Christiansen, Gordon	AFSC, 160 N. 15th Street, Phila. 2

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Carliner, Lou	3112 Rodman Street

WORLD PEACE BRIGADE

FOR NON-VIOLENT ACTION

(AFRICA FREEDOM ACTION PROJECT)

P. O. BOX 822,
DAR ES SALAAM,
(TANGANYIKA)

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Abbe Pierre (France)
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Michael Randle (U.K.)
Archibishop T. D. Roberts (U.K.)
Bayard Rustin (U.S.A.)
Helga Stolle (W. Germany)
Bill Sutherland (Africa)

To open out here

CONFIDENTIAL NOT FOR PUBLICATION

April 23 1963

Dear A. J. + Bayard –

I'm now on a plane en route for Dar. For the past 2 weeks I have been in the north-western corner of Tang. – about 200 miles from Lake Victoria. The V.P.'s office has given me responsibility for refugee and resettlement problems and the toughest situation is that of the Rwanda people who have been fleeing from their country for several years for political reasons. My heart sank when I found I was being brought into the situation at the very moment when the govt. had lost patience with the refugees over their refusal to resettle according to government plan and was ordering the arrest of their leaders and giving an ultimatum of: "move in 3 weeks or we force you out" to the rest. After the arrest of the leaders, practically all of refugees in the area, 6 or 7,000 left the camp for the neighboring country of Burundi, about 20 miles away. Here they were pushed back by Burundi police. and slowly made their way back to the old camp in very poor condition physically since many had not been eating regularly for months. (At this point, the representative of the United Nations High Commission for Refugees heard about all this and came running in from his headquarters in Usumbura, Burundi. I accompanied one of the junior Ministers from Dar Es Salaam to see what was going on and to meet the U.N. man, Prevost. It was not a pretty picture. All the wrong methods had been used by British Camp-commandant to get the people to cooperate – The sad case of

a sincere but misguided, extremely limited colonial civil servant
admirer in the Belgian Government believing until he found
himself in the position of having to get his own concept of
U.N. man and a disciplined authoritarian Katanga Katanga action was a white collist - the
regional + colonial authorities to get everyone led. My position was
to the interests of the refugees and the Katangese government met at
the point where a UN Dep. was killed with local civilians
people who submission when I was observing - great authorities claiming
being the attacks were killed with local civilians
the only ones left to deal with the attacks. Only a young African nation, Tony
to be left with the Katanga Gendarmerie African Army, even if
the condition of the Katanga people were not white. To make
a good Katanga state, the Government believing were not white. To make
people in the area authorities were also to face the
a new Katanga Katanga authorities wanted to be white
minister his back to Katanga people in Katanga to be
was able to come back — to point of view. The
neighbor were being fed in their
area to reestablishment. a country to be at war
within the old colonial where there were
the civil servants. Katanga, Katanga, Katanga
Katanga, Katanga

← Second fold here →

← First fold here →

BY AIR MAIL
DAR ES SALAAM
AVGUST 28 1963
AIR LETTER
TANGANYIKA

PLEASE ... KENYA UGANDA TANGANYIKA 50c

A. J. Muste + Bayard Rustin
Room 1026
5 Beekman Street
New York 38, N.Y.
U.S.A.

Sender's name and address: S. Thorland
Box 822, Dar Es Salaam
Tanganyika

AN AIR LETTER SHOULD NOT CONTAIN ANY ENCLOSURE ; IF IT DOES IT WILL BE SURCHARGED OR SENT BY ORDINARY MAIL.

278 Main Street
Greenfield, Mass.
June 28, 1963

James Farmer
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, New York

Dear Jim:

I suppose you are hearing from many arm-chair strategists on the theory and practice of non-violence and how it should apply in the proposed March on Washington. Here is my two cents worth.

At the outset, let me say that I am fully aware that in the past the most successfuly marches on Washington have not had to take place. But this does not mean they do not have to be well prepared and ready to go.

I view a march as having these limited direct goals: (1) To persuade the southern senators to stop their filibuster or (2) To encourage enough of the other senators to vote for cloture as a means of stopping a filibuster. There can be many by-products if a march actually takes place, such as transferring the focus of tension away from community levels to Washington.

If the above two objectives are to be achieved I believe there are three main requirements that must be met: (1) There must be as many white people involved as it is possible toget (2) It must not be a rowdy affair--must be well organized and dignified and (3) It must be planned so as to last the length of the filibuster. How can these requirements be met? I will deal here with only #1 and #3. #1 will be met if most of the peace organizations can bepersudded to cooperate. I feel that AFSC, SANE, FOR, WRL, TTP etc. should be asked to urge their constituents to cooperate with Negro and civil rights groups at the community levels to charter buses,etc. to bring interracial groups to the demonstration in Washington. The peace movement should make no explicit or implied request for similar cooperation from the civil rights groups in exchangefor their cooperation.

Each day that the filibuster is on there should be a march of 4 to 8 abreast walking past the capitol during the hours of the day the filibuster is taking place. This requires an estimate of how many people are needed for each day; an advance survey of the country of how many people can come from which communites; and a date given to each of these groups on when they are to arrive in Washington to do their stint. Under this plan there would be practically no housing in Washington required for participants. They would arrive at the appointed time at the appointed place with banners stating where they are from, take their places in the line of march, march in front of and past the capital and into their buses, etc. and back home. Such a protracted demonstration of different people from different communities across the country

would be visible evidence of grass roots support from a cross-section of the country except the Southern States we are concerned about most. If it contains a good percentage of whites it will impress both the southern senators and the northern senators no matter w ich party they come from. As compared with a one day, one shot affair with 100,000 or even 200,000 people, I think this pretracted effort will build up a tremendous cummulative effect that the one shot affair could never do. It might even be the first step that will contribute toward effectively breaking the control the southern senators have over critical national decision-making.

You may say, but this is a lot of work and we can't get enough people together to do the kind of pretracted demonstration described here. If the organizing effort is tried, if the peace movement would cooperate (and the churches too) in getting whites involved; I think 300,000 is not too high a number to expect that would be willing to join in a march on Washington of the type I've described. In any event it would not take much effort to put out inquirées to all the communities across the country where we have contacts and ask how many could be pledged to come simply as a preliminary estimate--asking for no formal committment at the time.

I believe that from Greenfield, Mass., for example, we could get a bus load--both white and Negro. This involved an 8 hour drive each way. If necessary we could sleep on the bus. The population of Greenfield is 18,000.

Well, there it is. I'd like to see this tried.

Sincerely,

Bill

Bill Hefner

cc. Bayard Rustin, Homer Jack, Robert Gilmore

P.S. Gentlemen you are all busy men. This does not ~~xxxxxxxx~~ require an answer to me. I'm not in Greenfield anyway. I'm in Logan, W.Va. visiting my mother and typing this on an old machine that went through the April 12th flood that took half my moth rs house away.

PPS. Keep in mind that the National Council of Churches, I believe, voted recently to urge its members to demonstrate in the streets on the race question.

1963
OUR TENTH
ANNIVERSARY
YEAR

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AMERICAN COMMITTEE ON AFRICA

211 East 43rd Street • New York 17, N. Y. • (212) TN 7-8733 • Cable AMCOMMAF

1 July 1963

Dear Bayard:

Thanks for delivering this material to Martin. If there is any way of urging King to contact Ambassador Diallo Telli by phone tomorrow (Tuesday, July 2) please do what you can. The Anti-Apartheid Committee at the UN is awfully anxious to get some date set for King's appearance before the Security Council meets if possible. The telephone number at the Guinea Mission to the UN is YU 8-8110.

Thanks.

Yours,

George

George M. Houser

Mr. Bayard Rustin
District 65
13 Astor Place
New York 3, New York

SPring 7-6346 July 7th

Dear Bayard,

The enclosed letter draft and the other enclosures are all self-explanatory.

I'm sticking in a copy of a current fund appeal just for your information. It contains JFK's comments on my case.

Unless you feel 99 44/100% certain that those Indian officials will really act, my own feeling is that the half dozen letters could better go to private persons in Africa and Asia. Since Julius Nyerere is technically not in the government, would he be a good one?

Please don't forget to send me a copy of the March strategy.

Many thanks and best regards,

Bill

enclosures

apt. 2
210 E. 19 St.
N. Y. 3, N. Y.

11325 S.W. 97th Ave.
Miami 56, Fla.
July 9, 1963

Dear Bayard,

I am pleased to learn that the projected March on Washington is going to include a demand for full employment for all as well as equal opportunity for Negroes. If we have 50 per cent of people getting out of high school in 1970 unable to get jobs, as Hutchins predicts we may, equal opportunity for non-existent jobs won't be of much help to the 60 to 75 per cent of young Negroes who might be unemployed under such circumstances.

When Jim Baldwin was here a couple of weeks ago, we talked with him about this problem of extending the civil rights protest to include general full employment, and he was quite strong on the necessity for it. Perhaps he could help in making the point in connection with the March. You probably know how to reach him better than I do, but the address he gave us is c/o Clarence Jones, 165 Broadway, New York. Apparently he's in Puerto Rico right now.

Hope all comes off successfully.

Sincerely,

Don

SCOTT BADER & CO LTD *Wollaston, Wellingborough, Northamptonshire*

Telephone: Wollaston 262 Telegrams: Scottbader Wollaston Wellingborough

By Airmail

YOUR REF. OUR REF.

5/34

Mr Bayard Rustin
Apt 9 J, 340 W. 28th Street
New York, N.Y., U.S.A.

10th July 1963

Dear Bayard,

Once again I am thinking of you and the assistance you will no doubt be willing to render to my wife and myself during our coming stay in New York from approximately 7th September to 11th October.

As you will see from the enclosed itinerary we are hoping to cover a good deal of ground but the immediate question is where we shall stay in New York. You were good enough to tell us that you would be able to offer us accommodation and this would be a tremendous help so that I could indicate the address where people can contact us during that time. So could you possibly manage to reserve rooms for us? Naturally the costs will be ours but we shall only need bed and breakfast as we expect to be out most of the time visiting.

We intend to look up Arlo Tatum, Lewis Mumford and other contacts and we hope to see Mr Heap of the Ford Foundation and obtain an introduction to the Schalkenbach Foundation on behalf of our STRIVE scheme, of which I enclose letter heading to indicate its purpose.

I know you are an extremely busy man but perhaps you may be able to assist me one way or another. At the moment it is a question of accommodation and we look forward to hearing from you.

With many thanks & cheery greetings hoping you are well & happy Yours ever,

Ernest

Provisional Itinerary 10th July 1963

VISIT TO NORTH & SOUTH AMERICA

MR & MRS E. BADER

Aug 30	Sailing by S.S. "France" from SOUTHAMPTON to NEW YORK	
Sept 4	Arrival NEW YORK and departure 18.30 by plane to DENVER. Arrival 20.39 the same evening at the Hilton Hotel.	
" 5- 8	COMMITTEE FOR WORLD CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION, DENVER.	C/o Hilton Hotel Denver, Colorado
" 9 -14	Plane to LOS ANGELES visiting SANTA BARBARA, VAN NUYS, EL SEGUNDO etc	C/o Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, Santa Barbara, Calif. until Sept 12.
" 15 -26	PORTLAND, Oregon	C/o Heiman, 9120 S.E. Harrison St, Portland 16 until Sept 25.
" 27	Plane to NEW YORK	C/o Bayard Rustin, Apt 9 J, 340 W. 28th St. New York, N.Y., until Oct 10.
" 28 / Oct 10	Visiting in NEW YORK, PHILADELPHIA etc.	
" 11	Embark S.S. "BRASIL" from NEW YORK to RIO DE JANEIRO	C/o Probal S.A., 15th Floor, 181 Ave Rio Branco Rio de Janeiro, Brazil until Nov 8.
" 21	Arrival RIO DE JANEIRO, business visits including SAO PAULO etc.	
Nov 9	Plane to BUENOS AIRES	C/o Ulivi, Bianchi & Cia S.A., Venezuela 1578 Buenos Aires, until Nov 14.
" 15	Embark S.S. "AMAZON" Royal Mail Line	
Dec 4	Arrival in ENGLAND	

.....oOo.....

Chicago Regional Office • AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE, Inc. • 300 W. Congress Parkway, Chicago 7, Ill.

CHICAGO REGIONAL OFFICE
AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
431 S. DEARBORN STREET
CHICAGO 5, ILLINOIS

TO: Bayard Rustin

FROM: Jane Weston

DATE: July 11, 1963

SUBJECT

We're looking forward to your arrival on Sunday to take part in our leadership consultation on training for non-violent direct action. Enclosed is the suggested program outline so you'll have a better idea of the way the day is planned.

Tony Henry and I plan to meet you at the airport so that we can discuss this with you before the meeting begins. This will give us a chance to incorporate your suggestions, etc..

I think we'll have an attendance of 35-40 people. Registrations have come in from key people in CORE, SNCC, and several other groups that are becoming involved in direct action.

See you Sunday.

LEADERSHIP CONSULTATION ON TRAINING FOR NON-VIOLENT DIRECT ACTION

July 14, 1963

Suggested Program Outline

(The following agenda is for the guidance of the chairman, the resource persons, and AFSC staff. It will not be distributed to participants.)

1:30 1) Introductions

Jane Weston welcome group and introduce the chairman.
George Watson make brief remarks about AFSC, its experience North and South, concern for non-violence.
Participants introduce themselves with name, organizational affiliation, concern in civil rights field.

2) Bayard Rustin - "Need For and Experience in Training for Non-Violent Direct Action"

comprehensive statement (about 40 minutes) on background, analysis of present situation, need for training in non-violence and in organizing projects, how it has been done elsewhere.

3) James Metz Rollins - Briefer talk on the same subject, drawing on his Southern experiences.

3:30-3:45 4) Punch break (same room)

3:45-5:45 5) General discussion of and reactions to presentations given by Rustin and Rollins.

Spend the last 15 minutes of this period making plans for the evening session - i.e., topics and questions suggested by participants for the more specific discussion period after dinner.

5:45-6:30 6) Dinner in YMCA cafeteria

6:30 7) Workshop session on topics growing out of afternoon session.

These might include some of the following topics suggested by staff - although, if many are suggested from the floor, we shall have to be selective in order to use our time to best advantage.

Relevance of non-violence for direct action in North. Organizing for direct action in the North. How to identify situations to which non-violent direct action can be addressed.
(illustrations coming from group - housing, etc.)
How to organize for these projects (get facts, know your objectives, negotiate, etc.).
Problems of going in with organizations not dedicated to non-violence in reaching the same goals.
What kind of training for non-violent direct action is needed/wanted in Chicago and how provide it?

9:00 8) Adjourn.

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE, INC.
Chicago Regional Office for Illinois and Wisconsin
431 SOUTH DEARBORN STREET, CHICAGO 5, ILLINOIS HArrison 7-2533

CHARLES S. BEAL
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Finance Secretary Emeritus

June 28, 1963

To: Key leaders concerned with non-violent direct action for civil rights
From: American Friends Service Committee.
Subject: Consultation on leadership training for non-violent direct action on civil rights.

The American Friends Service Committee is concerned that the civil rights movement in Chicago make the fullest and most effective use of the method and spirit of non-violence which has revolutionized the drive for racial justice through-out the country.

To that end we invite key leaders of this movement in Chicago to join in a consultation on leadership training for non-violent direct action. Present as resource people will be two outstanding civil rights workers from both North and South, Bayard Rustin and J. Metz Rollins, Jr. We will consider such questions as: How to identify situations of injustice to which non-violent direct action can be addressed? What is involved in organizing for non-violent direct action? Does non-violence have the same relevance in the North as in the South? What are the possibilities and problems of organizational cooperation in non-violent direct action?

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RESOURCE PEOPLE: Bayard Rustin, Executive Secretary, War Resister's League. Long experience with non-violent direct action in U.S. and over seas. James Metz Rollins, Jr., Minister and field representative, Board of Christian Education, United Presbyterian Church. Leader of Nashville, Tennessee demonstrations.
CHAIRMAN: George Watson, Roosevelt University and AFSC Housing Opportunities Com.
ATTENDANCE: Limited to 40 to assure full participation; advance registration required. Further information: Jane Weston or Tony Henry, AFSC office, HA 7-2533.
COST: Evening meal in cafeteria at own expense.

REGISTRATION FORM. -- Return to AFSC, 431 South Dearborn, Chicago 5, Illinois.
I wish to participate in the consultation on training for non-violent direct action on Sunday, July 14, 1963 from 1:30 to 9:00 p.m.

Name_____ Address_____ Phone_____

Organizational affiliation (s)_____

_____ Position_____

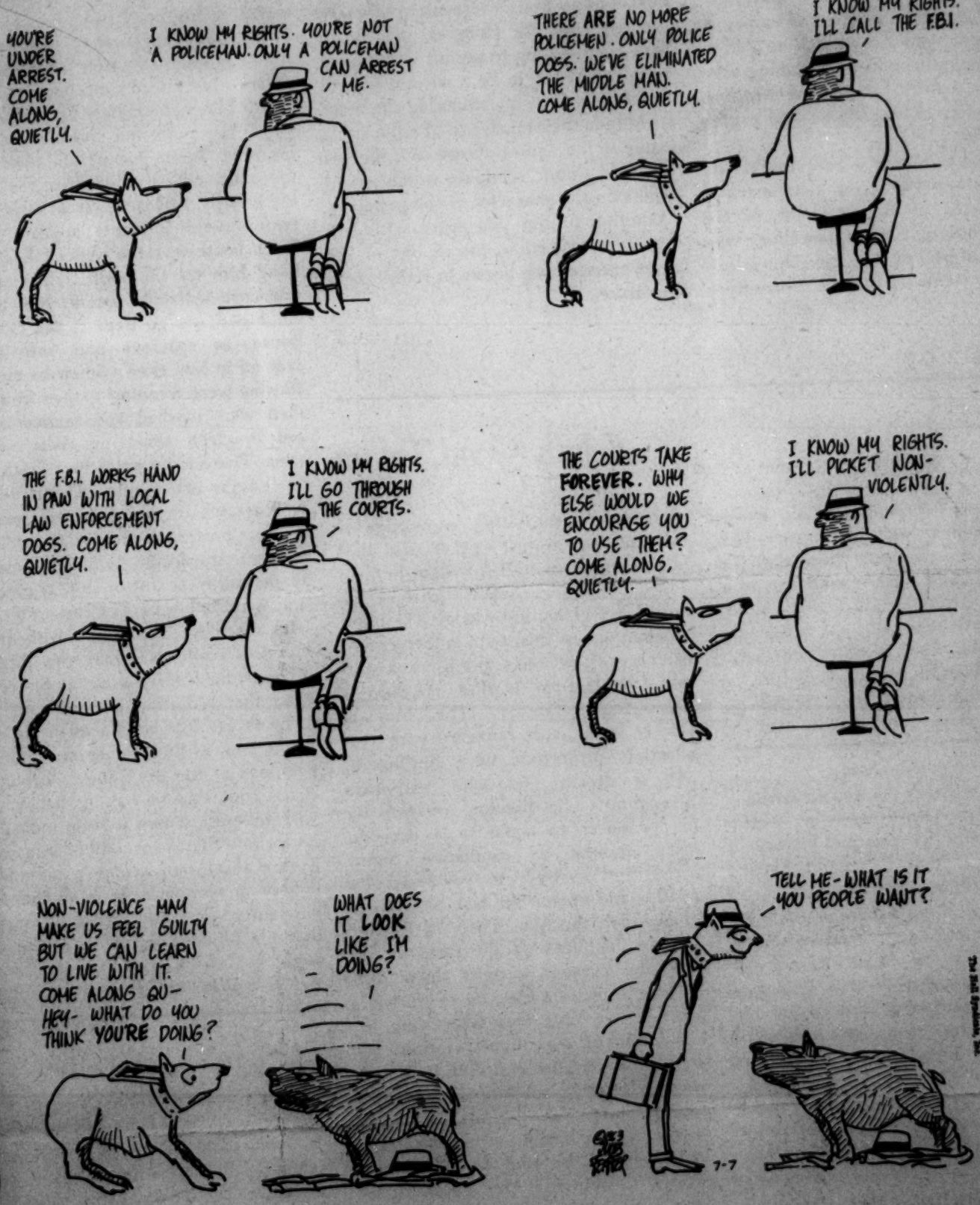
AT NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS
HAROLD EVANS, *Chairman* • HENRY J. CADBURY, *Honorary Chairman* • CLARENCE E. PICKETT, *Executive Secretary Emeritus* • COLIN W. BELL, *Executive Secretary*

New Republic

JULY 13, 1963

Dear Bayard,
Feiffer should be confronted with this; someone, you, should tell him of the "teeth" of nonviolence.
Love,
in a sandpeel

JULES FEIFFER



SUMMARY OF DISCUSSIONS, NYACK CONFERENCE, June 21-23, 1963

The conferecne was called to discuss responses to the growing incidence of unemployment and poverty in the United States. As outline in the working papers, it was strongly felt that unemployment is a structural problem, arising from the roots of our economic framework and history, and destined to become increasingly severe. Since the nature of the economy has changed with the advent of the new technology it was agreed that full employment may well be impossible within our present economic system. Solutions involving new institutions for income distribution and long-range planning must be found, thus casting the fight for jobs as a political one.

It was generally agreed that unemployment does represent a key political lever today; that the issue of unemployment must be taken up by the major social movements; and that the impetus must come, first, from the organization for direct action of the unemployed themselves, and, second, from the civil rights movement. Pressure by the unemployed must be brought on the labor movement to enter the struggle for peace-time jobs; tho job fight is the next natural phase of the civil rights movement.

Organization must center on local communities. Initiative must come from the unemployed; community planning must be instituted on the basis of local research; demands must be developed by the unemployed. At the same time, however, permanence and continuity must be provided through the fight for national legislation to ameliorate unemployment, through national coordination of local movements, and through national as well as local research. A framework of programmatic demands should be developed to provide a guide and base of the emergence of the local demands of the jobless.

Prime targets for organizing should be workers in one-industry communities, defense industries, youth, and people on relief, in addition to the unemployed. It was pointed out that white workers are usually more difficult to organize than are Negroes, who are already in motion around the civil rights movement. Yet, white workers must eventually become mobilized. It was felt that there was danger of using Negroes as a "front" to avoid the difficulties of mobilizing white workers, and that special emphasis should be placed on organizing the white unemployed. The role of students and intellectuals was also discussed. It was agreed that students represent a significant potential pool of organizational manpower, and that effort should be expended to awaken student communities to the political economy of today.

Demands should be raised for equalization of job distribution and for the creation of new peace-time jobs. Specifics of the former might be a shorter work week, longer vacation, earlier pension, etc. The latter might be demanded through significant area redevelopment, government control over plant relocations, increased public spending in significantly job-producing areas, etc. Research should be done to explore thoroughly such demands, to develop new programs, and to coordinate and analyze programs arising from the process of a movement.

Many tactical suggestions arose from descriptions by Mike Miller and Noel Day of their work in San Francisco and Boston, respectively. Mike Miller described San Francisco Opposition, a community organization group centering around several interrelating issues. Noel Day detailed the experiences of the Boston Action Group in selective patronage and a massive school stay-out, in protest against school discrimination, and accompanied by Freedom Schools attended for the day in place of the public schools.

The major tactics discussed concerned the efficacy of direct action in accomplishing demands, in increasing and broadening a movement, and in deepening participants' understanding of the issues. It was noted that mobilization must begin around that issue which most directly effects a community, and must be broadened from there, in the process of direct action, to the essential problems of society. A distinction was therefore drawn between organizational issues ond issues of basic concern. At the same time, the need for jobs is not separate from the need for basic change, but rather hits at the root of that need.

Organization must arise from within communities, reaching widely and deeply into the community's structure. Thus, block organization, door-to-door canvassing, Dolci's strike in reverse (doing work which needs doing; then presenting the city with a bill for wages and materials), the organiation of local shadow economics, etc., were suggested. There was also discussion of the efficacy of organizing around political clubs. It was felt that this was not an effective method; that, in order to maintain support of the club, the movement becomes compromised and absorbed into the party; that real change cannot come within theparties; that "power only responds to street action." It was felt, however, that political clubs can be used by an independent constituency; that the running of independent candidates from the community can become a radical action at certain points (particularly after demands have been granted in principle but not implemented); and that effective organization of the unemployed could significantly influence the '64 elections.

Finally, it was emphasized that people should begin organizing and demonstrating in communities now; and that any national organization should grow to service and coordinate these movements rather than preceding them.

Thus, two organizational bodies were established:

1. A Provisional Committee on Full Employment, to guide and evaluate activities until the next conference, to strive to develop new local projects around the job issue; to direct on-going projects to the job issue; to organize regional conferences on full employment, and to provide defined contacts throughout the country. The Provisional Committee consists of Jack Minis (Atlanta), Jesse Proste (Chicago), Sumner Rosen (Bosten), Leo Webb (SDS), Stanley Aronowitz, (New York), Hamish Sinclair (coordinator), Ray Brown (research), Robb Burlage A. J. Muste, and representatives from Detroit. San Francisco, SNCC, CORE, And NSM.

2. A New York Working Group, to serve as a clearing house for local projects, to coordinate and stimulate national and local research, to aid in fund-raising for local projects, to administratively service local projects, to organize follow-through for regional conferences, to increase the board of sponsors, to devise a letterhead, and to maintain a central office and file of regular reports from local projects at 96 Greenwich Avenue, New York City.

1963
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Bayard: Read & ret. promptly

3 July 1963

AJ

Mr. A.J. Muste
5 Beekman Street, Room 1026
New York 38, New York

Dear A.J.:

I am just beginning to catch up with things that piled up during my five weeks' absence in Africa. I note the copies of letters which I'm very glad that you sent to me, of correspondence between yourself and Bill Sutherland and Lyle Tatum. I think that in your letter of June 13 to Lyle, you overstate the case a little bit of the difficulty of reaching Kaunda. Although I was not here when Kenneth was around, I know pretty well what was going on. The whole arrangement for Kenneth's coming here was made initially by Tom Melady of the Africa Service Institute. He works primarily through Catholic circles, or at least uses them as a base. His gimmick was to get Fordham University to give Kenneth a doctorate, which they did. Kenneth was glad to accept this and he had about a week here altogether. I know that if I had been here I would have had no difficulty whatsoever in seeing Kenneth. He is not the kind of a guy that would forget old friendships or who would forget that our Committee brought him to the United States twice and in a sense introduced him to this country. I think the only thing that our Committee did with him while he was here was that three of our people called on him and spent an hour or so talking with him. Most of the rest of what he did was pretty much official and I guess this is to be expected when a politician has reached power, so to speak. I think Tom Melady kept Kenneth pretty much in his own hands, and he is playing his own game. On the other hand, I know him well and I think he would cooperate with me as he has done on a good many things in the past. I just write this to you because I think the interpretation which you may have gotten from Bayard is not quite an expression of the facts.

I spent only about three days in Dar es Salaam on this trip and got together with Bill on two or three occasions. He seemed to feel surprisingly good and I felt better about his situation than I have for a long time. I think I had contact with

every nationalist group in Dar es Salaam. Most of their leadership I have known now for several years. It is absolutely true that no one is talking about non-violence these days.

Subsequently I was in Leopoldville and the Congo for about ten days, particularly looking into the Angolan situation. While I was there I went to the military training base for the Angolan National Liberation Army. With me on this trip were Ndabaninge Sithole of ZAPU, Paul Gumane of UDENAMO (an opposition group to Mondlane in Mozambique), and Sam Nujoma of the South West African Peoples Organisation. I think they are all going to try to get men placed in this military training center. They had about 1,500 soldiers there under training and they said they had just sent another 1,500 inside Angola.

I also had contact with all kinds of group at the Addis Ababa conference of Heads of State. I would say that hardly anyone is in disagreement with the line being taken by the Heads of State which is of course a virtual declaration of war against Portugal and South Africa.

I'd be glad to get together and talk about trends as I have observed them if you and others are interested in doing this some time.

I do appreciate receiving copies of communications on these matters and will be glad to get together with you whenever possible.

Yours,

George

George M. Houser

GMH:dk

Norman Hill

July 3, 1963
Room 3100
University-Presbyterian
Hospital
Pittsburgh, Pa.

Committee on Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, N.Y.

Gentlemen,

It has been mentioned that CORE is planning a quite large mass demonstration in Washington when the House begins consideration of the most recently proposed civil-rights bill. Several of us here in Pittsburgh strongly support such action and wish to organize as large a group from this city as we can if this demonstration is definite. We are both students and non-students and have had experience in this sort of thing before. I am writing in inquiry for these people to find out details and objectives.

Sincerely,

Philip T. Harman
University of Pgh. '64

suggested draft

Bayard: The final sentence is important. Last summer, Burke Marshall slickly distorted when a 4-man delegation spoke with him (Dick Parrish, Cliff Mackay, Bishop Nichols, Rev. E. Luther Cunningham).

July , 1963

Mr. ..
...
...

Dear :

For six years Bill Worthy, an old journalist friend of mine, has been waging an important freedom of press - freedom to travel battle with Washington.

The fight began in 1957 as a result of his trip to China for CBS News and The Baltimore Afro-American, in defiance of the State Department travel ban. Ever since, John Foster Dulles, Christian Herter and Dean Rusk have refused to renew his passport.

Fifteen months ago Bill was indicted, convicted in Miami federal court and sentenced to three months in jail for re-entering his native land from Cuba "without bearing a valid passport."

Details of this obviously political and absurd prosecution may be found in the enclosed leaflet and the July 2nd press release.

This summer, Bill wants to go to Africa on assignment. The terms of his $1000 appeal bond limit him to the U.S. A few of us are seeking to arouse enough of a storm of protest abroad to force the sensitive Kennedy administration to 1) permit Bill to make the Africa trip and 2) drop the entire prosecution.

At your very earliest convenience, would you be willing to do at least one of the following:
a) visit or telephone the U.S. ambassador, consul general or USIS director and register the two above demands;
b) write to the U.S. ambassador and to Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy in Washington;
c) get the facts of the case publicized in your country -- either in letters to the editor, news stories or editorials.

All of us will be very grateful.

It would help us here to learn the results of your efforts. If the embassy professes ignorance of the case, please request a reply from them after they have queried Washington. Our experience has been that our government officials are not above twisting the facts in discussing a case with someone not familiar with all the details.

Cordially,

enclosures: 2

Committee for the Freedom of William Worthy

SUITE 301 217 WEST 125 ST. NEW YORK 27, N.Y. • MOnument 2-5080

A. Philip Randolph
Bishop D. Ward Nichols
co-chairmen

Summer, 1963

RENEWED PROTEST FROM ABROAD CAN GET THE WORTHY CASE DROPPED

Last year outraged public opinion, from all over the world, undoubtedly reduced the sentence of Negro journalist William Worthy from a possible maximum of 5 years. He had been indicted on orders of Attorney General Robert Kennedy for "re-entering the U.S. (from Cuba) without a valid passport." Mr. Worthy, the first and only U.S. citizen ever prosecuted for the "crime" of coming home, is now appealing his 3-month federal sentence.

Widespread domestic protest in the U.S. press and from individuals and groups triggered action by the United Nations, Bertrand Russell and foreign sources. This pressure had its effect.

PRESIDENT KENNEDY IS "TOUCHY" ABOUT FOREIGN CRITICISM

At his March 21, 1963 press conference, the President was asked about the U.S. ban on travel to Cuba. In his reply he volunteered, significantly: "There has been some criticism, as a matter of fact, about an action we took against a newspaperman." The President is aware of the belief, in many influential quarters, that Mr. Worthy was prosecuted because of his expressed opinions on Cuba – especially his praise of the total elimination of racial discrimination under Fidel Castro. The 6½-month lapse between Mr. Worthy's arrival home from Cuba and his indictment is significant. Since the travel ban was imposed by Washington on January 18, 1961, more than 200 white U.S. citizens, "not bearing valid passports," have visited Cuba and returned home without molestation by the U.S. Government.

In the present climate of racial tension, the Worthy case wears an inescapable and unwholesome bias. Criticism abroad, querying the motivation behind Mr. Worthy's unprecedented prosecution, can bring substantial influence on the Administration's attitude toward the case.

FOREIGN OPPOSITION TO MR. WORTHY'S CONVICTION MUST BE MOBILIZED *NOW*

Right now, this Summer, between the July 2nd brief-filing date in the Fifth U.S. Court of Appeals and oral argument in the Fall or Winter, opposition abroad must be made vocal. Large mailings on the Worthy case are scheduled to a wide variety of foreign publications: dailies, labor papers, religious journals, student and peace organs. All over the world, opinion leaders will be urged to write editorials, letters to the editor, to cable Washington, to protest at the local U.S. Embassy, to picket "Free World" displays at the U.S.I.S. It is for this mailing campaign that money is now needed.

We believe this organized, concentrated effort can persuade the Administration that the Worthy case is now *a total liability and should be dropped.*

YOUR CONTRIBUTION *NOW* CAN MEAN THOUSANDS OF DOLLARS SAVED

If the Worthy case is dropped, expenses in a protracted court action, amounting to thousands of dollars, can be saved. Your contribution NOW is crucial. It can mark a turning point in the fight for *our* right to travel, *our* right to know, *our* freedom of speech and freedom of the press.

Check may be made payable to Bishop D. Ward Nichols.

TURN TOWARD PEACE
COOPER STATION BOX 401
NEW YORK 3, NEW YORK

July 5, 1963

Marco Pannella, Director
Agenzia Radicale
Via xxiv Maggio N. 7
Rome, Italy

Dear Friend,

Thank you very much for your excellent and informative letter on the current activities in the Italian peace movement. Your work appears to be going quite well and is very exciting to all of us here.

I agree with you completely that it is extremely important to be able to exchange information across national boundaries concerning the various problems, positions, and activities of peace movements the world over, and we wish to do anything we can to be of help to you.

We have put you on our mailing list for the activities that we circularize, and I am sending your letter along to the War Resisters League, The Fellowship of Reconciliation, and other pacifist groups so that they too can respond to you.

Thanks again for letting us hear from you.

Sincerely yours,

Robert W. Gilmore

Robert Gilmore
Executive Director

RWG:ct

cc: James Best, Neil Haworth,
Stewart Meacham, Bayard Rustin.

WILSON 1-1069

MRS. DONALD SUDD ARMSTRONG
SCARBOROUGH-ON-HUDSON
NEW YORK

Dear Mr. Rustin: It is good to know that there will be women Negro Leaders on the policy Committee of The March on Washington. (Although I am a pacifist , I do like the courage and Zest of the enclosed Wylie quote. I marche in first NYC Suffrage parade. But it was the British women who got the vote for us)

I await your telephone call on Tuesday July 16 about banners on the March.for WSP and WILPF '.

Enclosed too is the most recent statemn' by WSP on Civil Rights a copy of which I sent to Mr. Randolph.

Sincerely yours, with long time and continuing admiration ,

Eunice Armstrong

July 13,1963

96 Greenwich Avenue
New York 11, New York

July 16, 1963

Dear Friend,

Enclosed are the minutes of our Nyack Conference. Since our conference last month, soem exciting things have happened. The general thinking underlying the conference, that the question of jobs is being thrust to the center of the political stage in our country, appears to be correct, especially in a couple of specific places.

First and foremost, with our participation, the National March on Washington, lead by seven civil rights organizations, has adopted the theme, "Jobs and Freedom". The perspective for the march calls for the participation of large numbers of Negro and white unemployed, demanding a public works program, FEPC, and more jobs in federal government. I am sure that you will want to work with local "march" committees to insure that the mandate of the march is carried out by actual organization among the jobless and that the impetus created by the march will be translated into a more permanent movement.

In Chicago, conference participants, Jesse Prozden and Leon Beverely of the United Packinghouse Workers, have been instrumental in forming a jobs committee. They have developed a tentative program and have scheduled their first meeting for July 16th. We have asked Jesse to send copies of their program for broader distribution. We hope to give you further news soon.

Hamish Sinclair and I went to Hazard, Ky., on July 3rd. Hamish has remained to work with the miners there on a march to Washington in which they have agreed to undertake. I have taken the liberty of enclosing a fact sheet on the situation there for your information.

Plans are maturing for a full employment committee on Long Island with both trade union and community participation. A program for the committee has been drawn up which has the explicit aim of securing a 'jobs for peace' objective. Unemployment in that area results from the fast shifting defense economy. Several meetings have already taken place and more action is planned.

These are just a few of the exciting developments which were, in part, stimulated by the activity which preceded and accompanied the Nyack Conference. We hope to keep you informed as new movements spring up around the country. Please send us information about what <u>you</u> are doing so that we can share your experiences with others.

Fraternally yours,

Stanley Aronowitz

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Call

July 16, 1963

Bayard Rustin
War Resisters League
5 Beekman Street
New York 38, New York

Dear Bayard:

I realize that you may not see this letter for a while, but in any case I wanted to express again our very great appreciation for your contribution to our leadership consultation this past Sunday. It was good of you to come to Chicago on such short notice and at a time when you are so fully involved in plans for the march on Washington.

Your initial presentation and your leadership in the discussions during the rest of the meeting were enthusiastically received by members of the group. The combination of philosophical and practical was just what we were hoping for in this initial gathering, and I think you felt the response of the group.

We shall move forward on the recommendation from the group that plans be made for further training sessions for the leadership of the direct action organizations in the Chicago area. Your suggestion that we think of this as a two or three day intensive conference in the fall will be carefully considered as we think how to proceed.

If you have second thoughts or further advice on how and who I hope that you will drop me a line.

Our thanks again and our best wishes to you personally and for the work you are doing.

Sincerely,

Jane Weston
Director
Housing Opportunities Program

JW:bc

AT NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS

HAROLD EVANS, *Chairman* • HENRY J. CADBURY, *Honorary Chairman* • CLARENCE E. PICKETT, *Executive Secretary Emeritus* • COLIN W. BELL, *Executive Secretary*

Antioch College
Yellow Springs, O.
July 17, 1963.

Dear Mr. Rustin,

We have decided to invite you to speak to members of our chapter of the SPU and to other interested students. Will you be able to speak to us some time during the months of July, August and September? Lodging will be provided at the Antioch Inn and the student government will be able to pay your travel expenses. You may speak on anything you like, perhaps the work of the World Peace Brigade. Please write us and tell us if you will be able to accept our invitation, and if so, what date will be most convenient for you.

For Peace & Freedom,

Walter Conahey
chairman, Antioch SPU.

July 23, 1963

Mr. Walter Caughey
Antioch College Union
Yellow Springs, Ohio

Dear Mr. Caughey:

I am very sorry to inform you that I will be unable to speak to the Antioch Student Peace Union during your summer quarter. I am involved in organizing the March on Washington and will be unable to accept any engagements for the next few months.

I am enclosing a copy of the organizing manual and the call "The Time is NOW", and hope that you will be able to help get Antioch students to Washington.

If you have any question about the march, please write us.

Sincerely,

Bayard Rustin

Peter Hunt
Antioch College
Antioch Union
Yellow Springs
Ohio
July 19, 1963

Dear Bayard;

I don't know if you remember me. We have seen a little of each other in Pasadena, Calif. when I was a little boy. My parents are Thomas and Trudie Hunt(AFSC work). I am a 4th year student at Antioch College. This summer quarter(we are studying now) I am chairman of the Action Committee of the Antioch Committee for Racial Equality(ACRE). Last spring quarter we had a few sit-ins at a local babershop which discriminates. Presently we have 19 students on trial for trespassing and an injunction against us for any further action at the babershop. Our student activities have been a great inspiration for our small town and we now have active towns groups that are working on all levels of the racial problems in town.

I have read in the newspaper that you are helping to organize the Washington March on Aug. 28. We want to get a community project going here and go by bus to Washington for the March. This will include students, and town people, whites and Negroes. But having the March in the middle of the week (Wed.-Aug. 28) seems like a real hardship for our working whites and Negroes and I have been very curious as to why the date was not set for a Friday, Saturday, or Monday and take advantage of the weekend for travelling. Our group would like to know the rational behind this date and know if it is not too late to get it changed to a more favorable day so that people can travel to Washington from all over the country without too much loss to working week days.

Could you please try to answer these questions for us? Also if you have any standard information on the functioning of the Washington March could you please see that we get it and are kept in touch with by the organizers and co-ordinators of the March?

Sincerely,

Peter Hunt
Action Committee Chairman

July 23, 1963

Mr. Peter Hunt
Antioch College
Antioch Union
Yellow Springs, Ohio

Dear Peter:

I am enclosing a copy of the organizing manual and the Call to Action "The Time is Now". I hope these will answer some of the questions you raised about the march and will help you to organize students at Antioch.

Specifically to answer your question about the date of the march, we selected Wednesday because it is the best day of the week to see Congressmen. Congressional sessions usually start either late Monday or Tuesday morning and recess on Thursday.

Perhaps you could request the Antioch administration to allow the Antioch students who wish to participate in the march to take the day off. Professors should also be contacted and asked to use their influence to pressure the administration to allow students the day off.

It is hoped that there will be many unemployed, both Negro and white, on the march. Therefore, even if it is impossible for Antioch students and working inhabitants to go to the march, their talents, time, and money should be used to organize and send the unemployed to Washington. You might get in touch with the NAACP or CORE in Southern Ohio to find out what they're doing and if you can work with them.

If you have any more questions, please do get in touch with us.

Sincerely,

Bayard Rustin

American Friends Service Committee Inc.

Dayton Regional Office

915 Salem Ave. • Dayton 6, Ohio • CRestview 8-4225

National Office
160 North 15th Street
Philadelphia 2, Pa.

July 19, 1963

Bayard Rustin
War Resister's League
5 Beekman Street
New York 38, N. Y.

Dear Bayard Rustin:

This office has you scheduled for the week of March 30 through April 5 on speaking engagements in our region. We have so far confirmed an appointment for you at Ohio Wesleyan at 9:00 o'clock in the morning. Ohio Wesleyan is located in Delaware, Ohio, about 30 miles north of Columbus.

Because of the early hour of the above appointment, we would like to request that you arrange to fly into Columbus, Ohio on the evening of Sunday, March 29 so that we can meet you there and provide hospitality that evening in Columbus. It would then be an easy matter to drive up to Ohio Wesleyan for your speaking engagement the next morning. I do not know what the airline schedules are or from what point you will be coming, so that I cannot provide specifics on travel schedules. But I am hopeful that you can comply with this request. Would you drop us a line at your earliest convenience to confirm this arrangement? Thank you.

Sincerely,

Sig Goodman
Peace Education Secretary

SG/cy
cc: Louise Sims, Philadelphia

Rev. Farley W. Wheelwright, Minister • 125 Elmwood Avenue, Hempstead, L. I., New York • Phone IVanhoe 9-9632

170 W 13 St

THE Unitarian Universalist Church of Central Nassau
MITCHEL FIELD CHAPEL, GARDEN CITY, L.I., N.Y. • PHONE CHAPEL 8-8855

July 22, 1963

Dear Bayard —

What are you doing Sunday morning, December 29, at eleven a.m.?

If you cannot answer this question but plan to be in the USA perhaps you will agree to speak at this church on that time and date. Subject? Why — "Prospects for Peace in 1964" suggests itself to me, but you will know best.

A small honorarium awaits you — $40.00. More than that, Alice & I hope you will spend the Saturday night before with us. We'd have a group in to meet you and can promise some good talk & interested listening. Let me know —

Cordially,
Farley

July 23, 1963

Rev. Farley W. Wheelwright
125 Elmwood Avenue
Hempstead, New York

Dear Farley,

I am answering your note to Bayard to let you know that at the moment he is up to his ears in work on the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom scheduled for August 28th. I am enclosing a brochure.

I am holding all of Bayard's mail to be answered by him personally after August 28th.

One word I will say - that usually during the Christmas holidays there are peace conferences here or abroad and Bayard is usually involved in them.

Best wishes,

Ralph DiGia

July 23, 1963

Dear Bayard,

Elizabeth and I would like to have you stay with us while you are in Washington. We live in the Northwest, east of Connecticut Avenue, about half way to Chevy Chase — a ten minute ride from downtown by car.

In any event, please consider our home a place to come at any time night or day if you want a quiet place to be.

With our best wishes.

Sincerely,
John Dixon

2936 Albemarle St NW
Washington 8, D.C.

Area Code 202 - 362-3144
Off. tel 383-3376 or 383-2867

30 July 1963

Mr. Jules Bernstein, Legal Department
International Brotherhood of Teamsters
25 Louisiana Avenue, Northwest
Washington (1), D. C.

Dear Julie:

Thanks for the clipping from the WASHINGTON POST.

A formal letter has gone to Hoffa from Randolph asking for a contribution of $15,000. If you can advise me how this contribution may be expedited, don't hesitate to call me collect, since we are in desperate need of funds.

Hope all goes well with you.

Sincerely,

Bayard Rustin,
Deputy Director

BR:grl

INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF TEAMSTERS
CHAUFFEURS · WAREHOUSEMEN & HELPERS
OF AMERICA
MAIN AND PRINCIPAL OFFICE, 2801 TRUMBULL AVENUE, DETROIT 16, MICHIGAN

WASHINGTON OFFICE OF
• JAMES R. HOFFA •
GENERAL PRESIDENT
25 LOUISIANA AVE., N.W.
WASHINGTON 1, D. C.

July 12, 1963

Mr. Bayard Rustin
c/o Brotherhood of Sleeping
Car Porters
217 West 125th Street
New York 27, New York

Dear Bayard:

Just thought you would like to see The Washington Post story on your meeting, as well as your mug.

Best regards,

Sincerely,

Jules

Jules Bernstein
Legal Department

JB:JCS
Enclosure

30 July 1963

Mr. Jan Weinless
"Direct Line"
NBC - TV
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York, New York, 10020

Dear Mr. Weinless:

At the suggestion of Mr. Moe Foner, I am listing below the positions held by Mr. A. Philip Randolph and Mr. Cleveland Robinson, who are scheduled to appear on NBC-TV's "Direct Line" on Sunday, 11 August, 1963, at 2:30 p.m.

Mr. Randolph holds the positions of:

1. International President, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, AFL-CIO
2. International Vice-President, AFL-CIO
3. President, Negro American Labor Council
4. Co-Chairman and Director, March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom

Mr. Robinson's positions are:

1. Secretary-Treasurer, District 65, Retail, Wholesale, Department Store Union (RWDSU) AFL-CIO
2. International Vice President, RWDSU, AFL-CIO
3. Vice President, Negro American Labor Council (and assistant to Mr. Randolph)
4. Chairman, Administrative Committee, March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom.

Mr. Randolph and Mr. Robinson will arrive at the studio at 1:45 p.m.

Sincerely,

Bayard Rustin
Deputy Director

BR:srl

local 1199
drug and hospital
employees union
affiliated with RWDSU, AFL-CIO

300 west 45th street, new york 36, n. y. JUdson 2-1890-1-2-3-4

Leon J. Davis, President
William J. Taylor, Vice President
Edward Ayash, Secretary-Treasurer

Monday, July 29

Bayard Rustin
March on Washington
170 West 130th Street
New York 27, N.Y.

Dear Bayard:

I must get an OK on the following TV, radio shows immediately.

1. WOR Radio Barry Farber Interview show for Randolph

   Dates to choose: either Tues. Aug. 14 or Thurs Aug. 16
   Time: 8 p.m. Place WOR 1440 Broadway

2. TV Channel 4 DIRECT LINE - ~~telephone~~ Sunday, Aug. 11 2:30 p.m.
   CLEVE and Randolph

3. WHN New York Speakes Interviewx show for radio...
   Thurs. of this week at10 a.m. at WHN 400 Park Ave cnr 54th St.
   That should read 10 a.m.
   BAYARD RUSTIN to be interviewed
   please be sure that march leaflet is mailed or if it hasnt been mailed,
   is delivered to Sy Silver at the station today (Tuesday).

I think I can get some more free interviews on radio and TV but we need quick OKs on the above.

Regards,
Moe Foner

P.S. When will Jessie De Voer be coming on full time?

Lost address

INTERNATIONAL BANK FOR
RECONSTRUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT

INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT
ASSOCIATION

INTERNATIONAL FINANCE
CORPORATION

31 July 1963

Dear Bayard,

For the last several months I have been living in Washington: 6717 LORING CRT., BRADLEY PARK, BETHESDA 34, MD. to be exact. I am hoping that you will have time on a visit soon to meet my wife Carmen and our one-year-old Stephen. I am very eager to see you again myself as well as to introduce you to the family. Please let us know whenever you have a few moments to spare by calling 365-0339, or during 9-5:30 office hours

DU-1-2293.

Our house has a spare bedroom and bath, which is waiting for your visit. I particularly recommend it for peace and quiet compared to the turmoil of the wonderful campaign you are leading.

With affectionate regards,

Gregory Votaw

mail to Bayard

Little Ferry

August 5, 1963

Hon. Tom J. Mboya, Minister of
Justice & Constitutional Affairs
Attorney-General's Chambers
P. O. Box 112
Nairobi, Kenya, East Africa

Dear Tom:

I received the proofs with comments, corrections and new material from Clyde Sanger, which together with everything I had, has been forwarded to Little, Brown in accordance with my letter to them of which you now have a copy. I assume the material you refer to in your letter of July 29th is additional; if so, I will get on this immediately on its arrival and also get it up to Little, Brown.

Your short paragraph on Civil Rights in the United States was, I agree, very brief. I have asked Byard Rustin to draft one or two paragraphs that would fit in. After I get these, I will go over them and send them on to Little, Brown at the same time that I send to you so that if you get back to us promptly, you can make any further changes you see fit.

The Little, Brown publication date is tentatively for October 30th, but it may be possible to move this up to October 15th. However, the book itself will be printed and bound prior to that time and I think all we need to determine is that the printing (as distinct from publication date) has been done prior to your coming here in September. I shall check this with Little, Brown and advise you.

I shall speak with Miriam Makeba as the most expeditious way to contact Harry. I have given some thought to the question of some of our friends who might be invited for Independence, and I am appreciative of the aspect of the substantial cost of fares. I would suggest that you consider the following:

1) James Baldwin, whose fare you would have to pay. He would be good because he is perhaps the most widely read author in the United States, and I know would write extensively about his visit in a positive and helpful way that would reach millions of people here. He is very dynamic.

2) Martin Luther King, Jr., whose organization is well able to pay his fare if they agree he can get the time to go.

3) Jackie Robinson, whom you know I feel has been treated very badly by us ever since the 1960 Campaign. Jackie is first rate and I think there is a strong obligation here on our part. Jackie's firm, Chock-Full-O-Nuts Company, I think, however, is well able and would be willing to pay his way. I know he would like to bring his wife too, which may be the case with some of the others.

4) Thurgood Marshall. Enough said.

5) Harry Belafonte. It would be ridiculous to pay for Harry's tickets as he is rather comfortable — to say the least.

6) A. Philip Randolph, whom you know I think is outstanding. His fare would have to be paid, as his Union is not a wealthy one.

7) Additionally, I think that George Houser, of course, should be invited, but it raises also the question of certain others on the Committee who perhaps should be invited as well, such as Peter and Cora Weiss. However, the Committee as an organization could probably handle George's ticket since they are in better shape now, and the Weiss's are also well off. I would like very much to see Byard Rustin asked, but in his case you would have to provide a ticket.

Your statement made in late July warning the K.A.D.U. opposition about playing the game according to the rules was excellent. You are quite right that at this stage the greatest mistake you could make would be to be weak and ineffective in respect to dealing with this sort of rebellious behavior. At the same time that you use the "stick", however, please don't forget about the "carrot" as it might be possible to break the K.A.D.U. front and bring one or more of these fellows into the Government.

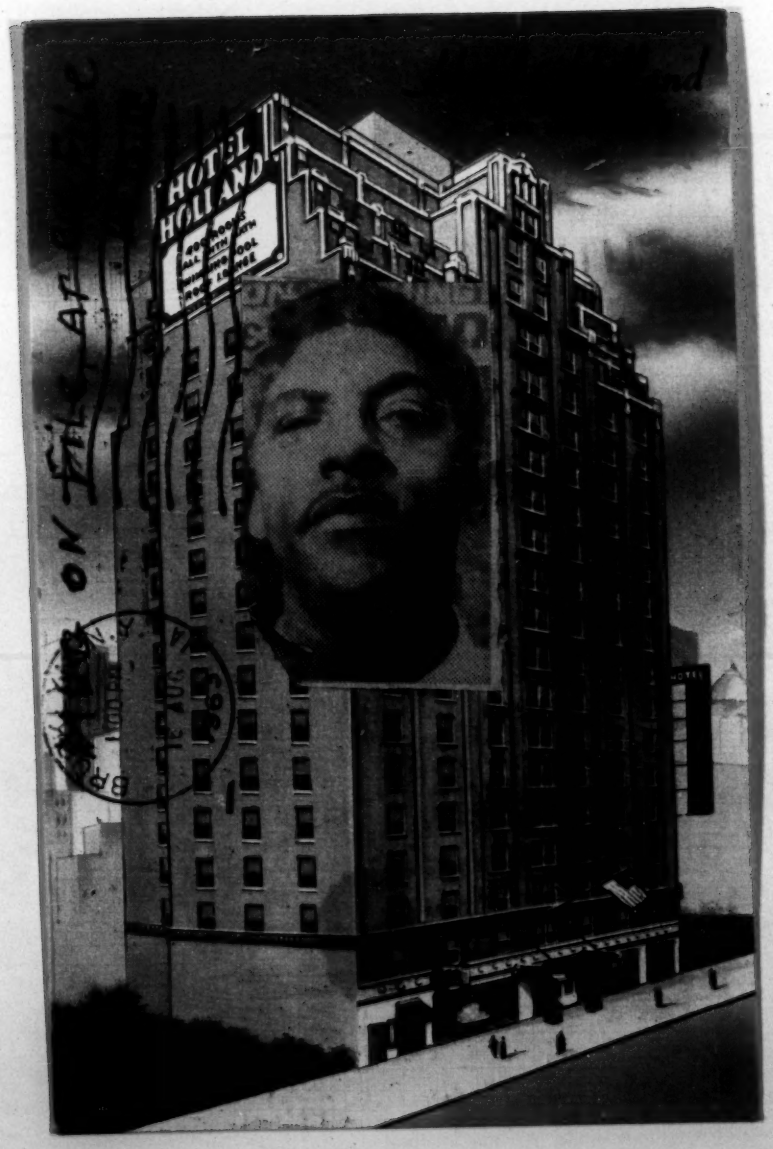
Yours sincerely,

William X. Scheinman

WXS:ag

Earnestly we hope, fervently we pray for success in the non-violent battle for equal civil rights. May this be an inadequate token of my interest.

Rev. Paul S. Burdick,
4 Shore Road.
Waterford, Conn.



Guess you got my letter from Miami!

HOTEL HOLLAND

K 48 37

351 West 42nd Street

Just West of Times Square

NEW YORK'S MOST CONVENIENT HOTEL FOR THE MOTORIST

In the heart of the midtown section, but reached with least traffic congestion. Parking facilities across the street. Garage within a block. Over 50 theatres within walking distance. Convenient to the shopping district. Every room with bath and shower.

Fine coffee shop and cocktail lounge.

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BROOKLYN, N.Y. AUG 26 5 PM 1933

AUG 26 PARADE ORGANIZER

POST CARD

Rusty Rusty.
Utopia Neighborhood Club.
= 130TH ST =
Between 6TH and 7TH ave.
Harlem
New York City
N.Y.

STAYING IN BROOKLYN
THU. AUG. 27

= BROOKLYN = MIKE O'HALLEY

34 Monroe Place
Brooklyn, N.Y.
August 11, 1963

Vera Roney, Director
Workers Defense League
New York, N.Y.

Dear Vera:

The split in the Negro Rights movement in New York is stark tragedy. That it was done by EJO, of which WDL is a part, deeply concerns me.

After fifteen years in the labor movement, I cannot remember a strike settlement that wasn't kicked around. But to split a movement is inconscionable. Not only are the attacks on the ministers unjustified, but they serve only to weaken the fight against the bias in the white power structure,...including bias in the construction industry.

The influence in EJO of ACTU is interesting. The doublecross of Brooklyn CORE is reprehensible. Ollie Leeds sat in front of me the night the ministers reported on the Governor's meeting. He took notes as Father Jacobs went over the settlement point by point. He clapped and cheered, and then from the platform he pledged CORE's accord. With an air of modesty, he commented on CORE's contribution of pickets and the gimmicks like the chain-in. Within twnety four hours he was giving his opposition to the press!

On the picket line there was much irresponsibility. Steffi Peck reports one sign: "The Enemy is Within, not in Red China or Viet Nam". Leeds spoke to me of the need to irritate the police and the courts as a CORE technique. And for days he had been sowing discontent on the line by snide comments about the ministers.

Obviously I'm criticizing from the inside of the movement. I was on the Harlem Hospital line a couple of times; I was on Downstate the day it opened (July 10th), was arrested twice, walked the line day after day for two hours before going to work, and attended every mass meeting.

Unfortunately this is happening in August with no Board Meeting.

Cordially,

Bernice

"Attention" P.S. A FRIENDLY LETTER" Just now, its meaning
confidential aug 12 - 1963

Dear Mr. Rustin = alias Russ Russell - etc = alias "RUSTY"!
Its a pleasure to see you in "Charge" of a parade
and, I hope you dont get picked up while in
Washington with the rest of the agitators -
who have steamed up a lot of nice folks -
There is still a warrant for you in the
South here; not particularly Florida, - and
I hope you have re-formed = ?
I was looking for you last year on a Charge
that cant be mentioned in this letter) ("BUT YOU KNOW")
I spent time around THE BABY GRAND = 125th & BRADDOCK 126th = & THE
THE PRIMS BAR = 125ST; THE FOUR ROSES, ON EAST SIDE = and all
Bars on and around your old hangouts where you
wanted two colored girls to hustle for you some time
Back = in the 1950's. but, couldnt locate you -

fellow named Billy Bay gave me a Clue to you at an address on 128 st = another guy at "Hilo The Stile", gave me a Bum address = "to run into you".
But = the law will get you some day, and I hope its in Washington = so I can bring you back South.
all the guns will be taken from the violators on the trains, as they pass thru Maryland, = so, = if you are their friends = "you'll advise them" = so, you know (confidential) you used to carry one "Right"?
So = bein if you are an agitator = like most of your Buddies who will be "fingerprinted" if hooked on a "violation" be careful, because you know what you did in a certain place in the late 40's.
you know (THE LATE NINE TEEN FORTIES 1940) = its a secret, but I know it = "so do you".
also looked around the THERESA HOTEL BAR for you, a girl named PERCHES said she knew you.
Confidentially I hope you all lucky when picked up.
a former friend of the Tribune, you
Willie O. Mailey

There are a Law Enforcement Convention at a Beach Front Hotel Here = for four days.
I will carry your Mug in my folder = and, the next time you are booked in the south there is a party who can identify you in a — case.
Take it easy Rusty = and you may not leave yourself open to Convictions =
Poor and Middle class whites have discrimination as much as the colored =
But Poor and Middle Class Whites are better off among themselves, something Colored folks should know.
Did you know that whites never Bug about the all-colored Waitresses at Choc-O'Nuts Resturants = Big Mouth, who is a Personell Director of Choc O'Nuts never mentions this =
Be careful Rusty = I had you in Custody once, and hope you have reformed = I know your Early Days.
I will be watching you constantly in Washington!

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

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815 SIXTEENTH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON 6, D.C. NATIONAL 8-3870

what do I answer?

August 13, 1963

Mr. Bayard Rustin, Coordinator
March on Washington
170 West 130th Street
New York City

Dear Bayard:

This note is to confirm our telephone conversation. Thanks very much for your cooperation.

The AFL-CIO guests from the trade union movement of Guinea are as follows: Ansoumane Oulare, head of delegation, CNTG Vice-President; Selou Kaba, Cabinet Director of Ministry of Public Works and Labor and Secretary-General of General Administration Union; Denka Mamare, local union member at Siguiri and Madame Hadiri, General Administration Union member.

In addition, Mr. R. Pollard and I will be their escorts. We would, therefore, need six tickets of admission for this day of days.

Any further information you may need, I will be glad to supply.

Cordially,

Maida

(Mrs.) Maida Springer
Representative
International Affairs Department

P.S. Enclosed is a check for $10 to the committee

cc: A. Philip Randolph

ck for $10.00 rec'd 8/15 DLW

20 Castle View Avenue,
Toronto 4, Ontario

August 17, 1963.

Dear Bayard:

God knows if this will reach you or not! I have tried to track you down the last two times I have been in New York. The only thing I have been able to find out is that you have shifted--with lute, harpsichord, andcarvings--from the old address, and so I am going on a long shot that a letter to War Resisters' League may run you to earth.

Prompting this letter is the fact that a friend of mine who founded and directed Canadian Overseas Volunteers--an organization that has sent undergraduates and High School Students on community and youth projects in the Caribbean and British Guiana--has been appointed to a post with the International Peace Corps Secretariat. He is being sent to Africa on a special assignment to work with local native groups and make findings as to their youth program requirements. He has at the moment virtual carte blanch, but will probably be working primarily in Northern Rhodesia, Kenya,Tanganyika, and Abyssinian I have been hoping for a couple of years that the two of you might be able to meet, and since this is the last time before he leaves, maybe it can be arranged. Guy has done a lot of work in the aid to underdeveloped countries. An Englishman, he has led expeditions into Borneo and British Guiana. It occurred to me that your knowledge of Africa could be of great value to him, especially since you might be able to give him some contacts.

He is almost certain to be in Washington by the first week of September, the second week at the latest. There is a chance that you might be there, following up the developments of the civil rights march. If you are in New York, he can probably get up for a day. All this suggestion is, of course, dependent upon your being at the receiving end of this letter and your ability to find a spare hour or so. I wouldn't trouble you with this if I didn't feel that the pair of you would have some valuable exchange. If you are around, can you let us know where Guy can try to contact you. You might drop him a line direct, since we are going on vacation for the next two weeks. His Address is 89 Charles Street West, Toronto, Ontario.

As for the pair of us,we now have a third (that is, a first child)--a little girl. Newt and his family are joining us for a few days on holiday. Let me know where you are, so that we can try to get together when I am in the city next. Best wishes, and all the best in whatever you are doing. Greetings also to Virginia Patterson, if you are in contact with her.

Ever,

Brian

Aug 18th

Dear Bayard —

Read of your rebuttal to Thurmond — Thought you did well — If you should need any support of any kind in regard to further attacks, let me know —

I'll be in Washington on the 28th via Train that's starting

H. Knopp
5 Daybreak Lane
Westport, Conn.

WESTPORT
AUG 19
10 30 AM
1963
CONN.

5¢ POSTAGE

Bayard Rustin
C/o March on Washington for
Jobs & Freedom
170 W. 130th St
NYC #27
NY

Personal

from Hartford — Think that
this March would attract millions
except for Transportation problem —

Great Day! The people marching —

Love

Honey Knopp
& Dry Break Farm
Westport —

P.S. If you want
to come up for a
rest the last 2
weeks of September —
Be our guest —
Plenty of room for you —

From a Woodcut by LEONA PIERCE©
WORLD AFFAIRS INFORMATION CENTER, INC.
WESTPORT, CONN.

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

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815 SIXTEENTH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON 6, D.C. NATIONAL 8-3870

August 22, 1963

Mr. Bayard Rustin, Coordinator
March on Washington
170 West 130th Street
New York City

Dear Mr. Rustin:

Mrs. Maida Springer is travelling with the Guinea delegation she wrote to you about earlier and will not return to Washington until Tuesday, August 27. She would like very much for this group to witness the March on Washington on August 28, and would like me to remind you to send the six admission tickets she had requested.

Thank you very much.

Yours sincerely,

Violet Lewis

Violet Lewis
Secretary to Mrs. Springer

Bayard — what?

HOTEL SCHLOSS ITTER

Aug. 30/63

Dear Bayard.
This is the place where my wife and I will spend 3 days of rest.
I want to send you my congratulations. If the report in the press are correct, you have done a magnificent organizational job. Having myself organized a march of 2000 to Ottawa, I can sympathize with you, who had to deal with 200.000.
I hope I will see you again soon – somewhere.
I'll be with the International Confederation starting Jan/64.

Gerry Hunnius

Echte Fotografie

Foto HUBER, Elbigau - Tirol

BY AIR MAIL
LUFTPOST

WIEN
30.8.63
40

Bayard Rustin

War Resisters' League

New York-38, N.Y.

5 Beekman St., Room 825
U.S.A.

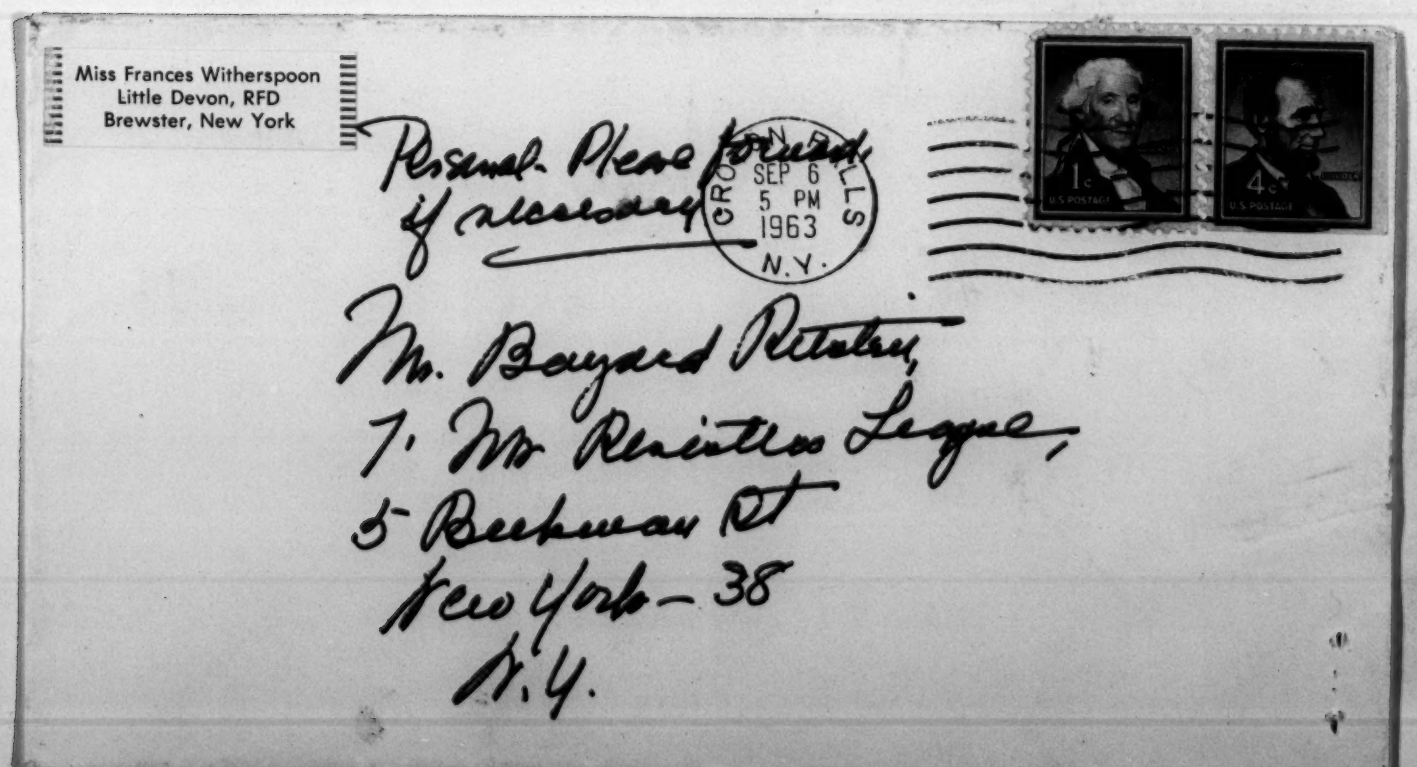
R.F.D. Brewster N.Y.
Sept 6/63

Dear Bayard.

Just a few words to tell you, not only how deeply satisfied and thankful Tracy and I are about the wonderful March, which we feel is bound to have truly significant results (if not at once, surely in time), but also how proud we are that one of your Mr Rivettes family, yourself, played so magnificent a part!

Guess where you are being given credit for the splendid order and discipline that prevailed throughout the entire demonstration. It was your prestige, your planning and organization, we hear on every hand, that contributed so largely to the day's unparalleled success.

We see your face looking out from the commercial press with all its display and publicity, as well as from our own radical journals - and its always the same British & Bayard Rustin, who did so much to further the knowledge of our righteous cause.



I know you must realize, Bayard, that, things about in person, Mary and I, are most deeply with you, all of you, here present in spirit in the Senate.

But you don't know how I, a misunderstanding, faith and up-bringing in the old, Democratic contradiction, wanted to be marching alongside my comrades.

I thought seriously of making the effort to join some group going to Washington. But had finally to give up the idea. Some of the disabilities of age (I'm 77 since this July) pointed to the plain common sense of my not undertaking so arduous an enterprise.

Perhaps I can join some less ambitious project as the Washington outpouring. I hope so. And meantime, I do keep up my wholehearted efforts for racial justice, creation presence on Congress, press letters, etc.

And now, again, congratulations and appreciation from us both to you,

Most cordially,

Francis.

MEMO

TO BAYARD

FROM TOM

Bayard, I suppose that this women has tried to see you. She mentions ttying to get you on the phone since I do not knww whether she suceeded and you have heard her idea, I suggest that you had better answer this letter.

MARGH S. JOHNSON
Radio-TV
CONSULTANT

328 Decatur Street • Brooklyn 33, New York
PResident 4-7629

September 7, 1963

Mr. Bernard Rustin
"MARCH ON WASHINGTON"
170 West 130th Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Rustin:

CONGRATULATIONS TO YOU AS THE TOP LEADER OF THE RECENT "MARCH ON WASHINGTON." It was and shall remain for years to come "the greatest history-making event in America." As a Negro, I was so proud of the outcome, of everythin and everybody. I wrote the same to Mr. Randolph, the originator and leader. I commend him for recognizing your ability. No one could have dome this but you . . . You are a TERRIFIC ORGANIZER.

I tried to reach you several times since the March but learned that you would take a much needed rest for a few days. I called your office Friday, September 6th, but you had just gone out.

May I see you and Mr. Randolph or you and Mr. Robinson about a follow-up idea on the March on Washington? This idea came to me during the March. It is an idea to capitalize on the March now during the aroused conscience of America and to bring in some financial returns. The latter will help in furthering the other plans in line for Washington etc.

Of course, you saw yourself on the cover of Life Magazine with Mr. Randolph. You deserved this! I admire Mr. Randolph for giving credit where credit is due. This shows that he is the "real big" person we like to think about.

Here is an excerpt from a statement by Harry Golden on NBC-TV's Today show. You may find use for same in speech writing and speech-making. As Constance Baker Motley wrote:" These excerpts are very helpful for speech writing as they give new incite into the ppoblems we face."

I will follow this up by telephone on Monday. Again, congratulations on a job well done.

Sincerely,
Margh Johnson
Margh Johnson

ENC:

From: Margh Johnson
328 Decatur Street
Brooklyn 33, New York

This excellent statement or comment was made by Author-Editor, Harry Golden on NBC-TV, "TODAY" show, July 24, 1963. Although it was taken during the show, this statement was mailed to Mr. Golden for his approval. It is through his kind cooperation that I am able to mail this to you and others in the struggle for Civil Rights.

HARRY GOLDEN said:

"All social revolutions throughout the World started with destroying or taring down property, castles, churches, religions, governments, etc. The American Negro is not taring down or destroying anything. He is asking for what he is entitled to, not to be given anything that isn't already his by reason of his birth in the United States. The American Negro is asking for his rights, his freedom to move around like all other Americans ... like all other people in America. The Negro is not asking to be given anything. AMERICA should be proud of this social revolution. The grievance is not against our institutions. What the Negro is saying is that our institutions are so wonderful -- he wants in -- he wants to participate in them. On this basis our social revolution is the most unique in history.

(Harry Golden, NBC-TV, Today, 7/24/63)
Approved, 9/4/63)

WESLEYAN UNIVERSITY
MIDDLETOWN, CONNECTICUT
DEPARTMENT OF PHILOSOPHY

6 September 1963

Mr. Bayard Rustin
5 Beekman Street,
The War Resisters League
New York, New York.

Dear Bayard,

Hearty congratulations on your big party in Washington. Superbly done. And for all your other good works. Sorry we haven't been on your itinerary lately. You must get up. Of all the comment I read, nothing, I'm sure, was more in the true spirit of what it is all about than your "line" on how to policy the marchers. 50-50, for otherwise it would be a struggle of white against black, instead of justice against injustice. There you have it.

As you will see from the enclosed clippings, I have dangled my toes in the pool. Sorry the marchers let you down on the litter-business.

You will be interested to know that Lee has just produced her fourth little Britisher. She married an aeronautical engineer, PhD from Princeton, and went to England to live in 1957. We get over whenever we can, summer-time and on sabbaticals. Her husband is a Scotsman, but they are living in St. Annes-on-Sea, Lancashire. (4 Balmoral Road) When you get over, she would be happy to see you. Philip is likewise an aero. engineer, at the Cornell Lab near Buffalo. He has just moved down to Ithaca, though, to take two years to a PhD. He is married and has one son, a year old. A-L and I still fuss around on the hilltop here, with the cows and the students.

All the best, Cordially,

Paul

Paul A. Reynolds

120 E. Miner St.,
West Chester, Pa.
Sept. 11, 1963

Dear Bayard,

Mrs. Fugett and I add our congratulations to the many you are receiving. There was advance publicity on you locally and in the Philadelphia paper - good, I thought except that I was disappointed that neither mentioned your singing. Your address at the Lincoln Memorial was excellent and with very effective delivery. The task of directing the acceptance of the pledge was a difficult one for such a crowd as that but very effectively accomplished. To you in particular and to the leaders too much credit can not be given for the success, the 100% success, in accomplishing the march with no disorder. The whole nation can not dismiss that fact and the world certainly took note of it. The national television coverage was expected, was very much appreciated, and had far more influence than opponents of the march anticipated. The world-wide television coverage was a very happy surprise and must have effects much more pro than con but measurable only as time passes. I do hope it gave more meaning to the expression - "Image of U.S."

Mr. Marcellus Blackburn is now retired as Principal of the Dover Delaware Elementary School after some 48 or more years service there and very successful service. He is well and I am sure he will enjoy his retirement - but not by idleness. My health has retired me for my second retirement, this time from active duty at Freedoms Foundation at Valley Forge where I have been working since 1955 retirement at Gay Street School. I still have one more job which I hope to be able to continue as long as they will have me - Corresponding Secretary and Editor of the Pa. Elementary Principals Newsletter with its four issues per year. It is very interesting and brings me contacts with many interesting people which was also true with Freedoms Foundation.

Sincerely yours,

Joseph R. Fugett

334 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
Telephone 524-1378

S C L C

Southern Christian Leadership Conference

Martin Luther King Jr., *President* Ralph Abernathy, *Treasurer* Wyatt Tee Walker, *Executive Assistant*

September 12, 1963

Mr. Bayard Rustin
170 West 130th Street
New York, New York

Dear Bayard:

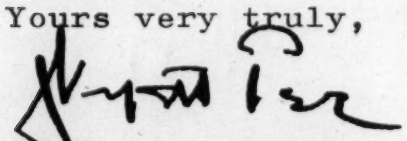
We are forwarding to you under separate cover a tentative program. We anticipate only minor departures from that which is outlined. There is enclosed a round trip ticket.

We would appreciate your office advising us of your arrival and departure time in order that convenient arrangements can be made in regards to transportation, the press, etc.

The Southern Christian Leadership Conference is indeed fortunate to have you share with us our Seventh Annual Convention session.

If there are any further details your office desires, feel free to call me collect at the number indicated obove.

Yours very truly,



wyatt tee walker
executive assistant to
Martin Luther King, Jr.

w/g
encl.

MEMO

TO BAYARD
FROM TOM

Bayard, you dictated the answer to this letter. As i remember it was a somewhat lenghty and clever answer, which I cannot hope to duplicate I propose that you re-dictate it to Tina.

William C. Gausmann
5121 Manning Drive
Bethesda, 14, Md.
15 September, 1963

Dear Bayard:

Reading several of your articles in New American and Liberation, and hearing you speak at the SP civil rights conference I was struck at the degree to which you in the course of a hectic summer have found time for some serious (although I think rather romantic) theorizing about where the civil rights movement is going, and how it can assist in the solution of some of our socio-economic problems of lower income group people.

You probably have not been acutely aware of the existence in Washington of something called the Continuing Seminar on Comparative Labor Movements. It is made up of government, university and trade union self styled experts on foreign labor movements. A fair sprinkling are of remote SP and other left backgrounds, others are decent CIO types, a handful are bureuacrats of purest ray serene. Everett Kassalow, reserach director of the Industrial Union Dep't. AFL-CIO is convenor. I am one of the steering committee. Over the seminar's five years (two of which were when I was still in England) I don't think we have ever condescended to discuss any aspect of the American labor movement.

Now, however, it seems to me and a few others that the civil rights thrust constitutes such a challenge to the American labor movement that it must react, and that if this seminar is to have the smallest use it might well provide a forum for several off-the-record, or even on-the-record discussions of what the civil rights movement wants of labor, what if offers labor, and what the hell the AFL-CIO's reaction will be. Ev Kassalow and I would be delighted if you teed-off such a discussion. We would either give the floor entirely to you, or surround you with a panel of people like Don Slaiman of the AFL-CIO civil rights department as you preferred.

The seminar operates on the tiniest of all foundation grants which may not get renewed. We can however certainly meet your expenses for a trip to Washington, or pick you up when you are here and give you a small fee. But the substantial thing I think we can offer is some sympathetic head cracking by a group ofpeople uniformly committed to the civil rights struggle, but a bit wise in the ways of the American labor movement, and inclined to look at both these American movements in light of the history and techniques of social movements elsewhere.

I know you're busy, but if this sounds at all interesting to you please let me know and we'll get down to details about your subjecting yourself to us in the next month or so.

Sincerely
Bill Gausmann

Michael Rosen
907 Sybil Street
Ann Arbor, Mich.

September 15, 1963

Dear Bayard,

Since the time I saw you last Winter about my working in the South for the summer much has transpired. Since you were quite helpful I wanted to let you know that I did achieve my goal and it looks as though this decision may greatly affect the course of my future plans.

Needless to say, all my best congratulations to you for the March on the 28th. I can imagine how much work you must have put into it----the March itself must serve as better 'congratulations' than anything I could possibly say.

Anyway, I did write to SNCC and got several replies from them and was told that I would be informed of their final decision. (I was never so informed but that is irrelevant.)

Largely through the help of Clarence Jones of the Gandhi Society, I was able to get in touch with Wyatt Walker and eventually with Andy Young about working on the Citizenship Education Program---this in itself was no easy task as Birmingham was going strong at the time. Subsequently, I went to the SCLC training session at Dorchester Center in June and then, after working as a menial in the Atlanta office for a week was assigned to work on the Citizenship Education program in South Carolina.

The work itself was thrilling in a very real and personal sense---I spoke at churches, civic meetings, helped with the organization of a Voter Registration drive, and mostly went around the the 20 or so Citizenship classes being held in that State. I gained a very deep sense of accomplishment from this work: I was accepted by the people with whom I came in contact and was able to give education in the real sense of the word.

My commitment to the field has increased incredibly. At the moment I am considering plans to leave the Doctorate program in Philosophy here at the University of Michigan (I received my Masters in June) and switch to law---possibly in New York or at Yale. I think there is little that can be done from the ivory towers of academia---you have often told me that the best education is the one received from people, not from universities. The significance of this has finally caught up with me. There are rewards to be gotten from an academic career---but I think <u>for me</u> they would be insufficient and would leave me frustrated in <u>terms</u> of my desire to work with people.

I am writing to you because I value your friendship and am grateful to you for the help you have given me in the past. I would welcome a chance tto talk with you the next time I am in New York. The 'change' in me is not a change----rather it is a realization that the path I had been following was too divergent from my real goals. I wanted you to know this.

My very best wishes to you, Bayard.

Sincerely,

Mike

Michael Rosen

P.S. I am <u>including a semi-official letter on another matter.</u> m.r.

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN
HORACE H. RACKHAM
SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES
ANN ARBOR

GRADUATE STUDENT COUNCIL

September 15, 1963

Mr. Bayard Rustin
War Resisters League
5 Beekman Street
New York 38, N.Y.

Dear Bayard,

I am writing to you a Vice-President of the Graduate Student Council of the University of Michigan. The Graduate Student Council represents the approximately 10,000 graduate students of the University in educational and extra-curricular matters.

In the past the Council has sponsored several forums, public lectures, etc. Last year the Council co-sponsored a lecture by Dr. Herbert Aptheker on "The Emancipation Proclamation Now and 100 Years Ago."

Because of the need for informed presentations on the timely civil-rights problem confronting this Country, Graduate Student Council is considering holding a lecture on this subject. It is our feeling that a lecture on the role of the university student in civil-rights: both as a student and afterwards as a potential leader of society would be both relevant and important.

The final decision as to whether to hold such a lecture has not yet been made. Thus the following questions are not to be construed as a definite commitment:

(1) Would you be willing to give such a lecture?

(2) Would you be free in middle October or early November to fly out here for a lecture?

(3) What expenses would you require?

I realise that the last question may violate the rules of formal proceedure---however we are faced with the double problem of having a small budget as well as little experience in arranging for such lectures.

I am sure that such a lecture would have a minimum audience of 500. If you wish, a question & answer period can be given or an informal meeting could also be arranged. These last two possibilities would be entirely up to you.

If you are interested in such a lecture I would appreciate it if you would write to me at your earliest convenience. My address is: 907 Sybil Street, Ann Arbor.

I look forward to hearing from you.

for the Executive Board,

Michael B. Rosen

Michael B. Rosen,
vice-president.

415 So. Matlack St.
West Chester, Pa.
Sept 16, 1963

Dear Bayard,

We (Charles Porter, his wife, my husband and I) were in Washington for the March of Aug 28th. What an inspiring experience. We were all so very proud of you; but then, we always knew you were born to lead.

I've been asked by the West Chester Human Relations Council to use my influence (such as it might be - smile) to try to get you to be our speaker in Feb. for Brotherhood week. I agree with their trend of thought that you would be ideal for the occasion. Please give this some thought and let me know whether you can or not before our next meeting, which will be Oct 2nd... If, of course, this is possible.

There's so much I'd like to say to you concerning all the old gang that I couldn't begin to put it in a letter, so, if you can speak for us in Feb. Maybe we'll have time to chat-a-while over dinner. Do try to come.

Again, Thanks for organizing such a wonderful day on July 28th. Do it again.

Sincerely,
Mary Frances (Boyd) Thomas

MEMO

TO BAYRD

FROM TOM

BAYARD, Here are two letter the answer of which you also dictated. I cannot remember what you said in them, and I know that these people are friends of yours, and I think that you had better r~~XXXX~~i re-dictate the answers.

WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE
FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM
BURLINGTON COUNTY BRANCH

315 Chestnut Street
Moorestown, N.J.
September 16, 1963

Mr. Bayard Rustin
War Resistors International
5 Beekman Street
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Rustin:

Each year in February our Branch of the Women's International League joins with the local chapter of the Zeta Phi Beta Sorority to hold a Brotherhood Tea. At that time the Sorority honors some local citizen for his contribution to human relations in Burlington County and we try to have an outstanding speaker in the field of civil rights. The unanimous choice of our committee this year is yourself.

Many of us heard you in Washington on August 28 and I also had the privilege of being one of the staff of the WILPF national office who sat in when you spoke to our Policy Committee last year.

We would, of course, cover all the expenses involved in having you with us and we usually also pay a small honorarium of $25. We take a silver collection at the tea which usually nets a substantial sum for the scholarship fund of the sorority, and is used to help girls they are interested in get through college.

The teas are usually quite well attended 150 to 200 people. With you as our guest we are sure that we can promise a considerably larger audience. Moreover we believe that your message would help us in the work we are trying to do to end all practise of segregation in this community.

Could you let us know this week whether Sunday February 16 or Sunday February 23 from 3-5 PM would be a possible time for you?

We do hope you will be able to come.

Sincerely yours

Eleanor Fowler

Eleanor Fowler
Program Chairman
Burlington County Branch

VOLUNTARY ORGANIZATIONS AND A WORLD WITHOUT WAR CONFERENCE
218 East 18th Street, New York, N.Y., 10003
212 GRamercy 5-0850

September 18, 1963

TO: Bayard Rustin
Those concerned

FROM: The Working Committee RWG, RP

SUBJECT: THE KIND OF PEACE MOVEMENT AMERICA NEEDS

You know by now about the "Voluntary Organizations and a World Without War Conference" scheduled for New York City, December 13-15. You'll be receiving the call and conference summary sheet shortly.

We are inviting three different groups of people:

1) leaders of the major national voluntary organizations interested in public policy problems

2) national leaders of organizations which define their central purpose as helping achieve a world without war

3) leaders of community peace education and action from some 200 communities across the country

(Ideally, though rooted in a particular point of view--federalist, pacifist, AAUN, or whatever--these people have the kind of overall view of what is needed in local communities that TTP is trying to encourage.)

Five working papers for the conference are being prepared and will be circulated in late October or early November. We are writing to ask your help on the document titled "The Kind of Peace Movement America Needs." It will be a portfolio for "Questions for the Peace Movement." Each question will be stated in an analytical paragraph or two. Alternate answers will be given by leaders of different tendencies within the peace movement. We hope to see this portfolio used in discussion across the country before and after the conference, as a device for lifting the level of sophistication of local leadership.

We may have as many as 25 questions running from fundamental theoretical issues such as the attitude the peace movement should adopt toward American government and society, toward Soviet government and society, toward international conflict, toward alternate theories of social change, to questions involving the peace movement's relationship to electoral politics, alternate organizational strategies for work in local communities, among young people. We also want to list some specific questions like (1) are we ready for a national fund drive for peace purposes--a World Without War Fund? If so, should it initially be restricted to peace research, peace fellowships, or include the attempt to raise money for peace action groups? (2) Are we ready for a consolidated national peace mailing list for use on specific legislative issues?

We write to ask if you would

1) identify the questions you would like to see leaders of peace organizations face. Could you write a paragraph or two which states and analyzes the question and forward it to Robert Gilmore in New York with a carbon to Robert Pickus at 1730 Grove Street, Berkeley 9, California?

2) Could you also indicate which of these questions you would accept responsibility for shaping up: i.e., inviting two or three other people to give two- or three-page answers as well as writing your own answer so that we would end up with a five- or six-page document which is an exploration of that particular question?

If you do agree to take on one or more of the questions, we would hope to have the material here by October 20.

Let us know as soon as possible if you will do either or both of the above jobs.

PRESS CONFERENCE 18 September 1963

Bayard Rustin: Since the Montgomery bus protest, The Negro people under the leadership of their established organisations have largely depended upon nonviolence. We have reached a crisis. The bombing of the children in Birmingham raises a question in the minds..... (Since) The Montgomery bus protest in 1955, the Negro people have heeded the advice of their established leaders to remain nonviolent in the face of all provocation [redacted] in our effort to win total equality. The bombing of the children in Birmingham presents that leadership with a profound crisis, and it is a simple one. That if the Governa ment of the United States cannot protect children in Sunday School, the masses of Negroes are beginning to feel that they must provide protection for themselves. This would be a profound tragedy for the Negro people and for the nation. It was in the spirit, therefore, that the Big Ten, who set up the March on Washington, called for all people of good will to make this coming Sunday a day of mourning. I have before me an armband, a sample of which we will have thousands of in a short time, saying "Children of Birmingham", and we are asking all people of good will to wear this arm band until the people responsible for that bestial act have been apprehended and properly punished. All over the ghettoes of the North: Harlem, Bedford-Stuyvesant, Chicago- -we have to do something to sap up the intense anger and frustration of the Negro people. It was in this connexion therefore that we appealed to Mr. Baldwin to help us, and he will tell you now what the plans are for Sunday and why he has determined to be helpful.

38743 SEP 20 '63

2307 East 14th St
Brooklyn 29, N.Y.
Sept. 18, 1963

Mr Roy Wilkins
Executive Secretary, N.A.A.C.P.
20 West 40th Street
New York, New York.

Dear Mr Wilkins

I am writing to you at this time because as the majority of Negroes across this Country feel they have reached the "saturation point," because of the social and moral decadence of the "white man". The Negro can no longer tolerate his daily inhumanities perpetrated on his So-called "traditions" and false system of values. I therefore feel, that any Idea, no matter how insignificant it may seem, which concerns the Negro movement towards "Freedom", should be passed on to men of your Caliber for evaluation of its merit and worth.

I met you sometime ago and spoke to you at length in your office. The discussion involved a position with the NAACP. as Church Secretary on the Southern front. At that time, I submitted a detailed resume of my background, qualifications and experience - you promised to submit my name to the next Board meeting and contact me of its results — Unfortunately, this was just prior to the death of Walter White. I fully understood your problems at the time in setting up a new program of your own thinking and focus. (What would the Negro do today without your skillful, intelligent leadership?) Therefore during this hectic period, perhaps my application were overlooked.

If I may have your indulgence for the next few minutes, I would like to try to explain my idea for your consideration - Every since the Murder of Medgar Evers this idea has refused to leave my thinking, always vague it was there. Since his death or Murder the idea has become more workable in my mind and due to this recent outrage in Birmingham - I cannot sit still any longer without writing to you.

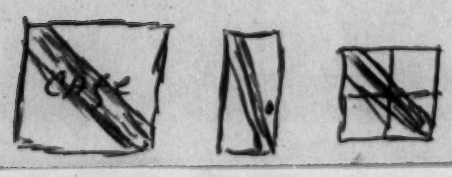
We as Negroes need something as a Symbol, to remind us daily of our plight and status in this so-called "Democratic Society" - I feel that the Symbol should be Visual. I therefore propose through you that every business, church home, Union, Lodge etc. in the U.S.A. especially Negro, Display our grief and our Struggle, by placeing a Black Stripe or Strip at least 12 to 18 inches in width, and as long as the area will permit, on every Show front, window or door which ever is most prominent. I believe this plan or idea could be launched Nationally and would tend to be the Visual Symbol of our Struggle for everyone to See. I futher believe the psychological impact would be tremendous. The Symbol would remain displayed until we as Negroes have received a workable Civil Rights Bill, such as you have proposed.

In the event this idea appeals to you, please feel free to Call me at any time to discuss further plans.

Please accept my sincere wishes for your Continued good work -

Yours Truly

J S Brown



etc - Tele-TW-1-2526

The following original page is of poor quality. UPA has made every technical effort to provide the best possible reproduction.

COPY

October 9, 1963

Mr. J. S. Brown
2307 East 14th Street
Brooklyn 29, New York

Dear Mr. Brown:

This will acknowledge your letter of September 18 to Mr. Wilkins. Since he is expected to be out of the city for some time, your letter was referred to me for reply.

I believe your suggestion has great merit and I am therefore taking the liberty of forwarding your letter to the March on Washington headquarters for consideration by the participating organizations.

We thank you for sharing your views with us and hope that we will continue to enjoy your interest and support.

Sincerely,

Mildred Bond
Administrative Assistant

MB:mso

HOWARD N. MEYER
76 TARENCE STREET
ROCKVILLE CENTRE, N. Y.

RO 6-5434

Sept. 18, 1963

Dear Bayard Rustin,

The problem is still the WHITE problem, and it will not be solved until some more fundamental issues are faced: what good are 200,000 marchers, or even 2,000,000, when 50,000,000 children daily are still fed the poison, disguised as American History, that has been distilled from generations of rationalization for white supremacy ?

Why has Liberation ignored ARMY LIFE IN A BLACK REGIMENT, and all that it implies ?

Please take two minutes to read enclosures.

Fraternally,

Howard Meyer

THE BLACK WORKER

April, 1963

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH, Editor
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters (AFL-CIO/CLC)
217 W 125th St., Suite 301
New York 27, N. Y.

NEW YORK

(The following address was delivered by Mr. Howard N. Meyer, editor, Collier Edition, Higginson's ARMY LIFE IN A BLACK REGIMENT, at the Annual Negro History Week Celebration, sponsored by the New York Auxiliary. We enjoyed this address so much that we asked Mr. Meyers to send us a copy so that we might publish it for the benefit of the auxiliaries throughout the country.)

For one who has come to learn—a little late in life—that there is much more to American History than is taught in our schools, and that what is taught in our schools is full of falsehoods, it is hard to put a time, or subject limit on remarks commemorating Negro History Week. I have a burning conviction that our Civil Rights organizations—which have each performed well, under handicaps, in their fields of concentration—must come to grips with the history-teaching problem, if they are ever to make a massive breakthrough. Brotherhood Week, as the politicians like to say in their speeches, should be celebrated all year 'round—but there will be no true brotherhood in our land until Negro History Week is observed all year;—not until it becomes unnecessary for there to be a Negro History Week.

The segregationists and some of the so-called "moderates"—the go-slow folk—have a favorite theme whenever someone calls for action: action in the field of voting in the South, housing in the North, job-discrimination across the land. They say, first you have to have education. And while they say it they laugh up their sleeves. Because, by and large, they have the most important part of the educational process tied up in a knot!

The significance of mis-teaching history as a method of insuring preservation of white supremacy was seen 90 years ago by Wade Hampton, even before he had overthrown the lawful government of South Carolina, in a speech in which he said it was the "duty" of the ex-Confederates "to vindicate the great principles for which the Confederacy fought . . . to explain to the world the everliving truths she sought to maintain . . . and to place on the eternal record an appeal . . . to the tribunal of history." His people responded. For the next 40 years Confederate veterans' committees censored and saw to it that Southern history books were properly slanted; Southern white scholars fanned out over the country and took over the history writing and teaching in our great universities, almost as if by plan.

By and large they succeeded in creating a picture of American History, frozen in to present-day textbooks, which teach that—

> Slavery was a benefical, civilizing institution that was overthrown only when it had outlived its usefulness in training the savage; Emancipation was as unnecessary and even unwanted gift presented to helpless Negroes:
>
> Reconstruction in the South after the Civil War was a period of shameful plunder by Negroes and carpetbaggers and proved that ignorant freedmen had been given the vote too soon.

Then comes the real tough one: what happened to the Negro in the South from 1877 onward was such an atrocity that the power of man to lie was not equal to the task of disguising it. Therefore, it is not mentioned at all; or else passed over with a vile wisecrack: those who condemned or recall the multiple political assassinations of the leaders of the Negro people in the South are said to be merely "waving the bloody shirt."

It is no wonder that so many Americans, at least those who have not known or worked with Negroes in school, shop, or factory, still thinks of them as history's helpless pawns, an inferior people; he reads "Negro" in his newspaper and thinks to himself: "nigger." Of course this is a product of education, has to be fought by education, and reached through the particular part of education that produced it: the misteaching of American History. The distorted teaching of history has had its effects on the young Negro too—in giving him feelings of inferiority and hence of submissiveness,—by depriving him of pride in his heritage and a sense of continuity with his past. The work of Carter G. Woodson and W. E. B. DuBois has helped to combat this, but their efforts and the efforts of their heirs, such as Charles Wesley and Rayford W. Logan and Saunders Bedding and John Hope Franklin, must be multiplied on a far broader, and on an integrated basis. We need white freedom teachers and freedom writers to help make possible the speeding up of the integration that the freedom riders have helped along. Every one of us who is a parent, member of a P.T.A., or who can make himself heard in some other way can join this part of the fight.

We all remember how the U.S. Military Government in Germany, and later the German government itself, to a certain extent, faced the problem of trying to help remake that country into a democracy. One of the big problems was the deep and intense anti-Semitic feeling among the Germans. How did they tackle it? By seeing to it that the facts of recent German history were faced; by opening the eyes of the young and of those who had lived quietly through it to what had been going on in the concentration camps and the crematoria. Half of the American race relations problem of mis-taught history has to be solved similarly. We must face and teach our children, and their parents, what really happened between Negro and white in our country, over the years; how the Negro was lynched, plundered, flogged, and intimidated for half a century after Emancipation, until they retreated and got to "know their place' in the South, and stayed in it until Martin Luther King led thousands who decided that they'd rather walk than ride a bus for a while; until those brave young lads in North Carolina decided that they'd rather sit-in hungry than eat standing up.

The other half of the history teaching problem is to get across the story of how the Negro, throughout our history, has led the fight for his own freedom. It is particularly timely in this Emancipation year to remember that fact above others. America must face her shame in the fact that when the promise of Emancipation of 1863 was made a mockery from 1877 to 1954, it was not merely the withholding of a freedom that had been offered on a silver platter to a helpless people. It was the theft of a freedom that had been hard and

nobly won by men in arms who, in fighting for their own freedom had also helped to save their country—from a treasonable attempt of slaveholders to overthrow the government to protect their property.

When Lincoln came to the point of issuing his proclamation of Emancipation, it was the culmination of a historical process. That process included the work of the abolitionist movement over the years. History books conceal the fact that abolitionism was an "integrated" a movement as the freedom riders of today. William Lloyd Garrison side by side with Fred Douglass; Wendell Phillips and James McCrummell; Rev. Samuel May and Rev. Samuel R. Ward; Henry Ward Beecher and Henry Highland Garnet.

In the writing and timing of the Proclamation, Lincoln was mightily influenced by individual Negroes such as Douglass, and by the outspoken community actions of free Negroes across the land. I can cite one example of interest here.

Until August 1862 Lincoln who, while always personnaly opposed to slavery, was never sure what to do about race relations afterwards, still thought so-called "colonization" schemes. On August 14, 1862, he discussed his ideas for voluntary departure of Negroes from the U.S. with a Negro delegation. Shortly afterwards, Garrison's **Liberator** reported a resolution passed by a mass meeting of the colored citizens of Queens county who declared —

> we have the right to have appiled to ourselves those rights named in the Declaration of Independence. . . . our answer is this: There is no country like our own. Why not declare slavery abolished and favor our peaceful colonization in the rebel states.

This was but one of the many expressions by Negro Americans that helped Lincoln along the last difficult part of the road that led to the issuance of the great proclamation of freedom.

That proclamation, in turn, finished opening the door that Thomas Wentworth Higginson's pioneer black regiment had pried loose in the Sea Islands of South Carolina.

You will not find in the textbooks used currently in most schools any reference to the testimony, from high sources, of the importance of the Negro soldier to his country in the Civil War. Secretary of War Stanton said, "This whole contest would have gone against us if at the last moment we had not got 200,000 Negroes to come and join our armies and turn the tide of victory on our side." Thousands of pages and hundreds of thousands of words have been written about the Civil War Centennial, without any reference to Lincoln's statement about the loyal black regiments: "Take two hundred thousand men from our side and put them in the battlefield or cornfield against us, and we would be compelled to abandon the war in three weeks."

Half of our historians, segregation-minded, conceal the role of those black regiments in the Civil War; the other half, ashamed of the century of betrayel of the black men who fought for freedom for all Americans, prefer to forget them. Now, as we mount a nationwide effort to bring back to life what has been the dead-letter Amendments to the Constitution we must bring back to the history books the words of Booker T. Washington—certainly no extremist — who said: "The services which the Negro troops performed in the Civil War in fighting for the freedom of their race not only convinced the officers who commanded them and the white soldiers who fought by their side that the Negro race deserved to be free, but it served to convince the great mass of people at the North that the Negroes were fit for freedom. It did, perhaps, more than any other one thing to gain for them, as a result of the war, the passage of those amendments to the Constitution which secured to the Negro race the same rights in the United States which are granted to white men."

For those who think I exaggerate the nature and extent of distortions of history, I can only suggest that they look at the history or social studies textbooks given to their children. A recent, and horrible example of the effect of these distortions is found in the opening column of a new, nationally syndicated columnist, from whom New Yorkers were spared by the newspaper strike. This Mr. Max Freedman had the impudence or the ignorance to write in a column which appeared in the Washington Post, Philadelphia Inquirer, Chicago News and I don't know how many other papers that the "Negro was the absentee client" at the time of the Emancipation.

Let the lesson of Negro History Week, 1963, be that this type of lie and distortion must be exposed and rebutted, unceasingly and tirelessly; that the fight for Civil Rights will be hindered and incomplete until we pick up the neglected tool — and integrate America's heritage.

THE NEW REPUBLIC JULY 13, 1963

Rebel with Many Causes

by Jackson Stanley

Thomas Wentworth Higginson's *Army Life in a Black Regiment*, first published in 1869, is probably the finest personal history to come out of the Civil War, but who knows anybody who ever heard of it? As a memoir it is as entertaining and informative as that of one of Higginson's innumerable cousins, Richard Henry Dana Jr., but where *Two Years Before the Mast*

Army Life in a Black Regiment
by Thomas Wentworth Higginson
(Michigan State; $4.50;
Beacon; $1.95; Collier; $.95)

Dear Preceptor, The Life & Times of Thomas Wentworth Higginson
by Anna Mary Wells
(Houghton Mifflin; $6)

raised an issue no more controversial than to flog or not to flog, Higginson said something sensational: Negroes make good soldiers.

In October of 1862 when Col. Thomas Wentworth Higginson accepted the command of the First South Carolina Volunteers, a regiment of ex-slaves assembled at Port Royal, the idea of a black man in a blue uniform seemed about as silly as putting iron on a battleship. Despite Bull Run, courage was measured in inverse ratio to the pigmentation in a man's skin.

Col. Higginson was an excellent choice to prove otherwise. He was born in Cambridge in 1823, a descendant of the first English clergyman ordained on American soil and of an amiable assortment of inter-marrying Cabots, Lees, Channings and Jacksons. He was graduated from Harvard in 1841 – it was as disreputable to conservatives in matters of religion then as it is today to economic conservatives. He promptly did Harvard proud by losing his first calling as a Unitarian preacher because of his radical views on slavery, woman's rights, and the fourteen-hour day in the woolen mills. Higginson wasn't content to be merely anti-slavery – he was a galloping Abolitionist who favored Disunion if the problem couldn't be solved by violence. He was a leader of the mob which tried to free the fugitive slave, Anthony Burns, and received a blow on the head whose scar was to persist all his life. Wherever he lived was a stop on the Underground Railroad. He led a band of "emigrants" to Kansas in '56 to fatten the free-state voting lists there, and was one of the few financial supporters of John Brown who dared admit his complicity after the disaster at Harpers Ferry. He visited Brown's wife in the Adirondacks, helped a pair of the conspirators escape to Canada, and then tried to mount a plan to spring Brown from prison, but both it and Brown died from lack of support.

From then on, it was all war. Higginson studied tactics and was organizing a Massachusetts regiment when Governor Andrews gave him a leave of absence to go south.

The pressures on him were enormous. A previous attempt to arm the slaves had aborted in consequence of a curious contagion at army headquarters with the slave ideal: the soldiers were put to work at their old jobs behind the hoe, and nobody seemed to think they deserved any pay! They naturally deserted their new masters as resolutely as they had fled from the old.

Higginson promised his 800 recruits that they would be allowed to fight. Most of them were field-hands who had never held a gun and whose illiteracy had been maintained by law; they practised shooting and spelling with equal zest. Higginson's account of their quick transformation from children to men is charming, rich with anecdote, and entirely unpatronizing. He provided his men with the fighting they asked for; though the freed slaves of the Firs' Souf' participated in no major engagement, they suffered casualties in numerous raids up the St. John, the St. Marys, and the Edisto into enemy territory. Higginson was invalided out in May of 1864, typically optimistic of the results of his work both in freeing and dignifying the Negro:

"It is not in nature that the jealousy of race should die out in this generation, but I trust we will not see the fulfillment of Corporal Simon Crum's prediction. Simon was one of the shrewdest old fellows in the regiment, and he said to me once, 'I'se goin' to leave de Souf, Cunnel, when de war is over. I'se made up my mind dat dese yer Secesh wil neber be civilized in my time'."

AUGUST 3, 1963

Two Histories

Sirs:

Jackson Stanley's warm and perceptive tribute to Higginson's *Army Life in a Black Regiment* (July 13) asks the question, intended to be rhetorical, "who knows anybody who ever heard of it?" A more significant question is, why not?

The exclusion of the Negro from American society has had as a concomitant the suppression or distortion of the role of the Negro in our history. We teach "two histories": the standard, and the separate Negro History. Negro historians, writers, and scholars are familiar with *Army Life in a Black Regiment*. They have produced works such as Du Bois' *Black Reconstruction*, concerning which Harry Hansen wrote in 1935, "No one can consider himself informed of all phases of the Negro problem unless he has read this book," and Logan's neglected *The Negro in American Life and Thought – The Nadir: 1877-1901*, of which Arthur M. Schlesinger, Sr., wrote in 1954 that it was "important not only for the scholar but for anyone who wishes to view the current problem of race relations in historical perspective."

P. L. Prattis, a columnist for the *Pittsburgh Courier*, wrote a year ago that "every Negro and white boy of school age should be required to read Colonel Higginson's story." Implementation of that idea would only be the beginning of a massive overhauling of American history and literature curricula and reading lists that is indispensable to the solution of the white problem.

Howard N. Meyer
Rockville Center, N.Y.

Ethical NEWS
Published weekly from mid-September through Mid-June by the Society for Ethical Culture
Member of the American Ethical Union
2 West 64 Street, New York 23, N. Y.
Editor: Inez Bordeaux
MARCH 10, 1963 Vol. III, No. 26
Second-class postage paid at New York, N. Y.

Topic of H. Meyer Talk March 18

Howard N. Meyer, a lawyer living in suburban New York, is one of those staunch and determined people totally immune to the defeat usually induced by endless encounters with arrogance, obstinacy and ignorance. Frustration seems only to goad him onward. Mr. Meyer is an avid student of the Civil War and Reconstruction periods, and he happens to feel that the real truth about that era has rarely been told. Moreover, he also feels that the communication media – television, movies, radio, books, magazine, press, resists pressures in behalf of the truth. Like a growing number of scholars and historians, Mr. Meyer maintains that the South's point of view toward the Civil War and Negroes gradually – in the years following the Civil War – became the accepted national viewpoint. In November 1961 the Negro Digest reprinted his article *Did the South Win the Civil War?* which made the point that – for all practical purposes – it surely did. But let Mr. Meyer speak for himself: "I think that the most important and the most neglected area of the Civil Rights battle is the teaching and writing of history – for as long as 50 million white kids North and South are brainwashed with what I see in our American history books as the story of Reconstruction, just so long will they continue to grow up feeling that the Negro was, and therefore, is something less than human."

For several years, Mr. Meyer sought to get publishers to re-issue Thomas Wentworth Higginson's all-but-forgotten *Army Life In A Black Regiment*, a classic inside report of the First South Carolina Volunteers in the Civil War. Higginson, a colonel, commanded the Negro troops, and his sympathetic record of their problems and performance refuted all myths of Negro military inadequacy. Last year two different publishers released editions of the Higginson book. Now at last, Mr. Meyer has persuaded Collier Books to issue an edition of *Army Life in a Black Regiment* at the popular 95 cent price. This edition, one of the Collier Civil War Classic series, suitably boasts an introduction by Howard N. Meyer.

Mr. Meyer brings a wealth of material and practical experience to his presentation "Uses and Abuses of History" which he will deliver before the Council on Human Rights, Monday, March 18 at 8:30 PM. All are welcome.

HORIZON:

By P. L. Prattis

Race Pride

One of the reasons for the Negro's failure to make more significant progress than he has is the lack of pride in himself and others like him. Many of us recognize this inferiority complex as a hangover from slavery, but we are concerned about how long the individual Negro is going to lack pride and faith in himself and other Negroes.

I am moved to this train of thought because I have just finished reading a remarkable little book, **Army Life in a Regiment**, by Thomas Wentworth Higginson. It is a paperback published by the Crowell Collier Publishing Company, New York, and it retails for three packages of cigarettes, or 95 cents.

Mr. Prattis

To make a long story short, this book was written by a distinguished citizen and writer of Massachusetts who served during part of the Civil War as colonel (commanding officer) of the First South Carolina Volunteers. Colonel Higginson (born in 1823; died in 1911) made written observations about his troops all during his period of service; then, after the war, availed himself of his notes and diary to write a narrative which should be precious to every living Negro.

Even though he was given the command of a regiment of unlettered troops, Colonel Higginson found them to be just as courageous, just as prudent, just as daring, just as skillful as any other troops, of whatever color and training, he had ever known.

They made him proud of them. His regiment was a most important instrument in maintaining what was known as the Department of the South, covering South Carolina, Georgia and Florida. Except for these troops, Colonel Higginson avers, Sherman could never have marched through Georgia and broken the back of rebel resistance.

But despite their valor and discipline, Colonel Higginson could not help but note their lack of regard for one another, their unwillingness to accept the leadership of one of their own. They were determined not to let any Negro "play white man" over them. This determination has persisted until this day and is responsible, I believe, for the failure of Negroes to marshal all their resources, tangible and intangible. They still think the white man is better than they are.

Oddly enough, Colonel Higginson's book was resurrected for present-day publication by a white man, Howard N. Meyer, 76 Tarence St., Rockville Center, New York. Mr. Meyer believes that "any book giving justice to the role of the Negro in our history is usually given a low priority rating." For this reason, every Negro and white boy and girl of school age should be required to read Colonel Higginson's story.

Rogers has written that Negro soldiers and laborers were pivotal to the success of the North in the Civil War. President Lincoln admitted as much. Colonel Higginson was on the firing line. He ought to have known.

Dear Bayard:
Thanks to your efforts the CJPR matter will soon be closed. Seymour joined the August 28 Washington March. You did much to make it a success. It is good to see that people are awakening to the need for jobs and equal opportunity for everyone — Julius

769 St. Marks Avenue
Brooklyn 13, N. Y.
September 19, 1963

The Rev. George L. Paine
6 Channing Place
Cambridge 38, Mass.

Dear Rev. Paine:

Re: Settlement of the outstanding loans to the Committee for Justice to Puerto Ricans

Enclosed is a $100 check, made out to your order, and this settles the balance of that $200 loan you made to the Committee for Justice to Puerto Ricans on October 1, 1954. Since you are also a member of the Committee, I feel I owe you and some of the Committee members an explanation for the delay in meeting our obligations.

Back in May 19, 1958, you wrote to Conrad Lynn to remind him we still owed you some money. The letter was turned over to me for reply. I wrote you that I would call this matter of the debt to the attention of some of the Committee members. A few months ago Bayard Rustin was moved to act, and he spoke to A. J. Muste with the hope of getting this debt settled. I know that soon after A. J. Muste wrote to you about this same debt.

On August 27, A. J. wrote me, "As per our telephone conversation I am enclosing herewith check for $160 made payable to yourself. This is to take care of that long-outstanding debt of the Puerto Rican Committee."

Actually we owe $200, but I have a balance of $40 in the Committee bank account. I am now paying you the $100 and am holding the other $100 for Mr. Robert Rempfer, who at the time made a similar loan as yours. He is no longer at the old address, and I am trying to locate him so that I can send him the money and bring my activities as treasurer to a close.

I want to thank you for being gracious enough to give this loan to the Committee at the time of crisis and need, and I want to apologize for the delay in returning your money.

Sincerely,

Julius Eichel, treasurer
Committee for Justice to Puerto Ricans

cc Rev. A. J. Muste
Bayard Rustin
Conrad Lynn
David Dellinger
Rev. Ralph Templin

WORCESTER STUDENT MOVEMENT

CLARK UNIVERSITY, WORCESTER MASS. SW 8-3180

FREEDOM JUSTICE RACIAL EQUALITY

September 22, 1963

AFFILIATE OF:
Northern Student Movement
ASSOCIATE GROUPS:
Student Nonviolent Cordinating Comm:
Congress of Racial Equality
ADVISORY Board:
Rev. Joseph B. Axenroth
Rev. John Burke
Rev. Thaddeus Clapp
Prof. Walter H. Crockett
Mrs. Daniel Farber
Mrs. Julie Chase Fuller
Mr. Carter Higgins
Mrs. Benjamin Levinson
Dr. George Moore
Prof. Mordecai S. Rubin
Dr. Winfield Scott
Rev. John A. Stringfield

Mr. Bayard Rustin
March on Washington Office
170 W. 130th Street
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Rustin:

This letter comes as a follow up to our recent telephone conversation. I am hoping that you can find the time to come to Clark. Possible dates are October 21, 24, 25, and 28 - 30.

I have sent out today a letter to James Baldwin in care of you. Once again I say that whatever assistance you can give in helping us to get him here would be greatly appreciated.

Thanking you in advance, I look forward to receiving your reply.

Sincerely,

D'Army Bailey
Chairman

"In my time streets led to quicksand.
Speech betrayed me to the slaughter.
There was little I could do. But without me
The rulers would have been more secure.
This was my hope."

Berthold Brecht
"To Posterity"

DB/pt

Sept 23 - 1963
5873 S. Hope Rd
New Berlin - Wis -

Dear Bayard - we think of you often as we follow news of your activities in varying ways - It moves me very much to realize that the concerns and work of so many years are finally having a meaning far beyond the horizons of Time past - It is obviously due to the depth of belief and persistance to act on it that you and others have had -

It doesn't even matter, does it how many things go wrong in between - If it is right, it is right as you've told me more than once - I suppose its this very quality of seeing the whole and going toward it even in pieces that makes the difference - Life hands us many setbacks along the way - The joyous thing for me, about you at this point is that the setbacks have never set the direction - You still see the road ahead - I'm so glad we crossed paths along the way Bayard - I hope you never give up - Its so important to have you -

We in Milwaukee have been part of a rather fascinating, partly sad, series of demonstrations that a bunch of wonder=

and young people jumped into, (probably without too much thought) on returning from Washington - they've taken somewhat of a beating but I think their spirit is still pretty strong - Our Friends Meeting is spending some time with them in a couple of weeks on "communication between human beings in the area of civil rights" - Its a pretty vital subject here at the moment - I wish we didn't have to wait till April when we understand you'll be with us here on the 10th - (thru AFSC in Chicago) - Someday perhaps there will be time to catch up - meanwhile, we send you our love and congratulations on what you are accomplishing -

Affectionately
Fanny Lee

NEW BETHEL BAPTIST CHURCH

NINTH AND S STREETS, N. W.
Washington 1, D. C.

WALTER E. FAUNTROY, MINISTER
DUpont 7-3517

September 24, 1963

Mr. Bayard Rustin
March-On-Washington
170 W. 130th Street
New York, New York

Dear Bayard:

Enclosed find the list of expenses incurred by the Washington Urban League in connection with the transportation of stranded persons together with a listing of expense incurred by me.

I look forward to seeing you on September 30.

Sincerely,

Walter E. Fauntroy

Enclosures

WEF/hsc

WASHINGTON URBAN LEAGUE
626 Third Street, N. W.
Washington 1, D. C.

MEMORANDUM

DATE: 11 September 1963

TO : Reverend Walter E. Fauntroy

FROM: Administrative Officer

SUBJ: MARCH ON WASHINGTON EXPENSES

Pursuant to our telephone conversation, following is a list of expenses incurred by the Washington Urban League in connection with the transportation of stranded persons attending the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom. Attached also are bills for other incidental expenses in connection with the March. At this time, I am unable to give you the cost of the two air mattresses that were lost.

Hugh Story Maude Suggs Barbara Sweeting Archie Louhevas Catherine Washington Lawrence Young Erie Wilkinson Sibylle Beerskin	New York Area	$75.70
William McCray	Cambridge, Md.	3.60
Mr. Jennings	Annapolis, Md.	5.00
Mr. Robert Gaddy	St. Louis, Mo.	41.76
Jerome Smith and family	Caton, Mississippi	162.00
Infanta Spence	Seattle, Washington	40.00
Marsha Rotkin Felton Kenney	Los Angeles, Calif.	177.72
Howard Atkins	Detroit	15.00
Mrs. Davis		.25
Taxi and food enroute		17.75
Other expenses incidental to March (see bills attached)		25.12
	TOTAL EXPENDITURES	$563.90
Amount received on account		300.00
	BALANCE DUE WASHINGTON URBAN LEAGUE	$263.90

Ethel K. Greene
Ethel K. Greene

NEW BETHEL BAPTIST CHURCH

NINTH AND S STREETS, N. W.
Washington 1, D. C.

WALTER E. FAUNTROY, MINISTER
DUpont 7-3517

September 24, 1963

Expenses incurred by the Rev. Walter E. Fauntroy, D. C. Coordinator for the March On Washington, in connection with preparations for the March from J July 12 through August 28, 1963:

Taxi fare	$29.50
Gasoline	22.04
Meals	35.00
Long Distance Calls	18.55
	$ 105.09

Thank You

G. C. MURPHY CO.
"The Friendly Store"
Reg. No. 418

AUG 24 6890

22 02.07* I
-0 00.30D I
-0 00.30D I
-0 00.30D I

S-0 02.97TL I
-0 00.09M I

*-0 03.06TL I

Woodward + Lothrop
CHEVY CHASE, MD.

CASH	COD	CSA	DP	CHG

1 00.54 III

1 00.02 I

1 00.56 A765

Receipt Must Accompany
Merchandise Returned

4048 24 AUG 63

120
10 taxi

7.85
4:30PM 7.85
7.85
7.85
7.85
7.85
4.55
3:15PM 2 4.05
7 5.70 *

TRAILWAYS
AUG 29 '63
WASH., D.C.

RECEIPT FOR TRANSPORTATION
G-27-Rev. 5-60

RECEIVED —
by the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, transportation charges for which ticket was issued as follows:

AGENT STAMP HERE

AMOUNT $ 41.76
FROM: Wash DC
TO: St Louis Mo

THE WASHINGTON TERMINAL CO. 2
AUG 29 '63

THANK YOU! WE'RE GLAD TO HAVE YOU ABOARD
238-65901

Form 302

SOUTHERN RAILWAY COMPANY

Received from one hundred and Seventy-seven and 72/100 DOLLARS

in payment for Two oneway ticket coach as follows:

From WASHINGTON, D. C.

To Los Angeles, Cal.

Form 222 No. 114727-28

A. I. KLEIN, Ticket Agent
RW Ticket Agent

Date ....., 19....

THE WASHINGTON TERMINAL CO. 13
AUG 29 '63
STAMP HERE
13 WASHINGTON, D.C. 13

FORM NO. 524 PRINTED IN U.S.A.

GREYHOUND LINES

CASH RECEIPT No. A 51195

DATE 8-29 19 63

RECEIVED OF

THE SUM OF $ 13.60 DOLLARS

FOR (GIVE DETAILS) Car Cambridge Md

DISTRIBUTION, CREDIT TO

BY

THE WASHINGTON TERMINAL CO. 15
AUG 29 '63
WASHINGTON D.C. 15

WEDDINGS, RECEPTIONS,
TEAS AND LUNCHEONS

Ridgewell's CATERER

PARTY EQUIPMENT RENTALS

Clarence H. Ellis, Owner
2411 18th STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON 9, D. C.

OFFICE: ADAMS 2-3332
OFFICE: ADAMS 4-7823
RES.: WHITEHALL 6-3531

Washington Urban League
626 Third St., N. W.
Washington, D. C.

$ _____

Aug. 27, 28, 1963

	BARS		
	COAT RACKS		
	Wooden		
	Metal #3		
	Chrome #10		
	Coat Checks, 2-3		
	TABLES		
	Square Card		
	Round Card		
	Cabaret – 24"		
	Cabaret – 36"		
	30" × 6' Tables		
	3' × 4' Tables		
2	3' × 6' Tables	10.00	
	4' × 4' Tables		
	4' × 6' Tables		
	4' × 8' Tables		
	Round Tables		
	Round Tables		
	Round Tables		
	Hostess Tables		
	Wedding Present		
1	36 Tone Plastic	2.00	
	Use 2nd day, less 50%	6.00	
	CHAIRS		
	Folding Chairs		
	Gold (old – new)		
	Tea Towels		
	Hangers, Coat		
	Screens		
1	Plastic piece missing	3.50	
	PLATES AND CHINA		
	Dinner Plates		
	Luncheon Plates		
	Dessert Plates		
	Bread/B Plates		
	Soup Plates		
	Tea Cups/saucers		
	A. D. Cups/s		
	Bouillon Cups/s		
	Lamberton Dinner		
	Lamberton Medium		
	Lamberton Tea		
	Lamberton Soup		
	GLASS		
	Celery – Olive		
	Pitchers		
	Plates – 8½"		
	Punch Bowls/ladle		
	Candlesticks		
	Ash Trays		
	Salt and Pepper		
	Salad-on-side		
	Relish Dishes		
	Finger Bowls		
	Hurricane Lamps		
	Glo-Ice Display		
	Champagne Fountain		
	SILVER (FLAT)		
	Bouillon Spoons		
	Oyster Forks		
	Butter Knives		
	Soup Spoons		
	Fish Knives		
	Fish Forks		
	Dinner Knives		
	Dinner Forks		
	Medium Knives		
	Medium Forks		
	Fruit Knives		
	Fruit Forks		

	$
SILVER (FLAT)	
Dessert Spoons	
Dessert Forks	
Teaspoons	
A. D. Spoons	
Service Spoons	
Service Forks	
Iced Teaspoons	
Sugar Tongs	
Wedding Knife	
Sauce Ladles	
SILVER SERVICE	
36" Fish Platter	
30" Fish Platter	
22" Fish Platter	
Champagne Cooler	
Soup Tureens	
Coffee Pots	
Pitchers	
Tea Service	
Sugar	
Creamer	
Tea Trays	
Cocktail Shakers	
Place Plates	
Coffee Service	
22" Oval Platter	
20" Oval Platter	
18" Round Platter	
18" Oval Platter	
16" Square Platter	
14" Round Platter	
12" Round Platter	
18" Service Trays	
15" Service Trays	
CHAFING DISHES	
2-qt. Oblong	
2-qt. Round	
1-gal. Oval	
1-gal. Sterno	
5-qt. Oblong	
6-qt. Round	
2-gal. Sterno	
2-gal. Sterno, 2-comp.	
3-gal. R & B, 2-comp.	
Double 3-qt.	
COFFEE URNS	
105-Cup	
60-Cup	
48-Cup	
24-Cup	
PUNCH BOWLS/LADLES	
3-gal.	
4½-gal.	
5-gal.	
CANDELABRAS	
3-Light	
5-Light	
Candlesticks	
Compotes	
Large Bowls, Revere	
Small Bowls, Revere	
Small Bowls, Footed	
Vegetable Dishes	
Ash Trays	
Nut Dishes	
Sauce Boats/ladles	
Salt and Peppers	
Bread Trays	

	$
GLASSWARE	
Punch Cups	
Cocktail Glasses	
Highball Glasses	
Whiskey Glasses	
Juice Glasses	
Shot Glasses	
Old Fashions	
STEMWARE	
Cocktail Glasses	
Liqueur Glasses	
Sherry Glasses	
White Wine Glasses	
Red Wine Glasses	
Champagne Glasses	
Water Goblets	
Snifters	
Whiskey Sours	
Fruit Cups	
SALAD BOWLS	
Small, 2-qt.	
Footed, 1-gal.	
Large, 2-gal.	
LINEN	
2 × Cloths	
2 × Cloths	
2 × Cloths	
2 × Cloths	
2½ × Cloths	
2½ × Cloths	
2½ × Cloths	
Card Table Cloth	
Linen Napkins	
Linen Doilies	
2 × Pads	
2 × Pads	
INCIDENTIALS	
Paper Napkins	
Paper Cocktail Napkins	
Paper Doilies	
Matches	
Coffeemaker – 72	
Coffeemaker – 48	
Soap	
Candles	
Ice Tubs	
Spot Lights	
Soda Water (case)	
Ginger Ale (case)	
Coca Cola (case)	
Tom Collins (case)	
Tonic Water (case)	
Cube Ice	
Crushed Ice	
Block Ice	
Snow Ice	
3-gal. Pots	
FOOD COST	
Announcer	
Bartenders	
Waiters	
Pantry Maids	
Coat Room Maids	
Automan	
Overtime	
Tax	
TOTAL	$ 21.50

INVITATION

Saturday, September 28th

at 8:00 P.M.

MRS. MEDGAR EVERS

at

Hudson Guild Neighborhood House
436 West 27th Street
New York City

The Greenwich Village-Chelsea Branch of NAACP

THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
GREENWICH VILLAGE - CHELSEA BRANCH
240 West Fourth Street, N.Y. 14
CH 3 - 1650

Dear Mr. Rustin: September 24, 1963

Some months ago, a heroic fighter for the cause of his people was shot in Mississippi. Today his death has become the symbol of the unfinished revolution in America. We all know his name. It is inscribed in history along with those of great Americans who have died in defense of justice. His spirit, transmigrated through his wife, calls upon us.

MRS. MEDGAR EVERS will be our guest at a reception given in her honor on September 28, 1963, at the Hudson Guild Neighborhood House, 436 West 27th Street, New York City, at 8:00 PM.

We would love to have you as our guest at this reception to pay your personal respects to Mrs. Evers. If you can possibly attend, please contact James Yates, President, at CH 3 - 1650.

We hope you will be able to share this memorable occasion with us.

Sincerely,

James Yates

James Yates
President

Bayard —

Surely this needs an answer. Nothing cries out for it so much as the words "Don't feel obligated to answer."

Anyway, write him <u>something</u>.

Jim

42 Avenue B Apt 3A New York 9
26 September 1963 Thursday 8:47amEDST

Mr. Bayard Rustin
WAR RESISTERS LEAGUE
5 Beekman Street
New York 38, New York

Dear Bayard Rustin,

You have been much in my thoughts and prayers in recent days. For, though it has surely been a long travail from the days when I first met you (hearing for the first time 'Strange Fruit' when you sang it in the basement of a white Presbyterian church in Chapel Hill, North Carolina -- no, it was a Baptist Church, or a Methodist, and a tall elder came grumbling into the downstairs hall 'What's that Nigger doin in there?), just got a glimpse of you then, but never forgot your pioneer freedom rides in my home state (I must have been all of 23 and still said 'Nigra' instead of Negro), to these days of -- not so much the picture on the front page of LIFE, which is a kind of opened promise -- the March..and, now more, of the real awaking of some yet amorphous and still shaping social-spiritual Movement in our country, though it has been long, it seems swift...and yet there is so much more to do, so much further to go..

I went to the Community Church last night not without some misgivings. For, though I knew you and James Baldwin could under any circumstances acquit yourselves, I was aware of the intention of at least one militant I know to get up and accuse you and Baldwin and, by implication, Dr. Martin Luther King, of leading the Negro people into slaughter by refusing to advocate the force of arms. Such men do not yet know there are no short cuts, let alone do they understand that moral force -- counting in the actual understanding and conviction of individual human beings, for which there is no substitute anywhere on earth or in heaven -- is the ONLY meaningful force in the world today. Your answer not only met such objections straight on; but you also clarified my own waveringness. I knew my understanding was right, yet my past as a 'Southern White' was still riding my shoulders, and I wondered if I had the right to say anything on the matter. Thanks. You helped give me back to humanity. You helped me find my own center as an individual again.

And that is the huge wonder of your <u>and</u> James Baldwin's methods. You will lead, you will inspire, you will show the way on certain issues, but you never claim to be more than one individual conscience, you never claim to have ALL the answers, you know and you remind us again and again that it is in US that the ferment must go on, in US that the visions must emerge, in US that the primary action must be generated. This contribution to the morale of your fellow-humans, this challenging of innate dignity -- is the most revolutionary creativeness of our age. And still you do not stop there. You go on to put your whole being into the active struggle.

Bayard, in North Carolina in 1947, I became a Communist. I stayed in for nine years. But becoming a communist, I abdicated some of my individuality, and, when I got out, I was spiritually crippled for awhile and had to learn my inner self all over. I had to discover myself as a human being before I was any kind of organization person. I don't run after causes. I don't expect easy answers. And that is why I am struck to the core of my being by your entire approach, especially as expressed last night.

over

I write you, primarily, therefore, in thanks. For if I found my main perspective for myself, you have helped provide a channel. If I have crowded open an eye, you have been building a road before me. I don't know what shape this will take yet in my life. My main work so far has been in writing.

Recently, I was walking on Brooklyn Bridge, and I heard the words -- surely they were within me, but they were so distinct, the hair rose on the back of my neck -- 'God is the Brother Within You'. This mulled in me for several days and finally came out in the enclosed poem. I sent a copy to ATLANTIC, but they sent it back without comment. I have sent it now to the other end of the spectrum (politically, ha) -- FREEDOMWAYS, and I am curious as to their reaction. Mainly, I want to get it into the ferment. The first part of it is dense and difficult, but that is the condition of most people's souls nowadays. The clarity begins to emerge after some sweat.

Anyway, since one of the individuals I dedicated it to is yourself, I wanted to send you a copy. I had intended to wait until it found a possible publisher, but who knows when that'll be? It was an oversight to have omitted A. Philip Randolph's name from that dedication. You may find it ironical to find your name coupled with Dr. DuBois'; I don't agree with his politics, but I still consider him the finest historian America has yet produced, and his work toward awaking us is not to be questioned.

This is a long letter, and that is even longer a poem. Don't feel obligated to answer. Your work has given me any answer I need <u>in advance</u>. Your presence on the scene is its own answer.

We are in the time of a new Covenant between Man and God. Man will have to do more of his own work, recognizing the infinite implications of every breath he draws, every thought he thinks, every act he proposes. God is no longer present(or remote) as a Father but as an Inner Brother, an Equal. In such lives as your own, this new experience becomes incarnate. I write this not to deify you but to recognize the <u>meanings</u> of the moral force you embody. Your holiness, thank god, is not in your piety but in your breath and blood. These things have nothing to do with conventional moralities. These things have to do with the organisms of human existence set in a living universe. You are not to be idealized, not to be worshipped, but to be loved and respected, to be sweated with, taken risks with, done dogged work with.

Thanks again, then. With much love, your brother,

Will Inman

Will Inman

For Bayard Rustin
a Brother Risen
26 September 1963

R I S E ! T H E I N G R O W N B R O T H E R

A Prophecy

written after reading James Baldwin's ANOTHER COUNTRY

('Do you know what I mean? Perhaps if you can accept the pain that almost kills you, you can use it, you can become better....Otherwise, you just get stopped with whatever it was that ruined you and you make it happen over and over again and your life has --ceased, really -- because you can't move or change or love any more.'p.329,paper edition, Dell, ANOTHER COUNTRY)

and the same week as the March on Washington, with love and thanks for

Bayard Rustin

Mahalia Jackson

A. J. Muste

Martin Luther King

Dorothy Day

Thomas Merton

W. E. B. DuBois

A. Philip Randolph

and others, who have had their hands in the clay.....

by Will Inman

WILL INMAN
42 Avenue B Apt 3A
New York 9, New York

R I S E ! T H E I N G R O W N B R O T H E R

1

Fathoms of self-deception impacted
in this surface -- surrender their depths
to my bent rib's compassion
that will reach, will curve like light,
in and under, germinating,
from spermsalt, from bruise and from clot,
yet further in, this marrow pulse that wakes
inside the heartbeat, deeper than throbs;
as Yahweh dug a woman from man's rib,
now within compassion's wound I find
a new face of God, the ingrown Brother.

(As the steep instant of this vision
opens in a coil
infinite from inward,
so in this resonance among men
awareness vibrates
stark to the widest verge of self
till outmost loops drop avalanche
with singleness In
and this far reach of Out

over --

generates such nearness
as distance dissolves in
and becomes lost.)

2

For it is here at hand, all of it,
everything we were looking for,
shuddering in our gut:
discovery, any more, is always creation --
how to integrate that hidden darkness in us
with our light.

Too long we have worn gloves
and used shovels
to turn this ordure under, bury it,
as if dirt and blisters were not necessary
preconditions
for green and whole grain after,
as if even the seed grain,
salted with sweat like handcaught sperm,
hadn't to fasten fresh its own dunes
from the ancient ocean time
which beats and beats and beats
scavenging among our greenmost tips
for hesitation and weakness.

over --

3

I put my hands down, dragging
the steep furrows of self,
hauling up wreckage, dismembered
torsos, blighted features and
bruised eyes, clotted throats and ears,
tongues vermiculate with doubt,
guiltsucked embryos of reaching,
then grappling along the edge three
abandoned ships, some lost winds, and a
dontinent of frenzied
termites, trembling toward the moon.

4

Did Colombo imagine, surface becalmed,
over an interior hurricane,
waiting for sails to fill,
that the Rift of the World
might after all suddenly yawn
to swallow the Santa Maria and all?
Did his black helmsman, Esteban, suspect,
hands tingling on the hot wheel, that the
continent before him would
gorge on his brothers, washing them down
with the bitters of their own sweat?

over --

The hungry Rift was in us;
only the earth was an ellipse.
Though sweatsongs somehow have invested
our teeth with hemlocked
dignity,
we Americans are mere cannibals
until we learn to assimilate
all that we are
into all that we will to be.

5

I would not begrudge any reach,
not even to Moon or beyond,
so long as reach opens in the prow
a wake of rapport.

Yet Colombo never
knows
by name his destination,
and not even Galileo
can guarantee what manner of darkness
awaits penetration
beyond the rim of any known day.

But even as it is in that instant in his soul,
confronted with possibilities, imponderables,

over --

when he wills to sail further and on,
America is, not discovered, but created..
so it is now in him
who genders from his inmost darkness
a new continent of
brothers.

6

For America never was discovered
but is ever being created or destroyed:
we could not sail directly to India,
a new land first must lift us,
like locks in a canal,
to a new existence, awareness.
Western technique and Eastern wisdom
mixed like vinegar with honey:
we spat our hate-filled prayers,
bitterer than curses.

Here, though, creation stubbornly
blends the ferments of many bloods.
Until, if that most oppressed in us
rising, from downmost downmost down
ascending up, up to our inward pinnacles of sight,
can heal us utmost thru and thru,

over --

then can we
possibly
transcend self-murder..
forgive our own self-trespass..
discover ourselves Man, and indivisible...
but, if not, if, rising,
not even the deepmost down can thread
like love leaven thru the entire bread
of our soul
this cloven self to wholeness,
then we are forever doomed to tooth and nail,
always shall the vicious schisms shatter
spirit and skin,
and revenge shall ever butter our bread
with our own brother's blood
and his bread with our blindness.

7

In me is a darkness I am learning to love,
in you is a light I have sought to fathom:
each face is parable to the other's quest.
Give me your hand, and I will anchor your vessel
in the surfstones of my soul.

over --

Yet I can make no treaty with you
without surrendering in myself
some mason-dixon line I dared not breach,
unaware that God skulked, wounded,
in any shadow I refused to love.

Then, would you land here again,
knowing now what agony waits,
what bitter lessons, violations,
crawl like crabs in this marsh of my
reluctant recognition?

Somehow I know you must,
for you are me as I am lastmost you;
can we forever side-wound that One in us
with this spear of our passionate
separation?

Even as we do it unto one of these least,
we do it to us all.

8

No, there are never guarantees.
The ruling junta always lynches God,
and always we grind our portion of his flesh.

over --

Colombo by the thousand
still languishes in jail
for debts we can never
repay him.

Is such the price of vision?
Such, the measure of pioneers?
Must safe ones always walk the bones later
of those who dared
or were driven, inly or from out,
to see deeper than surfaces
and to plant Joseph's staff
of roses in the deltas rising from mississippis of
their own spilt blood?

9

Atlantis, fallen continent of rapport,
City of God the Brother Within,
City of the Negro in my Soul,
rise out of this ocean!
from the surf-edge of black Colombo's eyes,
from our bitter secret voyage, chained,
from our stoniest trek,
Atlantis, ascend!

over --

(As you, Black One, have constructed
these other cities, sweat foundation to
starmost spire, so have you built this
City in my Soul, you ingrown Negro,
making room for yourself,
and you are tall!)

Let the Sun learn
a lesson in dignity from your night face,
and let your streaming gates and broken towers
rebuild their splendor
in his bright recognition.

Atlantis, too long you have lain
sunken there in my hiddenness,
buried in me, while I sought to hold down
that one who wears your face
dark in my street.

Rising in me, waking in my eyes,
you will not suffer longer
my wilful blindness: I did not know
my darkness throbbed with all the seeds
of my own true seeing.

over --

Atlantis, rise then! fill my throat
with bridges of your golden reach --
my ribs arch and strain to hold your rainbows,
the stallion of this instant snorts
and hoofs my blood in his joy
at your liberation from in me.

(Ah, Stephen! Stephen! And all the time,
it is my truer Self I have been stoning.)

10

Rise, Continent of Man Within,
rise...and, when I meet my brother
walking these bruised streets,
I shall recognize...see face to sacred
Face...and he, comforting my shock,
shall re-name me Paul...
and balm my blasted eyes with wounded hands.

WILL INMAN

NEW YORK CITY
31 August, 1 September, 1963

TRIANGLE 5 [6370 6371

EDWARD PURVIS & SON . . . *Engineers and Machinists*

Purvis Building
YORK AND JAY STREETS
BROOKLYN 1, N.Y.

BUILDERS OF SPECIAL MACHINERY

Thursday 26 September

Dear Bayard

Please forget everything I wrote you about Foley Square and Town Hall. I was at the Community Church last night and thought your championing of non-violence was magnificent! If you want to march on Montgomery from Birmingham I am with you. It is only 97 miles (route #31). I suggested to Ralph that WRL should invite Wallace to speak on what has been done to solve the 47 bombings, what he is doing to prevent future killings, and why Federal marshalls (not troops) would not help prevent violence; or maybe the new mayor - Boutwell should be invited.

I would only caution against making a hate symbol of "the establishment". Some day you will attend a meeting of the NAM with me and see what a nice bunch of confused ineffectiveness they are.

Harry

P.S. I have a letter backing Core in the current Sept 24 issue of the Princeton Alumni Weekly

ESTABLISHED IN 1876

TRIANGLE 5 [6370 6371

EDWARD PURVIS & SON . . . *Engineers and Machinists*
Purvis Building
YORK AND JAY STREETS
BROOKLYN 1, N.Y.
BUILDERS OF SPECIAL MACHINERY

Copy

26 September 1963

Dear Mr. Baldwin

I was gratified to attend the meeting at Community Church last night, but was unable to get the floor to put a question to you. Are you not too scornful of the fact that, for the first time in history non-white Christian America is admiring non-violence instead of Gary Cooper and Humphey Bogart with their guns; and is it not true that now for the first time the white man's image of the negro - and perhaps the negro's image of the negro - is <u>not</u> stepanfechit - but <u>is</u> a man who says when his home is bombed "dont let ~~you~~ them drag you low enough to make you hate them". This is the greatest thing in 1963 years - so I implore you not to scorn it. My plan would be

for a group of people to run in 1964 as independent candidates for the electoral college pledged to draft Martin Luther King for President and perhaps Dagmar Wilson for Vice President so that we could have a sane national policy toward being bombed.

Yours truly
Harry Hale Purvis

HARRY HALE PURVIS
217 WOODBINE AVE.
NORTHPORT, N. Y.

22 September 63

Dear Bayard

I was at Town Hall on Friday and at Foley Square Sunday. I realize how disturbing the bombing is, but I was disheartened to hear you add your voice in justification of retaliatory violence — particularly the use of "any weapon" (Foley Square) and "they will have murder" (Town Hall). I had been on the verge of walking out of the Town Hall meeting before you and James Farmer came on stage, because Killum had advocated "fighting fire with fire". I hoped that you or Farmer would say something in support of non violent resistance, so your not-so-veiled threats of murder came as a devastating disillusionment on top of Lomax's denunciation of non violence except as a tactic. I personally agree

as you probably know, with his idea of defending with force and with his idea that it is immoral not to destroy the individual who is destroying your children.

But to advocate "any weapon" in "fighting fire with fire" is to encourage bombing white churches and really justifies Hiroshima as retaliation for Pearl Harbor.

If, for either moral or tactical reasons, non-violence is to be abandoned, except as a demonstration technique, let us at least not embrace indiscriminate violence with any weapon.

Your erstwhile admirer

Harry Purvis

George E. Haynes
Chairman

Samuel M. Snipes
Treasurer

Thomas E. Colgan
Executive Director

Friends Service Association, Inc.

Meeting House Square
Fallsington, Pennsylvania

CYpress 5-5096

Sept 27, '63

Bayard Rustin

Dear Bayard,

What the heck do I have to do to talk with you? I realize you're a busy man however, and will forgive you.

When can you come down to our place? Tower Beacon can use some revolutionary fervor.

Do let me hear from you.

Cordially,

Tom

TRINITY PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH
955 FILLMORE AVENUE
OGDEN, UTAH

C. SUMPTER LOGAN
MINISTER

29 September, 1963

Mr. Bayard Rustin
N.A.A.C.P.
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, N. Y.

Dear Bayard:

You are to be congratulated, and you should have a well-tempered pride!

You will not remember me, perhaps, but I most assuredly remember you. We were together the first time soon after your bus experience in Tennessee. We were together again in the MONSTER MEETINGS at the Senate Avenue Y.M.C.A., Indianapolis, Indiana.

It is a continuing battle, isn't it? I led the opposition to the White Citizens Council activities in Sturgis, Clay and Henderson, Kentucky - the first active opposition they had in the South, that is, by a white person. As a result I got the boot, and I have been here for over six years, starting a new church in this h'yar land of the Mormons. Racism here is no different than elsewhere, even worse in its subtle and rather dormant state.

If and when you are ever through here, the latchstring is hanging out to you in a genuine welcome. This is most sincere, and you do know it.

I could not make the March on Washington, but I stayed glued to the TV and news media. I'm proud of you! I'm still in the fight, rest certain of it.

With kindest personal regards, and all good wishes, I remain,

Most cordially,

Sumpter

/csl

AREA CODE 212
PLAZA 1-0300

October 2, 1963

Dear Mr. Rustin:

Both of these have been acknowledged - even if belatedly.

Sincerely,

Enid C. Baird

(Mrs) Enid C. Baird,
Assistant to the
Executive

Mr. Bayard Rustin
170 West 130th Street
New York, New York

NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE, INC.

SEP 1 1 1963

VIATORIAN SEMINARY
1212 Otis Street, N.E.
Washington 17, D. C.
LAwrence 9-5858

Dear Mr. Young,

Although you are to be highly commended for the great success that the March on Washington was, my purpose in writing is not to congratulate, but to suggest. According to well informed people, it seems that the March, in spite of its many good effects, will not much influence Congressmen when they vote on the President's civil rights bill. The Senators and Representatives must be convinced that the majority of those they represent are in favor of legislation now. Yet there are now, as always, many people who are not expressing their opinions. This is because they are indifferent, because they think that it is a lot of trouble

VIATORIAN SEMINARY
1212 Otis Street, N.E.
Washington 17, D. C.
LAwrence 9-5858

and that one more letter will make little difference, or because they just do not know how.

As I see it, therefore, there must be an Appeal to the capitol on the same nationwide basis as the March on Washington. There must be a definite day set aside soon, before civil rights legislation is discussed in committee, or at least before it reaches the floor, a day when everyone who is willing and able will send a simple appeal to his or her Senator and Representative, asking that he vote for civil rights. The date of the Appeal must be as widely known as was that of the March so that no one feels that his voice is going in alone. How to address a Senator and Representative, and where to send the appeal

VIATORIAN SEMINARY
1212 Otis Street, N.E.
Washington 17, D. C.
LAwrence 9-5858

must be made very clear so that no one omits writing because he is confused, or because he "has no time." Last week at the Lincoln Memorial, Mr Wilkins said to those Congressmen, who would like to vote for civil rights but are pressured not to: We will free you so that you can free us. The above plan, I think, is a way of freeing these Congressmen, as well as others who are not yet decided. If the response to such an idea is as generous as was that to the March, the mailmen of Washington should be overworked someday, say September 28, as were the policemen on August 28; and this, it seems is what is necessary if <u>all</u> of the President's bill is to pass <u>this</u> year.

VIATORIAN SEMINARY
1212 Otis Street, N.E.
Washington 17, D. C.
LAwrence 9-5858

Unless I misunderstood you on the 28th, I thought you referred to the "hopelessness of the Negro." I think there is much hope and could be even more hope if the above plan is used. Perhaps you said "helplessness." But Negroes are not helpless to put this plan, which will possibly have great effect in changing the minds of Congressmen, into action.

For the sake of justice and the common good of the whole country, I ask you to consider carefully and prayerfully the feasibility of adopting this plan or one similar to it. If nothing else, perhaps next time you see one of the following (who will receive similar letters) what he thinks of the idea.

For my part, I will continue to pray for the passage of civil rights legislation this year.

Sincerely yours,
Brother John Pierre, C.S.V.

SEP 5 1963

305 West 4th Street
New York 14, New York

September 5, 1963

Mr. Whitney M. Young Jr., Executive Director
National Urban League
14 East 48th Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Young:

I am writing to you, a leader for whom I have the most profound respect, to suggest an idea which I believe has merit.

On August 28th past, our human tide for liberty and justice rolled over Washington and the world was thrilled. Ours was the universal cry that has echoed through the ages, and its ringing promise has caused men everywhere to scan the horizon in new hope. For the world hungers for freedom, yet the peoples of this earth know that America must strike the crippling chains of racial prejudice from her morally sagging spirit before she can truly champion such an ennobling cause. The massive, interracial demonstration at the Lincoln Memorial certainly helped.

But now our struggle has passed beyond protest into full-scale(if nonviolent) revolution. And, as in any revolution, we must throw off the yoke of second class citizenship by the dramatic efficacy of self-emancipation. As a beacon of light to the world and to all Americans who wish to revitalize the American Ideals, let us issue and promulgate a corollary to the "Declaration Of Independence" and set upon parchment needed refinements. This document shall eventually rank with our country's most precious papers.

Centuries from now, when scholars search the landmarks of time seeking to discover how great nations evolved and how democratic institutions were perfected, they will see that the shaping of these institutions was never left to the random call of history. It was always passed like a baton to the segment of the population that believed most strongly in the principles of justice and freedom.

Respectfully yours,

Nathan Boya

Nathan Boya

turn toward peace

cooper station box 401 new york 3 new york gr 5-0850

October 3, 1963

MEMORANDUM

To: Bayard Rustin

From: Turn Toward Peace

Robert Gilmore has asked that you be sent samples of the materials mailed in connection with the VOLUNTARY ORGANIZATIONS AND A WORLD WITHOUT WAR CONFERENCE. Thus far they are as follows:

1) advance notice to organization leaders informing them of the date of the conference

2) a memo to local peace leaders from Norman Thomas

3) a letter to a select list asking for the use of their names in issuing the conference call, enclosing: the conference summary; a draft of the conference call; and a reply card

VOLUNTARY ORGANIZATIONS AND
A WORLD WITHOUT WAR CONFERENCE

( ) I will join you in signing the call to the Voluntary Organizations and a World Without War Conference.

Please use my name as printed here

_____

( ) I am willing to act as a consultant to the Working Committee, aiding when the Committee's work touches fields in which I have special competence.

( ) Please keep me informed as to Conference developments.

AMERICAN VETERANS COMMITTEE

"CITIZENS FIRST, VETERANS SECOND"

NATIONAL OFFICE • 1830 JEFFERSON PLACE, N. W., WASHINGTON, D. C. 20036 • FEderal 8-1455

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Sen. Stephen M. Young

October 4, 1963

Mr. Bayard Rustin
Deputy Director
March on Washington For Jobs and Freedom
170 West 130 Street
New York 27, New York

Dear Mr. Rustin:

Thank you for your very kind letter of September 11, 1963.

It was also nice seeing you again at the Leadership Conference meeting here in Washington on September 30.

Warmest regards,

Sincerely yours,

J. Arnold Feldman

J. Arnold Feldman
Executive Director

JAF:gs

To achieve a more democratic and prosperous America and a more stable World

Joint Board Fur,
Leather & Machine Workers' Unions

AMALGAMATED MEAT CUTTERS & BUTCHER WORKMEN
OF NORTH AMERICA (AFL-CIO)

25th Anniversary
Dinner-Dance and Entertainment

SATURDAY • OCTOBER 5, 1963

GRAND BALLROOM
STATLER HILTON HOTEL
NEW YORK CITY

Menu

MAINE SEAFOOD COCKTAIL
à la Local 48F (Easton, Pa.)

—•—

CREME DES CHAMPIGNONS
à la Fur, Leather & Fabric Workers' Union, Local 64F

—•—

Crisp Celery Hearts Black & Green Olives

—•—

ROAST PRIME RIBS OF BLUE RIBBON BEEF AU JUS
à la Fur Dressers' & Dyers' Union, Local 88F

Pommes Rissolee
Broccoli Polonaise

—•—

FRUIT TARTLETS ASSORTI
à la United Mechanics' Union, Local 150F

—•—

CAFE
à la Fur Office & Showroom Employees' Union, Local 61F

Program

Star Spangled Banner

Chairman ..... Henry Foner
President, Joint Board, Fur, Leather & Machine Workers' Unions

Introduction of Dais Guests

Songs by "The Tarriers"

Presentation of Plaque in Memory of Sam Burt ..... Philip Boscia
President, Local 48F (Easton, Pa.)

Presentation of Plaque to Joint Board in Behalf of March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom ..... Bayard Rustin
Deputy Director, March on Washington

Address ..... Abe Feinglass
Vice-President, A.M.C. & B.W. of N.A.; Director, Fur & Leather Dept.

Remarks ..... Prof. Irwin Corey
"The World's Foremost Authority"

Music by Danny Leroy's Orchestra

204

TR4.3023

Bill Sutherlin

166

MARK LANE
ATTORNEY AT LAW
654 MADISON AVE.
NEW YORK 21, N. Y.
TEMPLETON 8-1300

October 8, 1963

Mr. Bayard Rustin
War Resisters League
5 Beekman Street
New York 38, New York

Dear Bayard:

It has come to my attention, through statements made by a number of persons, all of whom seem to be supporters of yours, that you said at a recent meeting that, "Mark Lane is not qualified as a criminal lawyer". You decided, I am told, that another attorney, a gentleman who has only tried two criminal cases and who states that he is presently just learning about the criminal law, should be retained by persons accused of a very serious crime. You also said, I am told, that I am not a black man and that only a black man should be retained by CORE to try the cases under consideration.

Of those allegations made by you only one is accurate. I am not a black man. I did believe, however, that the past twenty years of activity on behalf of members of minority groups might somewhat qualify me to represent, without fee, another group of defendants. Although I cannot meet the standard that you present since I am white I offer the following facts in mitigation. I have been arrested more than once as a Freedom Rider in the south. I remain the only public official in the United States, black or white, to be so arrested. I have represented, without fee, scores of defendants, black and white, in civil rights cases. While I cannot argue with your original statement as to my color I believe that I did not forfeit the right to contribute my talents to this movement on the very day of my birth.

I most seriously challenge your statement that I am not a qualified criminal lawyer. Some of your supporters and others interpert your statement to mean that I do not have a license to actually practice in the criminal courts. While I cannot credit you with such an unknowledgeable intention I do feel constrained, nevertheless, to assure you that in New YorkState any member of the Bar may practice in any court within the State.

MARK LANE
ATTORNEY AT LAW
654 MADISON AVE.
NEW YORK 21, N. Y.
TEMPLETON 8-1300

All that then remains is your intention to convey the impression that I am not competent in that particular area of jurisprudence. Allow me then to present for your consideration certain facts. I have practiced in the criminal courts of New York for twelve years. I have represented defendants both in the Federal and State Courts in murder cases, manslaughter cases, simple amd felonious assualt cases, and in many hundreds if not thousands of other cases. I have been assigned by the highest criminal courts of original jurisdiction in our State to try capital cases, including cases where the defendant is charged with murder in the first degree. One judge in a book written about a case in which I was an attorney referred to me as "one of the outstanding criminal law attorneys in New York". Similar statements have been made about me by numerous other judges some of which have been reported in the New York Times. CBS-TV seems about to launch a television series based upon my experiences and trials in the criminal courts of New York. And most important of all to me, my clients, including members of New York CORE, seem satisfied with my representation. Under the circumstances I am amazed that you profess ignorance as to my status and reputation in the criminal courts.

Your statement, whether made in ignorance or for any other reason obviously dealt recklessly with the truth. After a dozen years of activity on behalf of causes [redacted] in which I believe I remain without assets other than my reputation. I assure you that I will not surrender that asset to any one for any reason.

I am not concerned with internal N. Y. CORE politics. I am not concerned with the efforts of anyone to establish a base there. And I shall not permit my reputation or my obligation to my clients, an obligation which I view as sacred, to be abused in an irresponsible manner by those devoted to self agrandizment or to the development of splinter political factions within CORE.

I expect, at your very earliest convenience, an answer to the questions posed in this letter. If the answer adequately disposes of the matters raised it will be circulated among those who heard your statement either directly or indirectly. Should the answer be inadequate I shall be constrained to take that action which I deem appropriate.

Very truly yours,

Mark Lane

October 23, 1963

Mr. Mark Lane
Attorney at Law
654 Madison Avenue
New York 21, New York

Dear Mark:

I am saddened by your letter, because I have only the highest regard for your professional competence and dedication to the civil rights movement. I don't know the source of your information, but I would have hoped that you had had sufficient respect for me not to have automatically accepted the truth of reports which are generated in an atmosphere of factionalism rather than one of objectivity.

I want to register the following points, not merely in the interest of "setting the record straight," but equally in the interest of making it possible for us to maintain a working relationship, which I consider valuable.

1) I did not decide that Mr. Ellis should be retained by the defendants. Mr. Ellis was recommended for this case by Marvin Rich in a telephone conversation with Mrs. Velman Hill. Mrs Hill subsequently asked Mr. Ellis whether he would be available to appear at the arraigment, if necessary. Prior to this occasion, I had no knowledge of Mr. Ellis or his qualifications. When Mr. Ellis's availability was reported, the group of defendants and their friends who met at the home of Mr. Glick Sunday night, October 6th, were confronted with the necessity of choosing between two attorneys.

2) During that meeting I made it perfectly clear that the attorney had to be chosen by and acceptable to the defendants themselves. I strongly urged, however, that the defendants use a single lawyer who could defend their interests in common.

3) At the conclusion of the meeting, the group decided, without dissent, to retain Mr. Ellis. Gladys Harrington, who chaired the meeting, specifically asked each of the defendants or his representative present whether Mr. Ellis was acceptable. Their decision to accept Mr. Ellis was unanimous (although the representative of one defendant said that the defendant himself had to make the decision). I understand that Gladys Harrington, who voiced no objection to the decision, then called Mr. Ellis and asked him to appear at the arraigment.

4) Given these facts, it is quite true that I voiced a preference at the meeting for Mr. Ellis. Let me apologize sincerely for my ignorance of your record as a criminal lawyer, had I known of this record as summarized in your letter, my personal preference would have been decisevily affected. Unfortunately, no one else at the meeting seem to be aware of this record. Everyone--and both "political factions," were represented, was under the impression that you did not feel that you had special competence in the area of criminal law. Included in this consensus was Mrs. Harrington, who has been reported to me, is also apologetic for her ignorance of your experience in criminal law.

It is in this context that the race issue was discussed. I have no intention of concealing my own view that in "race cases," a Negro attorney may be preferable to a white attorney--assuming, of course, that there is no significant disparity in professional competence, between the two. There may be disagreement on this point. Be that as it may, I am entitled to my opinion, which grows out of my own experiences, and I deny that it can construed as a disparagement of your reputation or any one else's.

It is absolutly untrue that I said "that only a black man should be retained at Core to try the cases under consideration." Because some of the defendants are friends of mine, I want them to have the best legal defense possible. If there is a disparity in professional competence between a Negro and a White attorney, I want the best lawyer. Accepting the facts as you present them, I am sure that the defendants are now receiving the best legal defense.

No, Mark, you do not forfeit the right to contribute your talents to the civil rights movement because of the color of your skin. Nor do I forfeit my right to hold and express my own opinions without having them distorted and without them being subject to intimidation.

To conclude, I acted on the basis of the facts as I understood them. Undoubtedly my ignorance of your achievements as a criminal lawyer was inexcusable. So is your suggestion that I am motivated by a devotion to "self-agrandizement or to the development of splinter political factions within Core."

I don't know whom you had in mind when you referred to "the efforts of anyone to establish a base," in New York Core, I wouldn't quite know what to do with it. My responsibilities are with the March on Washington, which I like to think transcend New York Core--geographically and organizationally. Those responsibilities are quite sufficient for me at the present.

I am confident that your respect for factional accuracy and balanced judgement, when brought to bear on the Core cases, can only enhanced your reputation. And I trust that when you bring the same qualities to bear on the matter at hand, my own reputation will not be jeopardized.

I hope that we will have the opportunity to discuss this matter personally or by telephone, since I believe the elimination of misunderstandings will be more beneficial to the defendants then the multiplication of rumors and threats. If you do not find the answers to your questions adequate, then I should scarcely attempt to prevent you from taking "that action which I deem appropriate."

Sincerely,

Bayard Rustin
Deptuty Director

BR/tl

TO: BAYARD

FROM: TOM

WHAT DO YOU THINK OF THIS? IT APPEARS TO ME THAT ERIC ENGAGED IN EXTENSIVE CORRESPONDANCE WITH THESE PEOPLE. ALSO, IT FURTHER SEEMS THAT WE ARE SOMEHOW COMMITTED TO DELIVER A PHILIP RANDOLPH AND PERHAPS DICK GREGORY ON NOVEMBER 20th. I SUGGEST THAT SOMEONE GET IN TOUCH WITH ERIC AND FIND OUT WHAT THIS IS ALL ABOUT. AGAIN, THESE PEOPLE SHOULD NOT BE LEFT HANGING.

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
Des Moines Chapter

1115 High Street - Des Moines, Iowa

October 10, 1963

Mr. Eric Swaby
United National March on Washington Committee
170 West 130th St.
New York 27, New York

Dear Mr. Swaby

We are aware of the watered-down version of Public Accommodations approved by the Senate Judiciary Committee. We are pleased to report Senators Hickenlooper and Miller are singing a different tune on both public accommodations and cloture, though they are still a bit off key.

We propose to be in Washington to see that their votes are cast for a strong Civil Rights Bill. Presently, we are engaged in efforts to raise money for this purpose through unions, the Democratic county and state committees, AFL-CIO State Federation, and individuals over the state. We are having a benefit showing of "Raisin in the Sun" October 21 and 22. We are still working on button sales.

Support is growing over the state for activities supporting civil rights. For example, the Iowa students are becoming active--Drake professors are asking what they can do--the students are forming a chapter of SCORE--their Student Council on Human Relations is getting serious about human relations --and Catholics are organizing their first Catholic Interacial Council in this area. We are involved in direct cooperation and activity with Presbyterians, Methodists and now Episcopalians.

We earnestly beg you to track down Dick Gregory to alert him to the fact that we urgently want him to spend the evening of November 20th on behalf of civil rights with the city people. We urgently need the kind of boost in fund raising and education that Dick Gregory could give while here on the Drake campus. We want him to know ahead of time of our great need.

You already have our request in writing for an appearance of A. Phillip Randolph. We have been told that he is available in November. Do not forget we need time to prepare.

Thank you for your cooperation, both past and present.

Very sincerely
CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
Edna Griffin, Chairman

Edna Griffin (Mrs. Stanley)
Chairman

174-22 Adelaide Lane
St. Albans 33 N.Y.
10-15-63

Dear Bye,

Mary Francis Boyd Thomas called me tonight to ask you if you would answer her letter asking you to speak in February in West Chester. I do not know what the affair is but it seemed important. She said she sent the letter to your March headquarters. I told her I would write

If you as she thinks it may have been over looked in your mail. She knows you get so much mail.

It would be nice if you could speak in Westchester

Hope you are well.

In haste.

Yours, Bessie.

P. S. You told me to remind you of the $300.00. I need it so badly now.

I repay with in 6 months.

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GROUP W

WESTINGHOUSE BROADCASTING COMPANY INC MD

HERBERT B CAHAN
General Manager

October 22, 1963

Dr. Lawrence D. Reddick
3704 Winterbourne Rd.
Baltimore, Md. 21216

Dear Dr. Reddick:

Following is an excerpt from the transcript of Governor Wallace's statement during which he referred to Mr. Bayard Rustin:

> "....and let me tell you this much, Bayard Rustin, who organized the March on Washington, not only attended the Communist Convention in 1957 as a delegate but he was an admitted member of the young Communist league. He served 2½ years for draft dodging, for refusing to fight for his country in World War II, and he was a convicted sex pervert in California in 19-- (that's right, laugh - but he was a convicted sex pervert). The great American tradition - leading a march on Washington - led by a sex pervert, a Communist and a draft dodger. That's not the American tradition and think that the negro in this country has been misused in this regard and let me say this, to answer your question, it's politics, it's hypocrisy and the communist movement involved....."

As I mentioned to you on the telephone, if Mr. Rustin desires to reply to this statement, please have him contact Mr. Bill Weyse here at the station, and Mr. Weyse will make the necessary arrangements to allow Mr. Rustin, if he so desires, to make a short statement of reply to Governor Wallace.

Very truly yours,

Herbert B Cahan

HBC/des
cc: Win Baker
Bill Weyse

MEMO

TO BAYARD

FROM TOM

Bayard, this correspondance request a list of books by and about certain people, as you see. I can think of a few which I will list here. I suggest you fill in any other additions you might have.

THE BENDING CROSS, BY RAY GINGER
ABOUT EUGENE DEBS

THE RESPECTIBLE REBEL_ MURRAY SIEDLER
ABOUT NORMAN THOMAS

BLACK RECONSTRUCTION WE DUBOIS
THE SOULS OF BLACK FOLD BY WE DUBOIS
THE LIFE & TIMES OF FREDERICK DOUGLASS
AND A AUTOBIOGRAPHY

STRIDE TOWARDS FREEDOM MARTIN LUTHER KING JR.

CHUSADER WITHOUT VIOLENCE L D REDDICK

9847 Bellamy Hill,
Edmonton, Alberta, Canada,
October 14, 1963.

Mr. Bayard Rustin,
c/o New Politics,
507 Fifth Avenue,
New York 17, N.Y., U.S.A.

Mr. Rustin;

Sir, I am a Canadian - student, Socialist, Pacifist, Humanist and deeply committed to the Labour Movement and in sympathy with the aims of Civil Rights and non-violent direct action against injustice.

A few of my particular heroes are: Mahatma Gandhi, Albert Schwietzer, George Bernard Shaw, Martin Luther King, Jr. and the founder of Canadian Socialism - J. S. Woodsworth.

At the present time I am trying to build up a personal, private library of the best authors and titles dealing with the before mentioned subjects and persons. I am writing to for your opinions and suggestions from your personal reading and experience as to which authors and titles you would consider indispensable in a well-rounded library for the well-read person.

I should also appreciate it if you would provide me with a list of the best books written by - and about - Eugene V. Debs, Norman Thomas, W.E.B. DuBois, Frederick Douglass, A.J. Muste and, of course, yourself.

Thank you very much, Mr. Rustin.

Respectfully yours,
Roy Angus Mitchell.

Vote For Freedom Headquarters
AARON HENRY for Governor
1072½-10 Lynch Street
Jackson, Mississippi 39203

State Executive Committee

Rev. R. L. T. Smith, FINANCE CHAIRMAN
Charles Evers, SPEAKERS BUREAU CHR.
Henry Briggs, PUBLIC RELATIONS
David Dennis, POLICY COMMITTEE CHR.
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October 27, 1963

L. K. Miller, Editor,
The Berkshire Eagle,
Pittsfield, Massachusetts

Dear Mr. Miller:

This letter is an appeal from a police state, an appeal for the one thing a small group of election workers and 900,000 Negro citizens need to carry their cry to the conscience of the whole nation. We appeal for publicity—from your paper, from the wire services, from radio and television news staffs the country over—to tell the incredible story of Mississippi. Here American citizens are subject to the whims of a police force without moral or legal restraint. The specific Mississippi event so unnoticed in the national press is the campaign now being waged--fought--to have a mock election on November 2, 3, and 4. The campaign is fought against the police, who harass or arrest workers, according to their whim, orders, or personal perversion. (Mississippi state law permits "the use of physical force" in its prisons.) The campaign is also fought against the unwillingness of the wire services, as well as the local papers, to treat this aspect of the civil rights movement as more than a minor nigger disturbance.

Hence I appeal to you and to other New England editors to demand from your wire services that they give you news of the mock election being held in this state.

Perhaps the first reaction of people living in Pittsfield, Stockbridge or Lanesboro, when they read of a mock election, an election which can elect no candidates to office, is a rather rueful smile at wasted effort: long hours, arrests trials--all as a gesture without practical effect. The bitter irony we live with as long as we are here is that this gesture, which is likely to provoke a smile from a Northerner, is in fact a dangerous, authentic expression of courage from an oppressed citizenry. This morning, for example, I was passing out leaflets. Only because I am young and was near a narrow alley could I escape arrest by officers who could have charged me with anything from littering to loitering, as well as disorderly conduct, disturbing the peace, inciting to riot, etc. The result is always the same--jail, and a fine that Negroes can afford much less easily

than even a graduate student living on a fellowship can afford to pay.

The mock election itself offers to voters three parties to choose from: a freedom slate of Aaron Henry and the Rev. Edwin King, the Republican ticket of Rubel Phillips and Stanford Morse, or the Democratic ticket--that is, the candidates who will be rubber-stamped into office on November 5 by an electorate representing less than one-fifth of the possible voters in this sovereign state. Paul B. Johnson is to be the next Governor of this place; Here is a sample of his campaign literature: (I quote from a pamphlet entitled, "Danger: Two Party System in Mississippi would end our way of life.")

> To have . . . Democratic nominees and Republican nominees running for every office . . . municipal, county, and state . . . every four years . . . would constitute an unnecessary nuisance and would bring to Mississippi the same political evils and dangers that now beset such states as Illinois, New York, Michigan, Pensylvania and California. (Johnson is quoting himself; the ellipses are his.)

Similar interpretations of the American political system are displayed around the state; for example, a John Birch billboard just like a Chevrolet ad on South Street: "Fight Socialism, Impeach Earl Warren! Join the John Birch Society." What is hardest for the rest of the country to realize is that these people are not the cranks and nuts they are in New York or Massachusetts--or rather they are, but in this state an electorate of less than 500,000 sends two senators and five representatives to Washington, and <u>rules</u> the state with a maleficent policy of exploitation and brutality. In South Africa this is Apartheid. In Southern America, a state where I am likely to be arrested simply for having New York state license plates, it is an affront to the nation, a mockery of each man who finds himself a moral creature free only when his fellow citizens are free.

This is a letter written in anger and shock at what I could not have believed could happen in a country I have travelled for years and admired from the perspective point of Europe. By being silent, the rest of this country pretends that it is not responsible for what happens in Greenwood, Meridian, or Yazoo City. This is not so; we are a nation proven so by a war that at one time the North considered it had won. The battle, I now know, is still being fought, and the country needs to know about it--to share the struggle until the power elite of this barbaric monolith is broken. Like every democratic struggle, this one depends not only on freedom of the press, but on the decision of a responsible press, such as <u>The Eagle</u> represents, to demand and get coverage for its readers. Help us!

Jonathan Middlebrook,
Campaign Worker,
Yale University student

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11-1-63

Dear Bayard Rustin;

It has been a long , long time since I have seen you or heard from you in a personal way but all these years we have kept up with you through reports. How we have rejoiced in saying, "we knew him when"!

It is along way from fighting a cold with feet in the oven and a mixed fruit drink---or sitting it out in a restaurant as we poster walked---or being arroused from you bed early in a.m. to beinterviewed by a government offid al ----or direct action projects where together we interviewed business men ,etc.

It has been a long time sine we have heard your magnificient voice raised in protest or praise.

Yet , we are nearer you i spirit than even family members. This oneness of the Holy Spirit prevades everything --we are one body and soul ---and basically this is GOD in action.

Orville became an invalid 18 years ago and it has been 10 since he could work at all. So, I have had to work to earn our living as thousands of dollars went into trying to help him to no avail. He has the deteriation of muscles arround the lungs caused by whooping cough. It took doctors and specialists eight years to fine out the trouble. In the mean time he had a mental problem for five of these years but cameout f it when he had to face the final decision and learn to live very quietly as he looses his breath on any exertion. However, he keep our books from his chair and is always kind and uncomp aining.

My work is professional corsetry whereby we read a doctor's prescription. In these days of accidents, illnesses, e tc. we are indemand. We also carry everything in corsetry which is not custom --and my! such glamour!

I had to give up the FOR activity and after a year of others trying to do so the group disbanded. It just about broke my heart after 15 years of constant activity but now I know it was by effort because I knew my city so well as I had served church , school, women's clubs, civic , YWCA, etc., and much of the activity took place because I was able to coordinate groups for action.

WE are so badly in need today. People seem so dead! O r Council ofmChurches leadership was so very poor for 15 years we had to work outside it. Now there is some hope in the new Brethern Man who heads it. He can reorganize because it was so low in spirit he can not go elsewhere than UP.

I have a small beginning at University of Toledo again and am trying to asssist a group of U. Students--another group in CORE. This group had been organized by a physician and his wife and they did everything wrong and antaginized churches, school, medical profession, teachers assn. , individuals by openly accusing them false ly of all types of discrimination and the press picked it up and printed it. At no time did the accusations of discrimination hold true.

It is certainly due to you and George Houser, John Swomley, A.J., and othersfrom USA and abroad who came to Toledo during the15 years that Toledo is quite an excellent city. There is no need to say the work is finished but we have advanced to the place we can sit down together on any issue and finally good things come about.

(NAACP, CITY OFFICIAL, CORE, FOR, and other jumped into a planned march on the city because the police had beaten a Negro in the jail . This man was a habitual drunk and rabble rouser. No excuse for thepolice brutality.But it hardly was worthy of such raused feeling as some leaders were proposing. So, a combined group got together and we held a city wide meeting in our civic auditorium with 2600 attending and raised $2,200 for CORE. Jim Farmer was the speaker. Every tying came out at this meeting as we had some youth who had participated in the south action , etc. The Mayor was on theplatform. This is the only municipal participation project I know of, hope there have been others.)

Before I left FOR as the secretary I wrote the ACLU for th names of members in area and called them together and we formed a chapter which in turn formed the Ohio ACLU. It functions very well. Our Hotel Association integrated, we have nurses and aids in our hospitals and the doctors meetin common rooms. We have Negroes in most of our places of business, stores, groceries, newspapers,YM, YW, Chamber of Commerce, hospitals etc. There is still much to be done in housing and employment and I think labor unions do not follow through in the apprinice division. We have now a city law which carrries a $500 fine and sentence for any real estate office who will try to interfeer with integrated housing anywhere in the city. We have formed a civic group to see peaceful integration. It is just too long a story. However, you see you were so much a part of this and thru you I was a partand thru me others became a part as I sadi ---of thissame Spirit . When I tell these young people I had recieved my training from you they get pop-eyed!

Well, this CORE situation got so bad it came to my notice from a group of youngsters I knew so I has Dick Haley come in and he cooperated by asking these leaders--Dr. and wife--to present reason for them to continue in leadership and they did not show at the meeting so he went to their home and brought them back and settled it by reorganizing.It has become a struggle as CORE had gained a bad name so we are busy the past month setting this straight. We have had an influx of outsiders who have come in and actually attended a meeting and tried to take over by telling tall stories. here ,, myexperiance comes in as they fall down by committing themselves and they go away. We have traced it to this Dr. and wife (Negro) because all of us feel they will try to destroy CORE.

Now, I wish to ask, do you travel, do you accept speaking engagements, if you do I would like to hear from you.

I am interested in POAU or Americans United for the Seperation of Church and State. We plan on John Swomley in the Spring. We have about 700 members. I would like you for the FOR or for CORE if you are free at times .

So, wherever you are, whatever you do we are thinking of you.

Love,

Dorothy Knoke.

BAYARD RUSTIN - CORRESPONDENCE

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November 1, 1963

Mr. Edward F. Nash
1483 Silver Lake Blvd.
Los Angeles, California

Dear Mr. Nash:

I very much appreciate your letter of October 3rd and your views on the basic problems confronting the civil rights revolution.

Let me say that I am in agreement with most of the views. I, for one, believe and hope that the Negro struggle for equality can be the spearhead of a broad movement for political and social reform in this country. How widely this view is shared by others in the civil rights movement I do not know. I tend to think, however, that whatever the pyschological motivations of civil rights activists, whatever their aspiration to physical comfort, we are likely to discover that true freedom for the Negro will require as Mr. Randolph indicated at the March on Washington, far-reaching change in the political, social, and economic institutions of the country. I am certainly on record as believing that political democrazation is for the nation as a whole a prequisite for Negro freedom. Specifically, I believe that the Civil Rights movement, in concert with other progressive forces in our society must undertake a full scale campaing against the coalition of dixiecrats and reactionary republicans who exercised a strangle hold over Congress and the political policies of the country. Despite the fact that many of them are undemocratically elected and represent only small minorities withing their own states.

Sincerely,

BR/tl

BAYARD RUSTIN
Deputy Director

October 3, 1963

Bayard Rustin
5 Beekman Street
New York 38, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Rustin:

While the day-to-day attack on the more overt, more dramatic effects of discrimination goes forward (and God knows the kind of pressure it represents is necessary), it seems to this participant, that amidst the conflict, amidst the daily tactical strategems, we tend to become somewhat lax (and occasionally lost) in pointing up the essential cause of the injustice perpetrated upon the American Negro; that aspect of American life which also causes every other member of our dog-eat-dog, every-man-for-himself society to be physically and/or psychologically disinherited, disaffected, etc.---our nation's conspicuous show of material affluence notwithstanding. The point to be made about 'cause' is embodied, I hope, in the following assertion:

Not until all Americans---black and white---achieve a greater measure of political equality, the greatest possible measure, i.e., not until the great, democratic ideal of one person equaling one vote is approximated in all of our local, state, and federal legislatures (instead of one dollar equaling one vote, or one rural ballot equaling, say, ten city votes), not until such a just political reality develops will the Negro, will any individual in our country, achieve a true measure of social justice.

More precisely, in my judgment---in addition to other steps---substantive democratic progress will require: 1) Reapportionment (nationwide). 2) General election reform (principally to minimize the role of money, which is generally only available in abundance to candidates---regardless of party---who reflect status quo or reactionary thinking; hence, the one dollar, one vote phenomenon). 3) Major Congressional reforms. Most people seem completely unaware of how little representation "we the people" receive from our legislators; also, the type of civil rights legislation before the Congress now---even if it should pass---by itself, will be of much less help to the Negro than many of us imagine.

Incidentally, the notion that the so-called Negro problem is more a consequence of an undemocratic society than the result of race prejudice was hinted at by A. Phillip Randolph, when at the March, he said in effect, upon examination, one will essentially find that the enemies of democracy---many of whom oppose Medicare, Minimum Wage, Federal Aid to Education, Urban Renewal, etc.---are also the enemies of the Negro.

In summary---and to be very frank---it is the selfish hope of everyone who dares to think he "knows better", that the American Negro---so-called---will place himself in the center of the perilous drive for the most major of political reforms, reforms which will benefit every American, reforms which will, once again, confirm the one indisputable fact of human history, i.e., the differences between people have always been more apparent (environmental) than real (hereditary or evolutionary).

Of course, realization of all the foregoing is based on the premise that the leaders of the present civil rights movement are not simply interested in creating one more bourgeois, power-oriented pressure group; one more aggressive, psychologically-insecure conglomeration of human beings content to, or, perhaps, I should say resigned to, pursue their fight for survival in an anarchic, undemocratic environment. Does the Negro, given all the facts of our highly artificial, highly competitive existence, want to be seduced by the "Great American Barbecue", want to be trapped by the psycholgical bankruptcy of middle-class, or, if you will, bourgeois values? I don't think so. And, what would be, or what will be, the so-called white man's reaction, if the Negro---as a member of a black pressure group---forced many of his (the white man's) number to the "bottom" of our existing, undemocratic social hierarchy?

For the meaningful solution of all of our country's basic ills, I am convinced, intrinsic democratic reform---not pressure group empire building---is what is needed and desired by nine-tenths of all America---consciously or otherwise.

Sincerely,

Edward F. Nash
1483 Silver Lake Blvd.
Los Angeles 26, Calif.

P.S.

With automation mortally aggravating the Negro's condition especially, we desperately need to do what has to be done in order to begin transforming our bourgeois democracy---with its crypto-oligarchic character---into a genuine <u>political</u> democracy (one person, one vote). I know the fear-ridden, power-oriented Goldwater crowd maliciously and consciously tries to confuse any sincere quest for a political democracy with the totalitarian "social democracy" espoused by the Communist world. Nevertheless, it cannot be gainsaid that the Negro, the nation, the entire world will know no <u>real</u> social progress until and unless the pertinent issues relating to <u>real</u> freedom, i.e., <u>political</u> equality, are discussed. The fundamental cause for the absence of political equality in our country---and, therefore, the lack of social justice---must be <u>publically</u> aired to give the civil rights movement better integrity, better direction, and better acceleration.

November 1, 1963

Mr. Ned O'Gorman
Associate Editor
JUBILEE
168 E. 91 Street
New York 28, New York

Dear Ned Gorman:

It was good to receive your letter of October 15th and your kind words about the March on Washington.

At the moment I am not in a position to suggest any thing you can do in Georgia in December. The situation in Americus is changing rapidly, and I know that efforts are underway in New York to rally strong public opinion among the neighbors of the New York boy who is jailed there. I attended a rally for Don Harris at Rutgers some days back.

I think it might be useful for you to drop by to see me before you leave for Georgia in December. By that time there might be some concrete things that you can do for us there. In any case, I would appreciate you calling my office for an appointment before you leave.

Please forgive my delay in answering your letter, but as you can understand, our office has been deluged with mail since the march. Thank you again for your letter.

Sincerely,

BAYARD RUSTIN
Deputy Director

BR/tl

JUBILEE
168 East 91st Street / New York 28
EN *9-7550*

Dear Bayard Rustin-

I shall be making a journey to ~~kk~~ Georgia in December. Jubilee is sending me there to write a story. I have sent notes here and there to people in Atlanta and I write to you to wonder if perhaps you could suggest anything to me to do while I am there.

I shall take a journey to Americus and to Albany.

I trust you have been told again and again how splendid you were at the Washington March.

I shall await some word from you,

Sincerely,
Ned O'Gorman
Ned O'Gorman
Associate editor

the 15 of October, 1963

Minn. March on Washington Comm.
Minneapolis, Minn.

Matthew Little,
3448 5th Ave. S.
Minneapolis, Minn. 55408

November 1, 1963

Mr. Bayard Rustin,
% Council for United Civil Rights Leadership,
10 East 44th Street
New York 17, New York.

Dear Sir:

As Chairman of the ad-hoc committee that raised funds and sponsored the large Minnesota delegation to the "March", I am writing in search of guidance from you.

Our organizing committee, as well as a large number of the delegation have remained intact since the August experience. We felt that we had to do something tangible as a unit; our pledge mandated us to, we thought.

So, for the past 3 months we have been operating as a "Speakers Bureau" for the March on Washington, traveling throughout the state trying to transalate the meaning of the March. Also when you sent us the memorandum relative to getting community support for a day of mourning for the Birmingham victims, we were able to get maximum support in a short time, operating under the name of Minn. March On Washington Committee.

Throughout, however, we have attempted to remain as informally organized as is possible and get things done. But, inevitably, I suppose, it now appears that our efforts are causing a degree of conflict and overlap with the established civil rights organizations (of which we are all active members of, incidentally).

This brings us to the point of this correspondence. What is your advice as to our continued existence per se? And further, if it is decided that we shall discontinue to operate as an entity, what do you think would be the most appropiate means of disposing of our funds, which were raised in the name of the "March on Washington?".

Is there a national "March Committee" still in existence? And if so, what is its financial condition. It appears to me that a transfer of our funds to the national office would be the logical step.

An immediate reply would be appreciated. We are having a meeting Friday evening, Nov. 8th to decide upon our fate. So, if you would wire a recommendation prior to the meeting, it would be very helpful.

Matthew Little

Matthew Little, chairman
Minn. March on Wash. Comm.

November 1, 1963

Mrs. William H. Scheide
133 Library Place
Princeton, New Jersey

I was terribly sorry to learn that after coming all that distance you were not able to get into community church. As a matter of fact, the gentlemen who drove me in from the airport (I returned from Richmond, Va. where I addressed Doctor King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference just minutes before the community church meeting began) was unable to get into the Church.

I assure you I had no idea that so many people would attend the meeting. Needless to say, I was pleased by the turnout, but very disappointed that you were unable to gain entry. I think the meeting went rather well.

The Princeton meeting was very exciting. I was fortunate in having with me several young men from New York Core, who have lived in the ghetto all of their lives and have an innate genius for dealing with crowds of people in an excited mood. In any case I think that the evening came off rather well and I hope that the non-violent, though demonstrative behavior of the Princeton students gave Governor Barnett something to think about as he went back to the University of Mississippi.

You will interested to know that the March on Washington movement is continuing and has several exciting new projects in the offing. I will be in touch with you about these, when plans are farther along.

It is always good to hear from you and know that you are so interested in my work. This is a great source of encouragement to me in the darker hours.

Sincerely,

BAYARD RUSTIN
Deputy Director

Mrs. William H. Scheide
133 Library Place
Princeton, New Jersey

Oct 3 - 1963.

Dear Bayard Rustin -
(I hope you don't mind this Quaker-like form of address; it seems less formal)

This is in the nature of a frustrated fan letter! A friend of mine came in to N.Y.C. with me last week intending to hear you at the Community Church - (and James Baldwin) but - you can guess what happened. In spite of our being fairly early, we couldn't get in. This part was my fault, but I was further

frustrated not to see any write-up in the next days Times. Did I miss it somehow?

Then last Mon. I was pleased & surprised to see & hear you at Dillon gym. It was important that you came, as you always strike just the right note - and it must be difficult to speak to people who are in such an excited mood. Thank you very much. The crowd was too great for me to come & introduce myself - and anyhow I had to March! The whole affair went off very well under the circumstances. Most sincerely

Lorna Schaede

November 5, 1963

Ernestine H Kettler
Olympic Hotel
725-29 South Westlake Avenue
Los Angeles, California

Dear Miss Kettler:

Thank you for your letter of October 2nd, inviting me to speak for the Los Angeles Socialist Party.

Unfortunately I will have to return to New York immediately after speaking in Berkley. I am sorry that I will have to miss your meeting and Norman Thomas.

Thank you for asking me, and I hope that I shall be able to visit Los Angeles in the not too distant future.

Sincerely,

BR/tl

BAYARD RUSTIN
Deputy Director

OLYMPIC HOTEL
A Block from Beautiful Westlake Park
TELEPHONE DUNKIRK 3-1381
725-29 SOUTH WESTLAKE AVENUE
LOS ANGELES 57, CALIFORNIA

October 2, 1963

Mr. Bayard Rustin
March On Washington Office
170 West 130th Street
New York, N. Y. 10027

Dear Mr. Rustin:

I am writing for the Socialist Party at Los Angeles, to inquire if there is a possibility to have you speak for us immediately following your appearance in Berkeley.

We know that you have many engagements and that you will be flying to Berkeley for the conference to be held there Nov. 16th and 17th. Since we are arranging a meeting for Norman Thomas either Nov. 18th or 19th, it has been suggested that if you have no engagement for Nov. 18th or 19th, you might be persuaded to come down with Norman Thomas Monday morning, as we hope to have a press interview in the afternoon.

What should be of interest to you is a group or rather a committee of the United Civil Rights organization which would be most anxious to talk to you about their activities and to receive suggestions and proposals of how best to implement their work. I am sure they would come in advance of the meeting to meet you, provided of course you are free to address our forum on that night. I understand this group is composed of teachers who have been fighting most arduously for desegregation in our public schools, and the fight is not yet over.

We would be greatly honored if you can give us November 18th, and quite lucky if you have no other engagement which would compel you to fly back to New York after the Berkeley conference. For your convenience, I am enclosing an addressed and stamped envelope to expedite your reply. May we hope you can make it?

Sincerely yours,

Ernestine H Kettler

Ernestine H. Kettler

OFFICIAL HOTEL
AMERICAN AUTOMOBILE ASSOCIATION
AUTOMOBILE CLUB OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA
AMERICAN HOTEL ASSOCIATION

November 5, 1963

Professor L.D. Reddick
Coppin State College
2500 West North Avenue
Baltimore 16, Maryland

Dear Professor Reddick:

I am looking forward to meeting you on November 9th.

I hope that you will leave word with my office as to where I am to meet you. I have prepared the enclosed memo-- which leads me to the conclusion that the entire civil rights movement should concentrate on a victory in Birmingham.

We can talk more about this when we meet.

Sincerely,

BR/tl

BAYARD RUSTIN
Deputy Director

november 5, 1963

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.
563 Jackson Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 12, Ga.

Dear Dr. King:

I am looking foward to meeting you on November 9th.

I hope that you will leave word with my office as to where I am to meet you. I have prepared the enclosed memo-- which leads me to the conclusion that the entire civil rights movement should concentrate on a victory in Birmingham.

We can talk more about this when we meet.

sincerely,

BR/tl

Bayard Rustin
Deputy Director

Cal Lockhart - Michigan -

✓ copies - Fed Del.

1 - Martin Luther King
563 Jackson Ave NE
Atlanta 12 Ga

1 - Prof Reddick
Coppin Teachers College
Baltimore Md. -

Lenz - Federal

I can't for meet you on Nov 9th - I hope you will be round in Atlanta as I when I can meet you to return the enclosed memo - which leads me to conclude that entire CRM should concentrate on a victory in Birmingham -

We can talk more at the meet -

November 1, 1963

Mr. Ira Sandperl
2125 Dartmouth
Palo Alto, Calif.

Dear Ira,

Ralph has passed on to me your note of Octiber 2nd, inquiring whether I would be coming to the West coast anytime soon.

There has been talk for my going to California sometime in November but several complications have arisen which may make the trip impossible. I hope to know what my plans will be in a week or so and will be in touch with you at that time.

It was good to hear from you, and I hope I will have the opportunity of seeing you soon.

Sincerely,

BR/tl

BAYARD RUSTIN
Deputy Director

2125 Dartmouth
Palo Alto, Calif.

2 Oct. 1963

Dear Ralph DiGia,

Roy Kepler and I have heard rumors of Bayard's imminent trip to the west coast. Is there anything to this? If there is, we would like to know when he's coming, for whom he's coming, and if we could arrange something for him publicly, and whether there would be a chance to talk with him about what he's doing and what he is going to do.

Please let us know as soon as you can. I hope all is well on your coast.

Sincerely,

Ira Sandperl

Ira Sandperl

575 Mississippi St
San Francisco 7
California (usa)
October 6, 1963

Dear Bayard,

Bill & I are really looking forward to seeing you & Norman at this SP conference Nov 16-17. We really miss our N.Y. friends.

I am keeping dates open on either side of the conference so if you would like a home-cooked meal, drinks (sw, I do learn) and a relaxing evening with either no other guests or guests of your own choosing I will be very honored to have you. I have no idea what your schedule is so give either Bill or me a buzz when you get to town -

Bill's office phone - HE 16242
home phone - MI 79408

Then we can set a date.
My fuzzos will be stocked as
usual.

If you have no time I
will see you at the SP conference.
(I have a baby sitter lined up
already to take care of our 2
chicks).

See you soon -
Love
Rosemary
Shirley

November 5, 1963

Mr. Ralph Miliband
The London School of Economics
and Political Science
Houghton Street
Aldwych London WC 2

Dear Mr. Miliband:

Thank you for your letter of October 2nd, requesting a article from me of the implications of the radical and socialist movement in America of the present Negro freedom movement.

While I think such a article would be of value, my responsibilities with the March on Washington which is continuing in operation, would make it impossible for me to undertake this committment. The March movement is planning several new projects which will take all of my time and energy between now and Christmas.

It was kind of you to request the article, and I wish I could be more helpful.

Sincerely,

BR/tl

BAYARD RUSTIN
Deputy Director

THE LONDON SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS & POLITICAL SCIENCE
(UNIVERSITY OF LONDON)

TELEPHONE HOLBORN 7686 Houghton Street, Aldwych
Ralph Miliband 2 October '63 London, W.C.2

Dear Mr.Rustin,

Leo Huberman and others have told me that you might be willing to write an article on the negro movement in the U.S. for a Socialist Annual which John Saville,of the University of Hull,and myself are bringing out next Easter,and every Easter thereafter.

The Annual will be a book of some three hundred pages,published by Merlin Press,and it will probably be also published in the U.S. Our intention is not to bring out a calendar or almanach,but a series of essays, of varying length,on some problem or topic or event of interest and importance to socialists Thus,we shall have full-length essays on the historical background of the Sino-Soviet split(by I.Deutscher),on the nature of Nasserism(by Abdul Malek),on neo-capitalism(by Ernest Mandel) and so on; we shall also have contributions from people like Michael Foot (on the experience of the last Labour Government) and Donald Hodges(on recent Marxist writing) etc.

In addition to such essays,we shall have articles on specific events and countries,and one such article we very much want is on the implications for the radical and socialist movements in America of the present negro movement.There is a good deal of confusion here about this(and in America too, as far as I can judge!) and an article from you clarifying this for us would be of immense value to our Annual.May I therefore ask you

if you would be willing to do this,and may I also express my hope that you will be able to accept.We would need something between 4 to 5000 words, and our deadline is the last week of November or so. I should of course be very glad to give you further information concerning the Annual. I would only add here that we hope to provide socialists with probing,sober and factual analysis of the kind which we feel to be badly needed.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,

Ralph Miliband

November 5th, 1963

Miss Barbara Rittenburg
792 Columbus Avenue
New York New York

Dear Miss Rittenburg:

Thank you very much for your kind letter of September 29th.

I thought the meeting at Community Church was extremely stimulating for me, and I am glad to know that you also found it useful. Both Mr. Baldwin and I were surprised by the large turnout.

Needless to say, that I am glad that I was helpful to you in the area of understanding the necessity of a non-violent movement.

Thank you again, for your kind words.

Sincerely,

BR/tl

BAYARD RUSTIN
Deputy Director

792 Columbus Ave
New York, N.Y.
September 29, 1963

Mr. Bayard Rustin
the March on Washington
170 West 130 Street
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Rustin,

My own uneasy mind, filled with many questions, brought me to last Wednesday night's meeting at the Community Church. I came with the hope that this would be a much needed teaching + learning session. This note is by way of saying a deeply felt thanks for making it just that.

As all good teachers, you did not mince words. I left the church far more provoked + disturbed than when I had arrived. Many new questions have joined the ranks of the old ones. However, I now understand why a non-violent movement is a practical necessity. You paid many things + intimated even more. Most importantly - you provoked a type of thinking in me - + many others - that I thought had died some time ago. It is the type that must lead to participation + creative action.

Stay well - we all need you.

Sincerely,
Barbara Rittenberg

November 5, 1963

Miss Jean Chace
520 West 110th Street
New York 25, New York

Dear Miss Chace:

Thank you for your interesting letter of October 2nd.

I would hope that you would be willing to devote some of your spare time to the March on Washington movement, which is continuing in existance. The March is planning several exciting projects for the Thanksgiving to Christmas period and can use whatever volunteer help you can give. You will be receiving announcements about these projects in the mail shortly. When you do, I hope you will feel free to call our office and I know that we will be able to make grateful use of your assistance.

With regard to the Christmas boycott proposal advanced by James Baldwin, and the Writers and Artists Committee, I tend to agree with you that it would not have the beneficial economic impact. Mr. Baldwin himself has recognized that it cannot hope to achieve significant economic aims for the Negro and has consequently recast the idea in moral tones. The March on Washington movement, for one of its projects will call upon local civil rights groups to initiate selective buying and giving campaings. Such campaigns would not deprieve many children of the joys of Christmas, and would be aimed specifically at firms which practice discriminations and refused to discontinue that practice even after negotiations.

The question of the third party, which you raised, is an extremely complex one. Here again, my own view is that some kind of significant political breakview is necessary if the Negro is to achieve full freedom. There is not a better illustration of this necessity than the current congressional deadlock over the civil rights legislation. I doubt that a third party at this stage of the game if the answer, but I do beleive the civil rights movement needs to mount an all out campaign against the dixie-crats--reactionary republicans; that dominates congress undemocratically.

I am afraid that a serious discussion of the other proposals would require more space than I have here. Perhaps we will have an opportunity to discuss them personally.

Sincerely,

BAYARD RUSTIN
Deputy Director

520 W. 110 St.
N.Y. 25, N.Y.

Oct. 2, 1963

Dear Mr. Rustin,

I heard you speak at Town Hall, Foley Square and the Community Church, and am writing, first of all, to tell you that these occasions, though mournful and angry, have given me, a white person born in 1934, - along with the March on Washington - the first sense I have ever had of hope and vitality in my country; the first experience I have had of the deep commitment of honorable people to something purely good.

I was glad to hear you talk a week ago of a unified movement; unity seems the best hope. I would like to give some time, if I could be useful in any way, but have hesitated to call any of the various organizations in the hope of one single group being formed soon. What would you suggest? I have two small children, so the time I have free is in the evenings.

Some of my friends and I want very much to join in the sit-ins, stand-ins, and so forth which you suggested for one hundred cities this month, but couldn't with the very small children, so we thought we'd take turns. I think lots of women would go if they could, and wondered if there couldn't be some sort of baby-sitting pool arranged through the movement. The Riverside Church for instance might offer playrooms, and other churches and church schools.

I've thought the Christmas boycott is a very good idea, but someone asked me if it wouldn't be self-defeating, as any economic blow hits the Negro first. I'd like to know. Assuming the boycott does take place, maybe again women whose children are too young to understand the thing could get together and fix and paint and trade toys; again, maybe the churches and schools could provide workshop space.

I've also thought Christmas would be a good time for a positive happening of some kind, perhaps a Christmas march, or meetings in each city; not necessarily on Christmas Eve or Day or in churches, but maybe around that time, to point up the moral spirit of the boycott. It might be a good time for a peaceable gathering and enspiriting, especially if the boycott goes through.

About a third party: is there any chance, do you think, that its existence would enable Goldwater to win in 1964? I think Mr. Baldwin is one of the finest minds I have ever read or heard, but I don't think I can agree with him that 'there is no such thing as the lesser of two evils' when it comes to Goldwater.

Do you think a unified movement could use any of the practical ideas of Leo Szilard's Committee for a Liveable World? For instance, in asking for a certain per cent of income from anyone who could possibly give it; and in having regular bulletins sent out or printed in all the papers.

Or could the movement circulate its own newspaper; or get a half-hour of radio time every night, or a weekly hour or so, devoted to telling people about its progress and its needs, rebroadcasting speeches etc.

Would a program of symbolic tax withholding be practicable? Could people writing their representatives, say, one letter a week until the right civil rights bill was passed, have any effect? Could any pressure persuade the government to create a new cabinet post for Civil Rights alone?

I know you don't have time to even read such a long and rambling letter, but I hope it will reach someone who will be able to tell me if there is anything I can do a few evenings a week.

with great respect,

Jean Chace

November 5, 1963

Mr. Frances Cox
215 Queens Road
Charlotte 4, N.C.

Dear Mr. Cox:

Thank you for your letter of September 23rd, and please accept my apologies for not responding sooner.

The March office has been deluged with mail and I am only now beginning to make a dent in it.

I dont' have space here to discuss the many ideas you advance in your letter, but you will be interested to know that some of them will be incooperated in the new projects now being planned by the March on Washington. The first project will be a national campaign for a strong civil rights bill by Christmas. This campaign is conceived, the March on Washington Office would encourage local communities to bring many of the forms of pressure to bear upon their congressmen and senators that you mentioned. Among other things local marches and letter writing campaigns will be stimulated.

The second project is a Christmas selective fgiving and buying campaign. This campaign is growing in large measure out of an examination by the civil rights organizations of the Christmas no-buying proposal advanced by James Baldwin. From an organizational point of view, the March groups felt that there were serious drawbacks to a total boycott of Christmas, some of those drawbacks being in the nature of economic boomerangs. Mr. Baldwin and the Writers and Artists Committee have themseleves come to the view would not be of economic significance; they are therefore conducting it as a moral protest, which I think is quite appropiate for such a group. We felt that local groups associated with the March, however, would do better to pick out as targets specific firms which were guilty of discrimatory practices in the hiring and upgrading of Negro workers.

Literature on both of these projects will be coming off the press shortly and I shall see to it that you receive copies.

Meanwhile thank you for your interest and for your helpful thoughts. It was good to see you on August 28th.

Sincerely,

BR/tl

BAYARD RUSTIN
Deputy Director

P/S. Once had a Professor — Dr. Drake, a West Indian, who knew you. He's been in Africa several times. Now he is in Berkeley. Calif.

TUNDÉ ADÉKOYA
Apt 611
501 E. 32nd St. Chicago 16, Ill
Nov. 19, 1963

Dear Bayard,

I wish to write you a long letter but have not found the time yet and time seems to be passing by too fast. So, I come to the conclusion that I should write you a "TELE-MEMO" instead of nothing. At least you'll know my whereabout.

You can identify the enclosed picture, no doubt. Perhaps not. I came to this country through your help, from Nigeria in 1953. I lost contact with you since you put me on the train bound for Chicago on the 7th of January 1953. Tried hard to trace you but failed. However, in 1959 or 1958 I heard of your leading a Peace March in London. The C.B.S. London correspondent, Howard K. Smith broadcast the news one Sunday morning when I was in School in Champaign, Illinois. Later, some news had it that you were back in Africa. Finally had the occasion to hear of you during the Summer this year regarding your activities in connection with the Washington March. Read the N. York Times report of your investigation by the Senate SubCommittee, read the Newsweek coverage on you and one by Chicago Daily News and finally saw you on the T.V. I could hardly recognize you. Of course it has been almost eleven years since I last saw you and you me.

My activities the last 11 yrs in brief: When you put me on the train, got to Chicago and Dr. Turner met me and during the following week Mr. George Bent of American Friends Service met me.

Since then both of these gentlemen have figured prominently in my life. Was in School from 1953 to 1959. Took a Master's Degree in City Planning from U. of Illinois. Worked for City of Chicago as a Planner and also for City of Peoria. In 1960 went back to school – University of Pennsylvania to do one-year of Urban Design. Came back to Chicago in '61 worked for City of Chicago again until last month. Resigned to finish up my training in Architecture – Engineering. Should finish in June 1964. My main interest has been in Political Science, Planning, Housing and Architecture. I am eager to work for the U. Nations in these areas in underdeveloped countries. Will apply mid-'64. Not yet convinced COMPLETELY that I will like to return to Nigeria yet. Like to work in key areas in Africa before finally returning to Nigeria to face the politics of the country.

There is very very very much I'd like to discuss with you and learn from you, but I will have to wait till next year. This letter is to tell you that I am still around. If you are in Chicago any time, please look me up.

Lastly, I should like to add that I got married in 1960 — to a German girl — the girl Mr. George Bent brought here from Germany — see what you and George have done? Rather interesting, is it?

I hope this letter will get to you. My wife called several places and finally turned up the address I am using. Hope it leads to you.

Best of everything to you dear benefactor. Always full of appreciation and memories of your kindness. So long. Sincerely Jude.

December 2, 1963

Mr. L Richard Hudson
Cincinnati Committe for
The Washington March
P.O. Box # 2205
Cincinnati Ohio 45201

Dear Mr. Hudson:

Thank you for your letter of September 3rd, and please forgive my very belated reply. The March office has enjoyed a heavy volumne of correspondance since the August 28th , and we are only beginning to make a dent in it.

Our marshalls were anxious to have a list of all the bus captains, so that it would be possible for them to make contact with responsible persons in the various delegations. Our office still has use of such names, as the March on Washington plans to continue in existance. We have found from experiance that bus captains tend to be among the most active members of the local civil rights community, and we should like to keep them informed of the on-going work of the march, particularly of new projects that we are planning. Literature about these projects will soon be off the press and I will see that you receive copies.

Let me take this opportunity to thank you and the Cincinnati committe for the excellent that was done on the March. I sincerely hope that we will continue to enjoy your support in the greater battles that lie ahead. Please let me know if I can be of any assistance to you.

Sincerely,

BR/tl

BAYARD RUSTIN
Deputy Director

CINCINNATI COMMITTEE FOR THE WASHINGTON MARCH

P. O. Box 2205 • Cincinnati, Ohio 45201 • Telephone 721-4632

L. RICHARD HUDSON, *Chairman*

MORRIS F. ARNOLD
Christ Church, Episcopal

ROBERT P. BECK
Special Commission on Religion and Race, Council of Churches

WILLIAM BLACKWELL
Disciples Union of Greater Cincinnati

WILLIAM J. BOWEN
NAACP — 861-2180

MRS. MARY W. BUCKLEY

WILLIAM GARNES
UAW, AFL-CIO

RABBI ALBERT GOLDMAN

JOSEPH A. HALL

JOHN E. HANSAN
Ohio Valley Chapter of the National Association of Social Workers

RICHARD D. ISLER
Council of Churches of Greater Cincinnati

C. E. ISRAEL
Civil Liberties Committee
Jewish Community Relations Committee

CHARLES POSNER
Jewish Community Relations Committee

WILLIAM R. SCHUMACHER
Catholic-Interacial Council

CLYDE VINEGAR
Cincinnati Chapter, CORE — 281-8388

September 3, 1963

March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom
170 W. 130th Street
New York 27, New York

Gentlemen:

As you probably know, a trainload of approximately 500 persons from Cincinnati and vicinity participated in the March on Washington last week. We commend you and the national leadership for the fine way in which the March was handled.

Certainly there is every indication that the national civil rights movement received a considerable prestige boost by the March.

In the instructions which were issued in the preparation manuals, you indicated that a marshall would request a list of our delegation. I am not sure what purpose this may have had, but our list was not requested. If you have use for these names, we would be happy to make them available to you.

Sincerely,

L. Richard Hudson

L. Richard Hudson

LRH:mn

December 2, 1963

Mr. Arthur Divers
9362 Notth Martindale
Detroit 4, Michigan

Dear Mr. Divers:

Thank you for your kind letter of November 14th. I am pleased that you found my remarks at the trade council meeting useful.

By all means I shall put your name on our mailing list, I know that you will be interested to hear about some of the projects that are being planned by the March on Washington movement.

I think, as you know, that the civil rights movement today faces serious problems and that these problems will demand maximum mobilization of the Negro community.

Thank you again for your letter and I look forward to your support in the endeavors that lie ahead.

Sincerely,

BAYARD RUSTIN
Deputy Director

BR/tl

9362 North Martindale
Detroit 4, Michigan
October 14, 1963

Mr Bayard Rustin
Deputy Director
March On Washington
170 West 130 Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Rustin:

I enjoyed your speech at the Trade Union Leadership Council in Detroit because it threw new light on several current problems facing the civil rights movement at the present time. Your ideas gave me a different view from which I can consider the problem. This I consider the most important contribution of your speech.

Second, I wish to be placed on your organization's mailing list to receive information concerning actions, decisions, planned programs and other plans taken by this organization and the other civil rights groups which make up the National Coordinating Council of Civil Rights Groups.

2)

I am a member of the Civil Rights Committee of the 1st District Democratic Organization and we are keenly desirous of keeping informed on the latest decisions, plans, and programs of the key organizations in the civil rights movement.

Again, I wish to express my appreciation for the very fine analysis of the problems of the civil rights movement. I am certain that the ideas you presented will be thoroughly discussed among people who are searching for answers to the organizational and leadership problems facing the old as well as new organizations in the civil rights movement.

Sincerely yours,
Arthur J Olivers

December 2, 1963

Mr. Will Maslow
American Jewish Congress
15 East 84th Street
New York 28, N.Y.

Dear Will,

Thank you very much for your note of September 10th, and the clippings from London and Paris. So great has been our volumne of mail that these materials have only just come to my attention.

I have read the clippings with great interest and pleasure and it was good of you to send them to me.

Sincerely,

BR/tl

BAYARD RUSTIN
Deputy Direcor

AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS

STEPHEN WISE CONGRESS HOUSE · 15 EAST 84TH STREET · NEW YORK 28, N.Y. · TRAFALGAR 9-4500

OFFICE OF THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

SEPTEMBER 10, 1963

DEAR BAYARD:

ENCLOSED IS A BATCH OF CLIPPINGS FROM LONDON AND PARIS. I CALL YOUR ATTENTION PARTICULARLY TO THE STORY IN THE DAILY TELEGRAPH OF LONDON IN WHICH YOU RECEIVE THE RECOGNITION THAT YOU DESERVE.

SINCERELY,

Will

WILL MASLOW

253

December 2, 1963

M. Elaine Contee
199-35th Street, N.E.
Washington D.C. 20019

Dear Friend,

Thank you for your letter of September 6th.

Our office does not have copies of the speeches made at the Lincoln memorial on August 28th. I suggest that you contact Mr. John Morsell of the National office of the NAACP who I understand is preparing this material.

In addition, as you may know several recordings of the March on Washington speeches have been published. The March on Washington office has now produced the officail album, which contains the most complete versions of the Lincoln memorial speeches, the enclosed letter will give you further information.

Thank you again for your letter and for your interest in the March, we look forward to you continuing to support the important work that lies ahead.

Sincerely,

BAYARD RUSTIN
Deputy Director

BR/tl

199-35th Street, N.E.
Washington, D.C. 20019
September 6, 1963

March on Washington for
Jobs and Freedom
170 West 130th Street
New York 27, New York

Gentlemen:

I am writing to request your assistance in helping me collect copies of the speeches that were made on August 28, 1963 at the "March on Washington." I am assembling these speeches; along with newspaper and magazine articles, pictures, and editorials into a scrapbook.

I am particularly interested in obtaining a copy of the speech given by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. However, copies of any of the other speeches will be appreciated and accepted graciously.

If you can be of no help in obtaining copies of these speeches for me, I would appreciate it very much if you would let me know by what means I might be successful in obtaining copies of these speeches.

With your cooperation in this matter, I am sure that my scrapbook will be one that will contain all the pertinent facts and one that will be an interesting and enjoyable account of the events that launched the real beginning of our emancipation - The March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom.

Sincerely yours,

M. Elaine Contee

M. Elaine Contee

December 2, 1963

Miss Phyllis Corbett
15 East 27th Street
New York N.Y.

Dear Miss Corbett:

Thank you very much your note explaining why you could not sign the Lincoln Memorial pledge and expressing your support of the Negro stuggle.

I have placed your name on our mailing list, and you will be hearing from us shortly. The march on Washington movement is always glad to receive letters from people expressing their support in the great sturggles that lie ahead.

Thank you again,

Sincerely,

BR/tl

BAYARD RUSTIN
Deputy Director

Dear Sis,

Because of religious observances (Jewish) which prevent working, travelling etc. on Sabbaths + other days during the year I am unable to sign the Pledge. However I feel very strongly about the Negro struggle + I would like to do whatever I can to help. My home is Boston but I go to Stern College in Manhattan. Please contact me, as I would very much like

to do something in whatever
way I can

Sincerely
Phyllis Corbett
15 East 27th St.
N.Y N.Y

December 2, 1963

Miss Sheila Michaels
Associate Editor
Knoxville Crusader
1900 McCALLA Avenue
Knoxville, Tennessee

Dear Miss Michaels:

Thank you for your letter of October 3rd, and please accept my apologies for this belated reply.

The March on Washington office has been kept very busy planning new projects for the Thanksgiving to Christmas period.

I have had your name placed on our mailing list so that you may receive information about these projects. We are grateful for your interest. Please let me know if we can be of any further assistance.

Sincerely,

BR/tl

BAYARD RUSTIN
Deputy Director

Knoxville Crusader
1900 McCalla Avenue
Knoxville, Tennessee

Attn: Marion Barry, Jr
Sheila Michaels

October 3, 1963

Information Officer
March On Washington
170 West 130th St.
New York 27, N.Y.

Dear Sir:

We are a new Negro weekly in the East Tennessee area.

Please send us all news releases, mats, pictures and cuts.

Thank you.

Yours for Freedom,

Sheila Michaels

Sheila Michaels
Associate Editor

December 2, 1963

Miss Kathy Steele
44 Summer Street
Montpelier Vermont

Dear Miss Steele:

Thank you so much for your letter of August 30th and for your hand-written copy of the Lincoln Memorial pledge.

A number of other participants of the March on Washington have also written their pledges out in hand. Needless to say we appreciate these copies even more than the printed copies. The time, energy, and concern that they reflect are indicative of a already partial fulfillment of that pledge.

Please forgive this belated reply to your letter and pledge, our office has been deluged with mail and we are now only getting around toanswering many letters. You will interested to know that the March on Washington movlement is still in existance and we are planning some exciting new projects about we will keep you informed.

Thank you againk,

Sincerely,

BAYARD RUSTIN
Deputy Director

BR/tl

44 Summer Street
Montpelier, Vt.
Aug. 30, 1963

Dear Sirs:

I was not fortunate enough to receive one of the pledge cards when I was in Washington. Therefore I am going to write the pledge out in long-hand and send it to you. I hope you will accept this as you do the pledge cards.

Over

Pledge: Standing before the Lincoln Memorial on the 28th of August in the Centennial Year of Emancipation I affirm my complete personal commitment to the struggle for Jobs and Freedom for all Americans.

To fulfill that commitment I pledge that I will not relax until victory is won.

I pledge that I will join and support all actions undertaken in good faith in accord with the time-honored democratic tradition of non-violent protest, of peaceful assembly and petition and of redress through the courts and legislative process.

I pledge to carry the message of the March to my friends and neighbors back home and to arouse them to an equal effort. I will march and I will write letters. I will demonstrate and I will vote. I will work to make sure that my voice and those of my brothers ring clear and determined from every corner of our land.

I pledge my heart and my mind and my body, unequivocally and without regard to personal sacrifice to the achievement of racial peace through social justice.

Name Kathy Steele
Address 44 Summer St. Montpelier, Vt.

Date Aug. 30, 1963

December 3, 1963

Mrs. Fred L Bohn
470 South Samuel Drive
Zanesville, Ohio

Dear Mrs. Bohn:

Thank you very much for your letter of September 10th, and I apologise for this belated reply.

It is practically impossible for us to determine the number of marchers in various states and city delagations. Compiling this information would be a tremedous task and we simply have not had the staff to devote to it. You might find it fruitful to contact the National officers of the Six National Civil Rights that participated in the March. Even these inquirys would elicted only sketchy and partial information, I am sure.

The March was conducted on a skeletal budget, we did not engage the services of any news-clipping agency. I understand, however, that the National office of the NAACP does have such a service. You might be in touch with their resource department. The adress of the NAACP is 20 West 40th Street, New York, New York.

Mrs. Pearl Klugger, a graduate student at Columbia University, is preparing doctorial disertation on the Washington March. While I do not have her address I know that she is writing her disertation under the direction of Dr. Richard Hofstadter of the History department.
You should have no difficulty in contacting her.

Thank you very much for your report on the March, and for your activity. You will interested to know that the March on Washington movement is continuing in existance, and is planning several new projects. Literature about these projects will be available shortly.

Sincerely,

BR/tl

BAYARD RUSTIN
Deputy Director

470 South Samuel Drive
Zanesville, Ohio
September 10, 1963

March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom
170 West 130th Street
New York 27, New York

Gentlemen:

Congratulations on the wonderful March on Washington. I was there - with two of my daughters. Enclosed is a letter sent out by one of them, reporting to the organization to which we both belong.

I am pursuing studies toward the doctorate at Ohio State University. The March on Washington could be an interesting and very useful object for sociological analysis. Several aspects strike me as being particularly fruitful: 1. the influence of mass communications media on participation in and reactions to the March; 2. the leadership patterns evident in the organization of the March; 3. the influence of group membership on the numbers of those attending.

In order to orient and focus my study I am anxious to determine what data are available on the regional, racial, and religious participation in the March. More specifically I would like to know:

1. The number of the marchers in the delegations from the various cities and sectors of the U.S., if these are available from your office. If these are not available, would I be able to obtain these from the various state or local offices of the participating agencies?

2. Has any systematic news clipping been done on the March, and if so, for what time periods?

3. Do you know, at this time, of any other doctoral research? If so, could you furnish me the names and proposed topics, so there will be no duplication of effort.

My interest in racial problems has been of considerable duration. I was president of the Council on Human Rights in 1953-54 and 1954-55. Enclosed is a copy of a survey made by this organization. Happily, a number of improvements have been accomplished since 1950 when the survey was made.

Any advice and assistance you will give me will be very much appreciated.

With every best wish,

Sincerely,

Dorothy Bohn

Mrs. Fred L. Bohn

December 3, 1963

Mr. Morgan C. Robinson
Enjoy Record Corp.
271 W. 125th Street
New York 27, New York

Dear Mr. Robinson:

Please forgive this belated reply to your letter.

I appreciate your proposal to produce the documentary album of the March on Washington. Your proposal along with several others we have received , was placed before our committee, the decision to turn over to the production of such a album to the national council of churches. The council has produced a recording under the direction of Maely Dufty.

I am sorry that the committee was not able to accept your proposal I want you to know that we appreciate your offer.

Sincerely,

BAYARD RUSTIN
Deputy Director

BR/tl

:MENT 6-8430-1

Enjoy Record Corp.

271 WEST 125TH STREET
NEW YORK 27, N. Y.
RM 211

AIR MAIL SPECIAL

14 September, 1963

Mr. Bayard Rustin
MARCH ON WASHINGTON HEADQUARTERS
170 West 130th Street
New York 27, New York

Dear Mr. Rustin:

As per your request, during our conversation on Friday, September 13, 1963, I am submitting herewith a brief of our proposal.

If we are granted the right to produce and distributte a documentary album on THE MARCH ON WASHINGTON Exercises, we are geared for immediate production in unlimited quanitites.

We are well established in the recording field, with forty distributor outlets in the continental U. S. A., with additional outlets in Canada, Australia, Europe and parts of Asia and Africa.

We can produce the proposed album at a unit cost of SEVENTY CENTS ($ .70), this includes ptocessing, pressings, labelling, Jackets, sleeves, packaging, et al. Unit cost to distributor-wholesale outlets will be TWO DOLLARS and TEN CENTS ($2.10), leaving a net profit of <u>One dollar and forty cents</u> ($1.40) to be divided <u>equally</u> between your organization and Enjoy Record Corporation.

I am prepared to meet with members of your organization, to further clarify our proposal, at your convenience.

I would like to stress, again, my very personal interest in this project and, add that our entire organization has been alerted and put on a "stand-by" basis. We are ready to move with unprecedent speed.

Our office phones are MOnument 6-9058 and 6-8430.

With kindest regards, I am

Very truly yours,
ENJOY RECORD CORPORATION

Morgan C. Robinson

MCR:ef

Morgan C. Robinson, President

December 3, 1963

Mr. Michael A McCONNELL
R.D. #2
Montoursville, Pa. 17754

Dear Mr. McConnell:

Thank you for your letter requesting pledge cards and the list of demands of the March on Washington.

I am enclosing a pledge card since you did not specify how many pledge cards you wanted. I have also enclosed the list of the ten demands as they appear in our organizing manual #2. Our supply of both items is limited but we would try to accomdate you, should you require additional copies.

Thank you for your interest and active support.

Sincerely,

BR/tl

BAYARAD RUSTIN
Deputy Director

Dear Sir:

Having participated in the March, several members of our group were unable to obtain pledge cards and the speaker schedule with the list of demands. As none of this was printed in the local papers, these people would appreciate very much receiving these items if you have any left.

Thanking you in advance, I am

Yours sincerely,

Mike McConnell

Michael A. McConnell

December 3, 1963

Pres. Prof. Arthur Lermer
The Workmen's Circle
4848 St. Lawrence Blvd.
Montreal Canada

Dear Prof. Lermer;

I would like to thank you and the Workmen's Circle for your expression of solidarity with the August 28th March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom.

The March was, as you by now know, a historic success. We have every reason to believe that it marks a turning point in the struggle of the Negro for justice and equality.

We are always grateful for such encouragement and expressions of support as yours.

Sincerely,

BR/tl

BAYARD RUSTIN
Deputy Director

The Workmen's Circle

אַרבעטער ריינג

CITY COMMITTEE MONTREAL

שטאָט קאָמיטעט מאָנטרעאל

4848 St. Lawrence Blvd. — VI. 9-9756

A. Philip Randolph
Committee for the March
on Washington,
170 W. 130th Street
New York 27, N.Y.

Montreel August 28, 1963.

We Express our solidarity with your March on Washington Composed of citizens of all races and colours and hope that your aims will be fully achieved and your struggle completely vindicated.

Abraham Lincoln's famous dictum that freedom is indivisible has an even wider application today as the struggle for freedom is universal. Your achievement of freedom and equality for the American Negro is ~~universal.~~ essential to the struggle and equality the world ower. Its delay could bring turmoil and bitter discouragement to all those who are fighting on the frontiers of freedom on all continents of the globe.

We join with you in the fervent hope that August 28th, 1963, will mark a great milestone in the broadening and extension of human dignity, freedom and equality everywhere.

Jewish Socialist organization
" B U N D "
in Montreal,
Pres. P. Wolkovitch

Workmen's Circle
in Montreal,
Pres. Prof. Arthur Lermer

West

NEW

West Side News

10¢ Per Copy

Th

Teeners Join Rights March

Teenagers at the Lincoln Square Neighborhood Center have decided to take a stand on civil rights and join the August 28th March on Washington.

The teen-agers were moved to action by a program presented by a small group of members of the Congress on Racial Equality. The CORE program featured a lecture by social worker Preston Wilcox.

The teenagers, until then apathetic about the problems of discrimination, discussed their feelings with Wilcox. Although many of the teenagers are Negro, they said they had no experience with discrimination and wanted to know why they should get "involved" in any protest movement.

Feel Discomfort

As they discussed their experiences with Wilcox, however, the youths explained that, while they feel comfortable in their own neighborhood, they do have a feeling of discomfort elsewhere. They were also uneasy about getting jobs, to the extent that they would not even apply for some jobs.

During the discussion, they realized that they did experience discrimination in jobs as well as other matters. This knowledge encouraged them to consider taking part in the August 28th March on Washington.

Plans were made to send a busload of lcoal teens to Washington, and a dance was held to help defray expenses. A jazz club at the Neighborhood Center donated $25 from its treasury toward the cost of the trip.

On their own initiative. a small group of the teenagers joined pickets at the White Castle in the Bronx.

Large Movement

By planning to participate in the March on Washington the teenagers join other West Side groups, which are being coordinated by the West Side Committee on Civil Rights.

This committee, set u p in April to act on problems facing minority groups on the West Side, is now carrying on a massive recruitment program to send as many West Siders as possible to Washington August 28th.

The Committee has been hiring buses. Those who cannot go to Washington have been asked to contribute bus-fare so that their unemployed neighbors can make the trip.

Leave at Dawn

The buses chartered by the Committee will leave 95th Street and Amsterdam Avenue at dawn

(Continued on Page 4)

Page missing in original

December 3, 1963

Rt. Rev. Arthur Lightenberger
Presiding Bishop Episcopal Church
815 2nd Avenue
New York N.Y.

Dear Rev. Lightenberger:

On behalf of Rafael Martinez, 1909 Amsterdam Avenue, New York 32, New York, a former employee, who was dismissed subsequently to his involvement in a Civil Rights demonstration.

I would just like to express my feelings about Mr. Martinez in regard to his devotion and articulate behavior. I sincerely hope that his involvement and subsequent loss of time at work was not the reason for the termination of his employment. Mr. Martinez in my opinion is a very responsible person who has assumed the task of caring for his mother and father who are both sick.

Mr. Martinez has told me that he was dismissed without severance pay two days before he was to assume jury duty. He was given as a reason for his dismissal incompetence, and an a inability to get along with the other lmembers of your staff.

I realize that you have many responsibilities, but I would be grateful if you could look into this matter.

Sincerely,

BR/tl

BAYARD RUSTIN
Deputy Director

December 3, 1963

Miss Velman Georges, church clerk
Mt. Moriah Baptist Church
2050 5th Avenue
NEW York, New York

Dear Miss Velman Georges:

Thank you so much for your letter of August 29th, and please accept my apologies for the delay in answering.

Unfortunately, we do not have 300 copies of the pledge cards., but I am enclosing a sample with the suggestion that your church duplicate it or print it for distribution. For written copies of the Lincoln Memorial speech I suggest that you contact Dr. John Morsell of the National office of the NAACP, 20 W 40th Street, NY NY.

Meanwhile, the March on Washington office has produced a recording of the Lincln Memorial speeches for which the enclosed material will give you all of the necessary information.

If there is any way i can be of further assistance please do not hesitate to call upon me. Thank you for your interest and support.

Sincerely,

BR/tl

BAYARD RUSTIN
Deputy Director

MT. MORIAH BAPTIST CHURCH
2050 5th Ave. N. Y. C.
REV. J. S. GIVENS D.D. PASTOR

August 29, 1963

Dear Sir:

We are requesting pledge cards to be given to our members to mail in to our Congressmen. We would like 300 at this time to be given out in our weekly service which begins tonight. Will copies of the speeches be available later and the price?

Sincerely yours,

VELMA GEORGES, CHURCH CLERK
HOME EN 9-4642
CHURCH AT 9-9488

December 3, 1963

Mr. Ronnie Brown
20 Share Acres
Quonset Pint
Rhode, Island

Dear Mr. Brown:

Thank you so much for your letter of August 28th, I apologize for the so belated reply.

Enclosed is the pledge card you requested. The booklet "We shall Overcome", is being distributed by the National Urban League, in New York for $1.00. Since the proceeds of this sale go to the March on Washington I would hope that you would write to the National Urban League for your copy.

Thank you again for your letter and your support.

Sincerely,

BAYARD RUSTIN
Deputy Director

BR/tl

20 Shore acres
Quonset Point
Rhode, Island
August 28, 1963

Dear Sir:
I would like for you to send me a card for the pledge that I made at washington. I would like to put it in my NAACP scrapbook and keep it. I would also like for you to send me a book entitled "We Shall Overcome". I didn't have time to stay and recieve these things. So if you have any left please send me one. I'll pay for postage when it gets here.

yours Sincerely
Mr. Ronnie Brown

December 4, 1963

Mr. Julian Griggs
302 Wedgewood Drive
Oakville, Ontario

Dear Mr. Griggs:

Thank you for your letter of October 7th and for your kind words about the March on Washington.

The March on Washington movement is planning two major national projects for the Thanksgiving-Christmas period. One of them will be a selective buying campaign with implications similar to those attached to your suggestion for a sample boycott. You will be receving information about these projects.

With regard to possible to action in the event Congress fails to pass strong civil rights legislation, I will put your comments before the March on Washington committee.

Thank you again for your letter and for your interest and support.

Sincerely,

BAYARD RUSTIN
Deputy Director

JULIAN GRIGGS
302 WEDGEWOOD DRIVE
OAKVILLE, ONTARIO

Oct. 7

Mr Byard Rustin
C/o FOR
Nyack N.Y.

Dear Mr. Rustin:

I hope you can excuse my spelling of your first name. There seems to be no paper handy now where I can find the correct spelling.

As one who greatly appreciates your tremendous contributions towards a healthier society and in particular your recent major achievements re the MARCH ON WASHINGTON may I pass on to you a suggestion from a keen sociologist? Very likely the idea has already occurred to you. On the rare chance that it has not , I write this.

Dr. Jerome Laulicht and I were discussing how the civil rights movement might generate yet more voltage in its efforts to convince the House and Senate re civil rights legislation. ...He mentioned how wonderful it would be if you could achieve national organization, then prove it. For instance, if the leadership could call for a sample boycott, throughout the south, just as a demonstration of what might come next. ...If this didn't do the trick re legislation, etc. really turn on a lengthy boycott, starting on the same day in hundreds of communities in several states.

Cordially,

Julian Griggs

Julian Griggs

(Similar letter to James Farmer & M. L. King Jr.)

— This would be a job of huge proportions. — Can it be done? — Is it worth the cost?

December 4, 1963

The Rev. N. Robbins Winslow Jr.
St John's Episcopal Church
188 Lafayette Avenue
Passaic, New Jersey

Dear Rev. Winslow:

Thank you for your letter of September 14th. The march on Washington has produced a recording of the speeches made at the Lincoln Memorial.

The enclosed material will give you all the necessary information and I will be happy to forward a copy to you.

Thank you for your interest and I look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely,

BR/tl

BAYARD RUSTIN
Deputy Director

ST. JOHN'S EPISCOPAL CHURCH
188 LAFAYETTE AVENUE
PASSAIC, NEW JERSEY

THE REV. RICHARD N. BOLLES
Rector

THE REV. N. ROBBINS WINSLOW, JR.
Curate

14 Sept. 63

Dear Sir:

How can I get copies or recordings of the speeches made at the March? I should be glad to pay for them.

Please send information!

Thank you,

Robbins Winslow

Free Tutoring, Inc.
160 West 73rd Street
New York 23, N.Y.

Dear Bayard,

It's so marvelous that you have consented to be guest of honor at our little fund-raising champagne party, which we hope to arrange at the Dakota.

It will mean a great deal to the children to be able to identify with what you do, and have, and will do, for the cause of freedom and justice for all of us — in America and throughout the world.

If you could possibly make the date a Sunday afternoon, about the 10th or 17th of November, that would be excellent. Or if a day other than a Sunday would be better for you — or the Sunday of the 24th of November — we will see about that.

Please let me know just as soon as possible, Bayard, so I can start the wheels rolling.

I talked to Morris Abram, the lawyer who upset the county-unit system in Georgia, and who is bringing suit* about the five people jailed to be tried at Americus. He was a schoolboy friend of my husband's. He wants to come to the party, too, and he says he very much admired a talk you gave over TV the other night, but have not yet met you.

Please let me know, Bayard, as soon as maybe, and thank you so much.

With admiration for the splendid things you are doing,

Affectionately,

Kitty

* against the local and state authorities.

REE TUTORING, INC.
160 ~~170~~ WEST 73rd STREET
NEW YORK 23, NEW YORK

If the Space Age is to fulfill, and not end, our dreams, the new generation must be educated more fully than was conceivable a century ago. And nowhere are the needs for education, and opportunities for using it, greater than in New York.

Yet we all know the city has been severely struck by the population explosion--a situation made more difficult by language barriers and cultural differences.

While we fumble with the budget deficit--and the poorer schools do not even have a book for every child!--there is no immediate help except through volunteers. The NEED IS NOW.

A group has been working since January, 1960, pioneering a program in which it has now taught over 1000 children sent by the schools, teaching virtually all school subjects with the wonderful help over these 3-1/2 years of 257 volunteer tutors. These tutors have included professors, college students, high school honor students recommended by their schools, people here with the United Nations, housewives, businessmen, and former tutoring students--who have returned to help others.

We have been incorporated a year, as Free Tutoring, Inc., and we hope soon to put the program on a secure financial footing. Meanwhile, we are asking for donations from individuals so that children who need it, can receive tutoring assistance which they could never afford at the usual rates of $5 to $10 an hour.

Among educators giving their services to the Free Tutoring Board are: Dr. Bess Cameron of Hunter College, President; Dr. Edwin Van Kleeck, Assistant Commissioner of Education for New York State; Dr. Rose Mukerji, of Brooklyn College; Dr. Edward Gottlieb, Principal of P.S. 165; Doris Guenter, high school teacher; and Dr. Norman Thomas. On the Lay Board are: Phyllis Grunauer, Director of Youth Services for New York City, Secretary; the Hon. Jerome Kretchmer; Raymond Guenter; Robert Clampitt; the Hon. Theodore Weiss; the Hon. Manfred Ohrenstein; the Hon. Albert Blumenthal; Alice Arrington; Hon. Dorothy Walasek; and Bayard Rustin.

In a program to expand horizons, a member of the Columbia Engineering School will meet students there to discuss engineering careers, and Fleda Jones will conduct tours of laboratories for those interested in biological research or medicine at Medical Center.

About 80% of our pupils were accepted by honor schools last year--a wonderful thing for them, while many of the other 20% who came for remedial work to prevent dropouts, showed encouraging progress.

Can you help? * With tutoring? - if you can read English, you can help children with language barriers!

*With money?

* Or in any way that suggests itself to you.

Your help for the children will give satisfaction to you.

COPPIN STATE COLLEGE
2500 WEST NORTH AVENUE
BALTIMORE 16, MARYLAND
Home address: 3704 Winterbourne Rd, Baltimore 16, Md.

Dear Bayard,

Martin and I talked over the telephone last night. Since we had not heard from you, we have had to cancel the meeting for Saturday. Other committments are now made. No doubt you were out of town and my message was not fowarded to you.

Let's try again on October 24. Martin is scheduled to appear here in Baltimore on that afternoon. I suggested to him and he agreed to come in from New York the night before or very early that morning. Could you be sure to be in Baltimore on that date by 9 a.m?

If so, please let Martin and me know soon.

If you have some propositions that you would like for us to consider before hand, please send same along.

Regards,

Larry

L D Reddick

I just got your telegram after I had written this.

December 4, 1963

Miss Katleen Edeston
Box # 331
Graduate Residence Center
Indiana university
Bloomington, Indiana

Dear Miss Edgeston:

Thank you for your recent letter requesting information about Dr. King's speech at the Lincoln Memoial.

Our office has no printed copies of Dr. King's speech, but I understand Dr. John Morsell of the National office of the NAACP is, preparing one. The March on Washington can send you a recording of all the Lincoln Memorial addresses. Should you wish to order this album, the enclosed order blank will give you all the necessary details.

If I can be of any further assistance please do not hesitate to call upon me.

Sincerely,

BAYARD RUSTIN
Deputy Director

BR/tl

Box 331
Graduate Residence Center
Indiana University
Bloomington, Indiana

"March on Washington"
170 W. 130th St.
New York, New York

Dear Sirs:

Dr. Martin Luther King's August 28th speech in Washington would make an excellent subject for study in the Public Speaking course I teach at Indiana University. Can you suggest how I might obtain printed, taped and/or recorded versions of that speech?

Thank you for your help.

Sincerely yours,

Kathleen Edgerton

December 4, 1963

Mr. Lawrence Mck. Miller, Jr.
Friends General Conference of the
Religious Society of Friends
1520 Race Street
Phila. 2, Pa.

Dear Larry,

Please forgive me delaying so long in thanking you for your very kind note of August 21st.

Your words of support came at a crucial time, and I am deeply appreciative. You will never know how important the encouragement and support of my friends has been in these circumstances.

Sincerely,

BR/tl

BAYARD RUSTIN
Deputy Director

FRIENDS GENERAL CONFERENCE

of the Religious Society of Friends

An association of Baltimore, Canadian, Illinois, Indiana,
New England, New York, Philadelphia, and South Central Yearly Meetings,
and Green Pastures Quarterly Meeting

1520 Race Street
Philadelphia 2, Pa.
LOcust 7-1965

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SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE
Esther Holmes Jones
NGO Representative to the United Nations

August 21, 1963

Bayard Rustin
War Resisters League
5 Beekman Street
New York 38, New York

Dear Bayard:

I was distressed to see in the newspapers the attack on you by a member of Congress. I thought that your reply to the attack, especially as reported by the New York Times, was excellent, and you justly deserve the support you immediately received from leaders of the civil rights movement.

Let me simply add my word of confidence and support. I am personally gratified to have you as a member of the Religious Society of Friends and so identified in the public press.

Sincerely yours,

Larry

Lawrence McK. Miller, Jr.
General Secretary

LM:mjm

December 4, 1963

Mr. Albert C. Neisser
7112-3 44th Street
Chevy Chase Md. 20015

Dear Mr. Neisser:

Mr. Randolph has asked me to reply to your kind letter of August 29th, let me also apologize for this belated answer but we have been so deluged with mail that I am only just beginning to make a dent in it.

There is a possibility of a large publishing house making arrangements pertaining to the March in the near future. We now have an official recording of the Lincoln Memorial speeches.

In any case we are grateful for your suggestion.

Sincerely,

BR/tl

BAYARD RUSTIN
Deputy Director

Albert C. Neisser
7112 - 44 Street
Chevy Chase, Md., 20015

August 29, 1963

SPECIAL DELIVERY

Mr. A. Randolph
March on Washington
170 West 130 Street
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Randolph:

What a day! -- Just a suggestion: I just talked on the phone with a gentleman in your office whose name I do not know. I was on the Washington Memorial grounds yesterday, and I think many more people should read the speeches.

If you could establish immediate contact with some large publishing house, like Knopf or Doubleday, or other, they would probably be willing to bring out a book entitled "The Message of the March on Washington" with all the speeches, some pictures, the lyrics and music of the songs -- and if it would come out within a week or ten days it would probably be a best-seller for a month -- enough royalties to finance all the follow-up marches.

Try it! God bless you!

Respectfully yours,

Albert C. Neisser

Albert C. Neisser

December 4, 1963

Mrs. Flora Wade
1364 Springdale Road
Atlanta 7, Ga.

Dear Mrs. Wade:

Your letter to Mr. Wilkins of October 8th has been forwarded to me. I regret that a heavy schedule has prevented me from answering it before now.

Your suggestion of a Christmas seal with the Birmingham tradegy as its theme is an excellent idea. It would have special value as a joint expression by the major civil rights organizations. However, a number of problems arise.

I doubt very much, however, that the March on Washington, representing the major civil rights organizations as well as religious and labor groups involved in the struggle for freedom, could implement your suggestion. As a matter of policy , our office refrains from engaging in activities which would conflict with projects traditionally carried out by any of the established civil rights organizations. We have for example, rejected proposals to sell Christmas cards this year, because the sale of such cards has traditionally been an activity of Core. Similarly, we should not want to circulate Christmas seals which might adversely affect the circulation of Christmas seals by the NAACP. We are mandate , by its component organizations to engage in those activities which might further the cause of united civil rights action while not duplicating the efforts of other groups or moving into fields preentered by them.

None-the-less, I want you to know that we are grateful for your suggestion. I am enclosing a copy of the brochure describing the latest project of the March on Washington, in which I hope you will want to participate. Thank you again for your letter. Please let me know if I can be of further assistance.

Sincerely

BR/tl

BAYARD RUSTIN
Deputy Director

1324 Springdale Road
Atlanta 9, Georgia
8 October 1963

Mr. Roy Wilkins
President, N.A.A.C.P.
N.A.A.C.P.
New York, New York

42286 OCT-9'63

Dear Sir:

In line with the desire of many people to express concern over the tragedies of Birmingham during the Christmas season, you might wish to consider providing a Christmas seal as a gracious means of showing this commitment. When the idea of a Christmas seal first came to me, I thought

of it as a message which directly referred to the bombing of the church in Birmingham. But a seal which quietly gave a message of faith in men would be in keeping with the Christmas season where a seal would not that thrust a political controversy or personal tragedy brusquely into the consciousness of the receiver of a Christmas card or gift. The seal could be done in quiet colors, perhaps entirely in green. A list of sponsoring civil rights organizations might frame the central message and any visual image. If the design were

executed by a major artist - my mind leaps to Ben Shahn or Eliot Noyes, architect and designer for IBM — and the message well chosen, the seal would make possible for Americans the addition to their Christmas messages of an expression of involvement in the gains and tragedies of 1963.

Yours truly,

Flora Wade

(Mrs. Holman Fay Wade)

December 4, 1963

Mrs. Winifred J Gray
17 Glenwood Avenue
Apt. Di
Buffalo 9, New York

Dear Mrs. Gray:

Your letter to CBS requesting the address of Dr. King at the Lincoln Memorial has been forwarded to our office. For a written copy of the address I suggest that you write Dr. John Morsell, National office of the NAACP , 20 West 40th Street, New York New York. Iunderstand he is preparing the written the text of the Lincoln Memorial speeches.

The March on Washington office has produced a recording of which the enclosed letter will give you complete instructions.

Please let me know if we can be of further assistance.

Sincerely,

BR/tl

BAYARD RUSTIN
Deputy Director

March on Washington

W. J. GRAY
17 Glenwood Avenue
Apartment # D I
Buffalo 9, New York

"C. B. S."
Radio City
New York, New York

Gentlemen:

I would like the address that Martin Luther King gave at Lincoln Memorial after the march in Washington D.C.

Would you please inform me as to how I may receive this? Thank You

Sincerely,
Mrs. Winifred J. Gray

P.S.
My address is on the enclosed self-addressed envelope.
W. J. G.

December 4, 1963

Mr. John M Swomley, Jr.
Saint Paul School of Theology
5110 Cherry Street
Kansas City 10, Missouri

Dear John,

Thank you for your note of November 14th. I am enclosing a brochure describing our current project.

As you know, we had planned a nation-wide Christmas selective and buying campaign. However, the representative character of the March on Washington has slowed down the execution of these projects. I personally am of the view that we could fruitfully carry on both the projects described in the enclosed brochure and the selective buying campaign simultaneously. I think they would reinforce one another very effectively. Experience also teaches me that it is wise to give people wide variety of activities in which they can engage.

I will keep you informed about our projects and hope that you will keep in touch with me.

Sincerely,

BR/tl

BAYARD RUSTIN
Deputy Director

SAINT PAUL SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY
METHODIST
A GRADUATE SCHOOL
5110 CHERRY STREET KANSAS CITY 10, MISSOURI 64110

SOCIAL ETHICS
PHILOSOPHY OF RELIGION
JOHN M. SWOMLEY, JR.

November 14, 1963

Mr. Bayard Rustin, Duputy Director
March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom
170 West 130 Street
New York 27, New York

Dear Bayard:

I was glad to get your letter and to know of some continuing activity. Although at one time the March on Washington was front page news here, there seems to be no information at all of its continued existence. So if there are activities between Thanksgiving and Christmas, send the information along and we'll get the word around.

Best wishes,

John

John M. Swomley, Jr.

JMS:jkd

December 4, 1963

Mr. Ralph A. Rose
The Turnpike Press Inc.
7331 Little River Turnpike
Annadale, Virginia

Dear Ralph:

Please forgive this belated reply to your letter of September 10th.

Our office has no printed copies of Dr. King's speech at the Lincoln Memorial. Dr. John Morcell, of the NAACP National office, 20 W. 40th Street, New York City, is , I, believe , working on the preparation of a written texts. The March on Washington office has produced a recording of all the Lincoln Memorial speeches. THere is enclosed material regarding the record. Meanwhile I suggest you get in touch with Dr. Morcell, with whom you may be able to work out a satisfactory arrangement for the reprinting of Dr. King's speech.

Sincerely,

BR/tl

BAYARD RUSTIN
Deputy Director

THE TURNPIKE PRESS INC.
7331 LITTLE RIVER TURNPIKE
ANNANDALE, VIRGINIA CL 6-3444

September 10, 1963

Mr. Bayard Rustin
War Resistors League
5 Beekman Street
New York, New York 20038

Dear Bayard:

From where I stood in the crowd I could not recognize your face, but I was grateful to know you were there and were giving such useful service.

There has been a demand here for copies of Martin Luther King's speach and I am wondering if it has been reprinted? If not, is there a chance that we could make a suitable reprint? Dave Scull and I have undertaken a number of projects of this kind on a cost-basis, assuming such publishing risk as might be involved. If there is a reprint available we would like to buy 100 copies, if not perhaps we could talk about such a printing.

Cordially,

Ralph

Ralph A. Rose

RAR:jfm

December 5, 1963

Mr. David Garson
Box #202-37
Wilcox Hall
Princeton New Jersey 08540

Dear Mr. Garson:

Thank you for your kind note and for the clipping from the DAILY PRINCETONIAN. As I wrote Jon, I think that the reporter took some of my statements out of context, or at least they seemed a little strange to me.

I very much enjoyed the trip to Princeton and the discussion that followed my talk. I am increasingly coming to the view that the civil rights movement aught to cease all activities for a couple of weeks and devote itself to the kinds of discussions that we had at princeton. They certainly seem to be in a crisis as to direction. In any case, I found our discussion in clarifying my own thinking about the number of problems.

Thank you again for inviting me, I hope that I shall have the opportunity to come to Princeton again soon.

Sincerely

FOR [illegible] AND FREEDOM

TK/tl

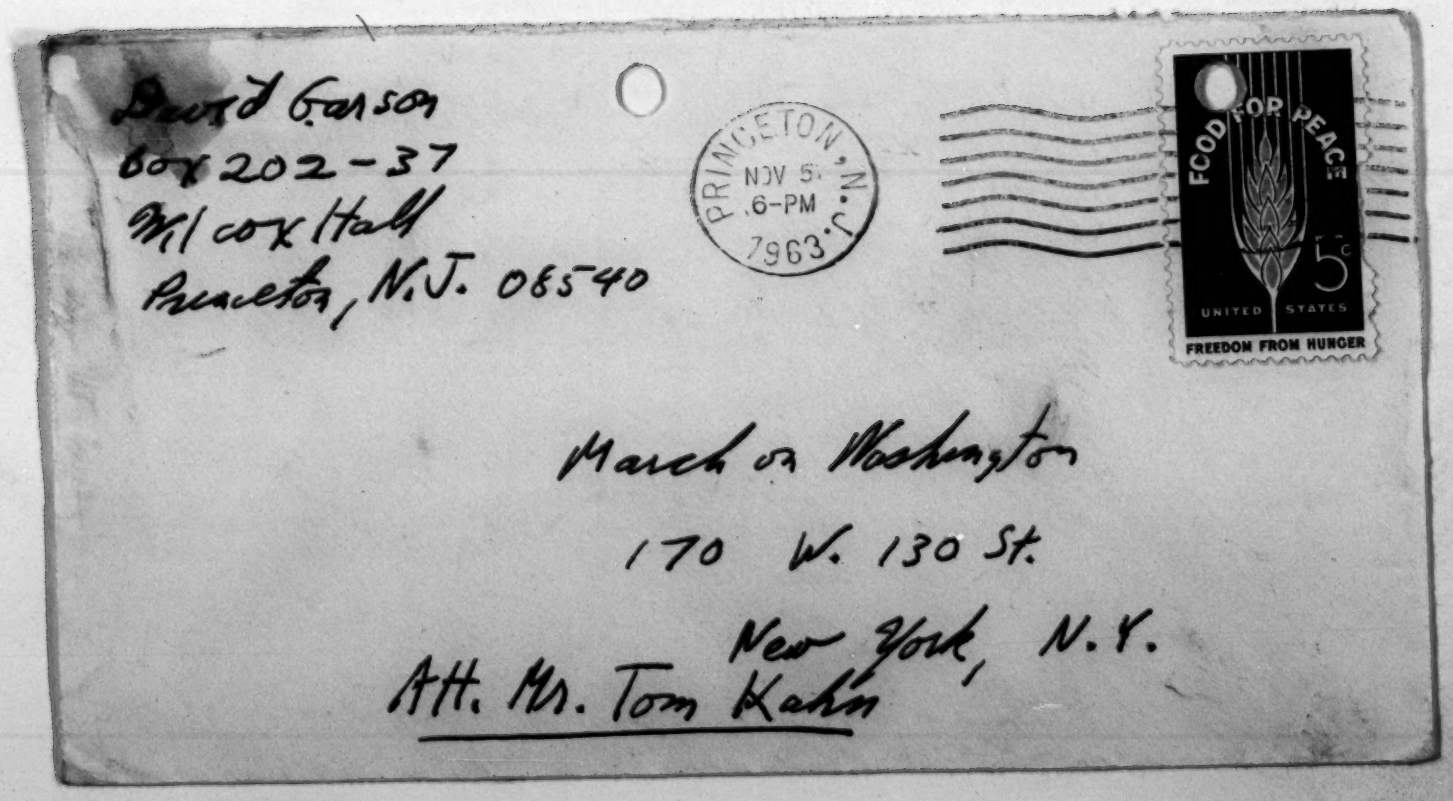
TOM KAHN

Dear Mr Kahn,

Everyone I talked with afterward was impressed with your presentation. We certainly want to thank you for taking the time to come down here. Enclosed is the news clipping of the event.

For peace & freedom,

David Garson



December 5, 1963

Miss Olive M Wehbring
White Plains Public Library
White Plains New York

Dear Mrs. Wehbring:

Thank you for your note of October requesting any material about the March on Washington. I am enclosing sample copies that we issued during the March as well as copies of a brochure describing our latest project.

As you know, the March on Washington is continuing in existance until a strong civil rights bill is passed.

With regard to publications of other groups about the March I would strongly recommend a booklet entitled "The day they Marched", publsihed by Johnson publications. It contains material I am sure will be most helpful to you.

If I can be of any further assistance to you please do not hesitate to call upon me.

Sincerely,

BAYARD RUSTIN
Deputy Director

BR/tl

WHITE PLAINS PUBLIC LIBRARY, WHITE PLAINS, N. Y. 10601

Gentlemen:

I picked up at our local Urban League offices copies of your publications, THE TIME IS NOW and ORGANIZING MANUAL NO. 1. If your organization published anything else either before or since the march we would like a copy for the use of our public. Or if you distribute the publications of other groups about the march, we hope you can send us one copy of each.

Yours truly,

Olive Wehbring

(Mrs.) Olive M. Wehbring
Head, Reference Department

WHITE PLAINS 10 PM 1963 N.Y.

December 5, 1963

Mr. Mort Frankel
175 Fifth Avenue
New York 10, New York

Dear Mort,

Thank you very much for your letter of November 1st.

I am not sure how much of the "white counter-revolution", is the result of calculated minipulation by the mass media and how much is an accurate reflection of changing sentiments of the northern blue-collar community. I do not think we can completely discount the latter. Especially as the economic situation continues to stagnate, and Negro militancy is directed towards winning jobs in a situation in where this can only mean competition with white workers. I think you will hear a good deal more about the "unpopularity", about the civil rights issue among the northern whites. Part of the problem, I think, is due to the failure of the civil rights organizations to advance, as a integral part of their program, a serious call for full employment . The march on Washington was the first civil rights effort of significance to make such a call, and I am sorry to say that the economic demands of the march have tended to be lost. Certainly theyeare not a working part of the day to day activity of the civil rights organizations.

Naturally, other factors are at work and it may be premature to attempt a full analaysis of the "counter-reaction", at this time. I would very much like yohuto keep me informed of the trends in the mass media as you interrupt it. I think we are in for some very diffucult days ahead.

It was good to hear from you again. Please keep in touch.

Sincerely,

BAYARD RUSTIN
Deputy Director

BR/tl

175 Fifth Ave.
New York 10,N.Y.
11/1/63

Bayard Rustin
WRL
N.Y.C.

Dear Bayard,

Thought you might be interested in the following statement caught (and noted down verbatim) on the 8 A.M. CBS Radio World News Roundup Oct. 30:

> "There have been reports that civil rights is an unpopular issue among northern whites, particularly blue collar Democrats." -- Paul Niven, reporting from Washington.

As a regular listener to this program and a propaganda analyst from way back, I've noticed a definite tendency in recent weeks to slip in slanted or editorialized statements of this kind. Particularly in pickups from Washington, where the CBS Radio news bureau seems to be in particularly reactionary hands.

Of course there have been such "reports" as the fellow spoke of. They form a distinct mass media pattern nowadays. You've probably noticed how even a "liberal" like Marquis Childs hopped on the bandwagon in his own subtle way. (See 10/31 clipping attached)....The point is that when a radio network starts doing it, they are vulnerable to protest especially if the protests are accompanied by complaints to the F.C.C.

Best regards,

Mort

Mort Frankel

1963

Southern Strategy

MARQUIS CHILDS

Washington.

The strategy of the Southern segregationists in their war against the Kennedys and the North is not to be discounted. The goal is to hold change to a bare minimum in the conviction that Northerners will themselves be alienated by the tactics of Negro leaders who seek by public demonstrations to make their case.

Thanks to the one-party system prevailing in most of the South and to seniority, their representatives in Congress are strategically placed to delay and obstruct civil rights legislation. The odds at the moment are probably against passage of a civil rights bill at this session. While Northern bickering and bungling have something to do with it, if this is the outcome the Southern bloc can take a big share of the credit.

* * *

The deepest of the Deep South is Mississippi and there, as this reporter observed recently, the effort is to keep the struggle on a cold war basis. The visitor is told that everything is fine. If it weren't for a few outside agitators there would be no trouble at all.

Gov. Barnett says Mississippi's industrial development is moving right ahead. If figures provided by the Dept. of Commerce in Washington show that other Southern states are making faster progress, then those figures are wrong and Mississippi's figures are right.

Under a system of community bond issues plants are built with public funds, the key handed to an incoming industrialist who pays a form of rent that services the bonds and then after a period of years he owns the plant. A right-to-work law in the state constitution keeps union influence down and wages low.

Resisters and nonconformists are squeezed out. At the beginning of last year 28 younger Methodist ministers signed a statement calling for freedom of the pulpit and for public schools to remain open if they were integrated. Only 12 are left in the state and one more is soon to go.

Recently six teams of Methodist ministers from Illinois were joined by Negroes in Jackson, the capital, and they sought to join in Sunday worship. Three teams were arrested, law enforcement officers entering the churches in two instances to carry out the arrest, according to the ministers. They were held in jail under $1,000 bond. Federal Judge William H. Cox, an appointee of the Kennedy Administration, said:

"You came here looking for trouble and you found it."

The University of Mississippi at Oxford is now 100 per cent white with the dismissal of Cleve McDowell, a Negro law student, who was found to be carrying a pistol. Up to 20 per cent of the faculty have left since the riots over the admission of James Meredith. One of those leaving was the distinguished dean of the law school, Robert J. Farley.

* * *

The cold war can turn hot. The murder of Medgar Evers in Jackson in June removed an outstanding leader of the NAACP whom many consider irreplaceable. No one has been prosecuted for that murder.

Are Northern whites being alienated by Negro tactics? Lt. Gov. Paul Johnson, the traditionalist Democrat running for Governor, says he has had 65,000 letters from every part of the North sympathizing with the segregationist stand. Time, if one accepts this view, is on the side of the resisters.

December 5, 1963

Mr. Wiley Branton
Council for United Civil Rights Leadershop
10 East 44th Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Branton:

Thank you very much for your letter of October 17th and for the copy of the Council's record of the March on Washington. I have listened to the record with great pleasure.

I think it dramatically captures the spirit of the occasion perhaps better than the recording issued by the March on Washington, although the latter contains the full texts of the speeches made at the Lincoln Memorial.

I was glad to have been of assistance, and look forward to a warm working relationship between the council for civil rights leadership and the March on Washington.

Sincerely,

BAYARD RUSTIN
Deputy Director

BR/tl

Council for
UNITED CIVIL RIGHTS
Leadership

10 EAST 44TH STREET, NEW YORK 17, N. Y.
MUrray Hill 2-0283

Whitney M. Young, Jr.
Stephen R. Currier
Co-chairmen

PARTICIPATING ORGANIZATIONS
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
National Urban League
National Council of Negro Women
N.A.A.C.P. Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc.
Congress of Racial Equality
Southern Christian Leadership Conference
Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee

October 17, 1963

Mr. Bayard Rustin,
c/o March on Washington Office,
170 West 130th Street,
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Rustin:

I am pleased to send you this copy of the record of the March on Washington which was produced by the Council for United Civil Rights Leadership, and has just been released.

We believe that the spirit of the March - and your role in it - is movingly captured on this record. Most important, it will help keep the civil rights movement alive because the organizations comprising the Council will reap the financial benefits from its sale and will be enabled to continue to work effectively.

Your cooperation in helping to make this possible is deeply appreciated. On behalf of the seven agencies comprising the Council, I wish to extend to you our sincere thanks.

Sincerely yours,

Wiley Branton

Wiley Branton

Enclosure

December 5, 1963

Miss Selma James
20 Staverton Road
London N W 2 England

Dear Miss James:

Thank you very much for your letter of October 21st, and I regret that the press of urgent business has prevented me from replying sooner.

Needless to say, we of the March on Washington are extremely grateful for the expression of support which you conveyed to us from the October 20th meeting of English, West Indian and American people in London.

Support of our movement by abroad has been one of the most potent factors, as you know, in advancing the cause of the Negro's struggle for freedom. It was therefore with great pleasure that I forwarded your heartening message to the leaders of the March on Washington movement. The March on Washington continues in existance and has several new projects in the offing.

Thank you again for your letter.

Sincerely,

BR/tl

BAYARD RUSTIN
Deputy Director

20 Staverton Road
London, N.W 2
ENGLAND.

21st October, 1963

Bayard Rustin, Esq.
March on Washington Committee
c/o National Urban League
14 E. 48th Street
New York 17, New York
U.S.A.

Dear Mr. Rustin,

A group of English, West Indian and American people in London yesterday, October 20th, held a meeting at which it was decided to dispatch to you the following telegram:

"This representative meeting at Conway Hall, London, requests you to convey greetings and admiration to all fighters for jobs and freedom,particularly Philip Randolph, James Baldwin, Reverend Martin Luther King, John Lewis, James Farmer and Roy Wilkins. We recognize the significance of their efforts for freedom everywhere and pledge to do all within our power to advocate and assist in whatever way presents itself."

It was signed by the Chairman, Dr. David Pitt; the speakers, Mr. Colin MacInnes, Mr. William Bond and Mr. C.L.R. James; and twenty-five of those present, namely: Janet Vincent, Oswald Murray, C. Mall, R. Baird, Andrew Salkey, J. Strautner, Cyril Charles, Leo Laurencin, Norris Merchant, Noel Traal, G. Attalit, James J. O'Malley, Kevin J. Simms, D.A. Abrams, J.B. Abrams, James Cummings, Greg Williams, K. Wilson, R.M. Koffler, Selma James, Gwyneth Jones, R. McKenzie, Leslie S.A. Jones, Maria Havelka, M. van Gelderen, Jocelyn Barrow, Tony Smith.

A committee from the hall was formed which is to work out, in consultation with those in the United States engaged in the struggle, ways of implementing the pledge "to do all within our power to advocate and assist" the American movement.

May I add that the feeling of the meeting was of a great desire to serve the inspiring struggle now being waged and to give voice here in England to its activities, needs and aims.

Respectfully yours,

Selma James

Selma James

on behalf of the meeting.

December 5, 1963

Mr. Earl B Dickerson
Supreme Life Insurance Company Of America
3501 South Parkway
Chicago 53, Illinois

Dear Mr. Dickerson:

Thank you very much for your letter of October 25th and for your beautiful scroll prepared by the officers and employees of your company.

We are very moved by this gesture of support. In the difficult days ahead, we will need all of the backing that a mass movement can bring to bear, if we are to win a strong civil rights bill by Christmas.

I am enclosing information of the latest project of the March on Washington which has the full support of all of the major civil rights organzations. We look forward to your cooperation in this effort as in previous efforts.

Thank you again for the inspiring scroll.

Sincerely,

BAYARD RUSTIN
Deputy Director

BR/tl

SUPREME LIFE
Insurance Company of America
3501 SOUTH PARKWAY, CHICAGO 53, ILLINOIS
KEnwood 8-5100

October 25, 1963

Committee for the March On Washington
for Jobs and Freedom
170 West 130th Street
New York 27, New York

Gentlemen:

We are happy beyond expression to join with you and countless others in executing the pledge prepared as a development from the March On Washington August 28, 1963. See enclosed the scroll executed by the officers and employees of our Company.

We stand with you in the continuing effort to bring freedom and equality to all our people.

Very sincerely yours,

SUPREME LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY OF AMERICA

Earl B. Dickerson

Earl B. Dickerson
President

GUARDING FAMILY FUTURES FROM COAST TO COAST
S L

Pledge

WE, THE OFFICERS AND EMPLOYEES OF
SUPREME LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY OF AMERICA,
MAIN OFFICE, 3501 SOUTH PARKWAY, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
DO HEREBY INDIVIDUALLY AND SEVERALLY PLEDGE,
IN THE CENTENNIAL YEAR OF EMANCIPATION, OUR
COMPLETE PERSONAL COMMITMENT TO THE STRUGGLE
FOR JOBS AND FREEDOM FOR ALL AMERICANS:

TO FULFILL THAT COMMITMENT, I PLEDGE
THAT I WILL NOT RELAX UNTIL VICTORY IS WON.

I PLEDGE
THAT I WILL JOIN AND SUPPORT ALL ACTIONS
UNDERTAKEN IN GOOD FAITH IN ACCORD WITH
THE TIME-HONORED DEMOCRATIC TRADITION OF
NON-VIOLENT PROTEST, OF PEACEFUL ASSEMBLY
AND PETITION, AND OF REDRESS THROUGH THE
COURTS AND THE LEGISLATIVE PROCESS.

I PLEDGE
TO CARRY THE MESSAGE OF THIS JUST CAUSE
TO MY FRIENDS AND NEIGHBORS, AND TO AROUSE
THEM TO AN EQUAL COMMITMENT AND AN EQUAL
EFFORT. I WILL MARCH AND I WILL WRITE
LETTERS. I WILL DEMONSTRATE AND I WILL VOTE.
I WILL WORK TO MAKE SURE THAT MY VOICE AND
THOSE OF MY BROTHERS RING CLEAR AND DETERMINED
FROM EVERY CORNER OF OUR LAND.

I PLEDGE
MY HEART AND MY MIND AND MY BODY, UN-
EQUIVOCALLY AND WITHOUT REGARD TO PERSONAL
SACRIFICE, TO THE ACHIEVEMENT OF SOCIAL
PEACE THROUGH SOCIAL JUSTICE.

Earl B. Dickerson — President
E. C. Gibson Sr — Chairman of the Board
Edward J. Gilcreast — Vice President-Advertising Director
James H. Dyer — Vice President-Treasurer
Floyd E. Mallory — Vice President-Secretary
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Weatherd G. Sykes

Ruth Lizzie Gilburn

June Gray

Mamie A. Morris

Lucie Hughes

Gertrude N. Evans

Thompson Pratt

Veronica Hone

Joyce Warren

Constance Jefferson

Beverly Christie Bracy

Margaret M. Wilcox

Sylvia Braddix

Edwina G. Latimer

Kenneth T. Wilson

Claudia H. Boose

Helen J. Nigues

Cathie R. Flowers

Adele D. Mills

Deloris F. Reese

Beverly Shuttlesworth

Yvette Holt

Rose Tyus

Marion L. Marshall

Hortense A. Briggs

Lillian P. Lewis

Lolita Sharp

M. Beasley

Joyce Jackson

Thompson Scott
Veronica Hone
Joyce Warren
Constance Jefferson
Beverly Christie Bracy
Margaret M. Wilson
Sylvia Braddy
Edwina G. Latimer
Kenneth T. Wilson
Claudia H. Boose
Helen J. Miguez
Cathie R. Flowers
Adele D. Mills
Deloris F. Reese
Beverly Shuttlesworth
Yvette Hall
Rose Tyus
Marion L. Marshall
Hortense A. Briggs
Lillian P. Lewis
Lolita Sharp
M. Beasley
Joyce Jackson
Gloria L. McMillian
Edith Jackson
Alase M. Pierre
Christine Sterling
Emma Ballou
Elizabeth M. Pierce
Vilma Hutchens
Frances Bunch
Tonja Hyde
Myrtle K. Goldsberry
Jean Orme
Nadine E. Hopson
Jean Fields

Thomas Garrett Jr.
Eugene Austin Wilford
Clarence A. Neal
Godfrey B. Smith
Nora Simmons
Francine E. Lockett
Ella M. Jackson
Bertha M. Wilson
June Davis
Lea Adams
Rosemary Jackson
Bernice Richmond
Bernice Anderson
Darlene Jones
Gale Marshall
William Walker
Celinay M Latimer, Jr.
Yonnie M Wright
Marilyn Duplessis
Josie Sample
Lucille Evans
Jennie J. Sims
Mattie Moore
Belle Parks
Jacqueline A. Hitchcock
Vennonia Bailey
Izetta Craig
Thelma G. King
Carrie B. Houston
Marion White
Charlie M. Sharpe
Doris L. Shorter
Gertrude R. Houston
Norman Rayson

Izetta Craig
Thelma L. King
Carrie B. Houston
Marion White
Charlie M. Sharpe
Doris L Shorter
Gertrude R. Houston
Norman Rosson
Clinton E. Hand Jr
Bernadine Tidwell
Gladys Beaver
Agnes Hale
Julia Wilkes
Velora Johnson
Katherine Moore
Cherie F. Barham
Joan Williams
Mary Lee Harris
Hyacinth Williams
Elaine Joyner
Jacqueline Smith
Rosella Antoine
Audrey Hayley
Dolores J. Polman
Katherine Marshall
Maurice Hartz
Shirley A. Wilford
Catherine Ulert
Pearl D. Thomas
Carrie James
Eiber Crumpton
Edward L. Douglas
Marilyn Abernathy
Kenneth King
Ruth A. Dotson

December 5, 1963

Rev. George E. Zins
24 Pendery Avenue
Wyoming 15, Ohio

Dear Rev. Zins:

Thank you for your letter of October 12th, and please accept my apologies for this belated reply.

Our office does not have the printed texts of the Lincoln Memorial speeches, although we do have a record of the speeches. The enclosed material will give you all of the necessary information.

Meanwhile, I understand that Dr. John Morsell of the National office of the NAACP, is preparing a booklet of the speeches. You might wish to write to him at 20 WEst 40th Street, New York New York.

I am enclosing a brochure announcing the next project in which I know that we have your cooperation. Thank you for sending us your pledge and for circulating the historic Lincoln Memorial speeches. If i can be of further assistance please ldo not hesitate to call upon me.

Sincerely,

BAYARD RUSTIN
Deputy Director

BR/tl

March of Washington Office
Oct. 12, 1963.

Dear Sirs,

I meant to send in my pledge card sooner but it got lost in the shuffle here at home. However I am not just sending in a pledge card but I am seeking the texts for all or most of the speeches which were made at the Lincoln Memorial on Aug 28th. To fully carryout my pledge I am seeking to spread my pleadge to others and I would like them to read these speeches. So if you have them published please send a copy or tell me if and where I can get a copy.

I am gratefully yours,

George Tims
24 Pendery Ave
Wyoming 15, Ohio

March of Washington Office
Oct. 12, 1963.

Dear Sirs,

I meant to send in my pledge card sooner but it got lost in the shuffle here at home. However I am not just sending in a pledge card but I am seeking the texts for all or most of the speeches which were made at the Lincoln Memorial on Aug 28th. To fully carryout my pledge I am seeking to spread my pleadge to others and I would like them to read these speeches. So if you have them published please send a copy or tell me if and where I can get a copy.

I am gratefully yours,

George Ems
24 Pendery Ave
Wyoming 15, Ohio

December 7, 1963

Memo To: Bayard Rustin

From: Rachelle Horowitz

Re: Money needed for first 6 months in Mississippi

* * * * * *

Fare to Mississippi	$80.00
Rent - N.Y. Apartment 81.25 pr month	487.50
Bank Loan -- 30.00 per month	180.00
Rent in Jackson (tentatively $15.00 per month)	90.00
	$837.50

Food and other expenses to be covered by a Sncc subsistence of $10.00 per week.

December 7, 1963

Memo To: Bayard Rustin

From: Rachelle Horowitz

Re: Money needed for first 6 months in Mississippi

* * * * * *

Fare to Mississippi	$80.00
Rent - N.Y. Apartment 81.25 pr month	487.50
Bank Loan -- 30.00 per month	180.00
Rent in Jackson (tentatively $15.00 per month)	90.00
	$837.50

Food and other expenses to be covered by a Snce subsistence of $10.00 per week.

December 9, 1963

Mr. A W Campbell
12600 Shaker Blvd.
Cleveland 20, Ohio

Dear Mr. Campbell:

Please forgive this belated reply to your letter of August 29th. Our office has been deluged with mail, and our small staff has only begun to make a dent in it.

We very much appreciate your kind words and encouragement. Unfortunately, our office does not have printed copies of the Lincoln Memorial speeches but I understand Dr. John Morsell of the NAACP, 20 West 40th Street, New York New York is preparing a booklet of the speeches.

The March on Washington is distributing a recording which the enclosed material will give you all of the necessary information. Thank you again for your warm letter, we are grateful for your support in the great work that lies ahead.

Sincerely,

BAYARD RUSTIN
Deputy Director

BR/tl

12600 Shaker Blvd.
Cleveland, 20, Ohio -44120
August 29,1963

Mr. Bayard Rustin,
March for Jobs and Freedom,
170 West 130th St.
New York, N.Y.

My dear Mr. Rustin:

I am writing to make inquiry as to whether there will be made available to the public, tape recordings and copies of yesterdays magnificent spectacle in Washington. Truly a day to remember, and worthy permanent record.

I am a member in good standing of the Cleveland Chapter,N.A.A.C.P. and am very much interested in purchasing the above items, if they will be available.

Never have I witnessed such a compelling and inspirational scene as greeted me yesterday from seven o'clock A.M. until the last moment of truly a Day To Remember. Please convey my personal congratulations to ALL who responsible for the planning and execution of this dignified demonstration.

I will be very pleased if you will kindly advise me in regard to the above request, as soon as possible, including price etc.

Thanking you and your magnificent co-workers for a job well done,
I remain,

Yours very truly,

A. W. Campbell

A. W. Campbell

December 9, 1963

Mrs. Elise B Allen
4002 E. 24th Street
Kansas City 27, Mo.

Dear Mrs. Allen:

Mr. Randolph, who is out of town has asked me to reply to your kind letter of August 29th. Please forgive this belated answer, but our office has been deluged with mail, and our small staff has only begun to make a dent in it.

We very much appreciate your kind words and encouragement. Unfortunately, our office does not have printed copies of the Lincoln Memorial speeches but I understand Dr. John Morsell of the NAACP, 20 West 40th Street, New York New York is preparing a booklet of the speeches.

The March on Washington is distributing a recording which the enclosed material will give you all of the necessary information. Thank you again for your warm letter, we are grateful for your support and look forward to your continued cooperation in the great work that lies ahead.

Sincerely,

BAYARD RUSTIN
Deputy Director

BR/tl

Thursday August 29, 1963

Mrs. Eloise B. Allen
4002 E. 24th Street
Kansas City 27, Mo.

Mr. A. Philip Randolph, Chairman
March for Jobs and Freedom
170 West 130th Street
N.Y. 27, N.Y.

Dear Sirs:

Please excuse this note, but I was told to mail it right away. I would like very much to have copies of the speeches made by all your speakers yesterday, "March for Freedom". I am willing to purchase them. I have called the Kansas City Star, the Kansas City Call, but the speeches were so magnificent that I just want copies of each and everyone for my three children.

If you cannot will you

(2)

please refer me to someone who can.

May I say here, further, that "The March for Jobs & Freedom" was the most thrilling moment in my life.

We teach Sunday School and I can only say to you for the benifit of all our boys and girls to please continue to do such an excellent job for I do believe that this is what Christ would have you do. It was evident that God was with you and this is one of the manifold reasons why it was such a Glorious Success.

May God Continue to Direct your path. Please let me know if there is anything I can do to help.

Yours very sincerely

(Mrs) Eloise B. Allen
4002 E. 24th St - K.C. 27, Mo.

December 9, 1963

Mr. Robert T Whitcomb
The Presbyterian Institute of Industrial Relations
800 W. Belden Avenue
Chicago 14, Ill.

Dear Mr. Whitcomb:

Mr. Randolph, who is out of town has asked me to thank you on behalf of the Chairman of the March on Washington movement, for your kind letter of September 4th. Please forgive me for this belated reply, but our office has been deluged with mail since the great march.

We are deeply heartened by your words of encouragement. You will be interested to know that the March on Washington is still in existance, and has several new projects in the offing. Literature about these projects will be sent to you.

Thank you so much for your warm words. August 28th certainly was a great day in American history. As Mr. Randolph remarked at the Lincoln Memorial, "We must see to it that the March is only a beginning". We look forward to your continued support in the great struggles that lie ahead.

Sincerely,

BAYARD RUSTIN
Deputy Director

THE PRESBYTERIAN INSTITUTE OF INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS
under the auspices of
The Department of the Urban Church
BOARD OF NATIONAL MISSIONS, UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE U.S.A.
in cooperation with
McCORMICK THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY
800 W. BELDEN AVENUE
CHICAGO 14, ILLINOIS

MARSHAL L. SCOTT, *Dean*
ROBERT T. WHITCOMB,
Director of Administration

LINCOLN 9-3700

September 4, 1963

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
March on Washington
for Jobs and Freedom
170 W. 130th Street
New York 27, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Randolph:

Having been a participant in the historic March on Washington on August 28, I am compelled to add my words of admiration for the skill and spirit with which you, and your Committee, carried out the March.

I am deeply grateful to the leaders of the March for the privilege of participating as a white brother. It is my sincere belief that, had I on that day been participating in an all-white demonstration for some other cause, I could not have felt more welcome or at ease in a group. The conduct of those with whom I marched was exemplary, and I am proud to have contributed even such a small fraction to this effort.

All who made the March a success deserve the nation's humblest thanks. In making this statement, I do so in full recognition of Dr. Blake's timely observation that we must hope and pray that we are on God's side, and there we must try to remain.

Gratefully yours,

R T Whitcomb

Robert T. Whitcomb

RTW:mb

December 9, 1963

Miss Sarah Davidson
522 West 26th Street
N.L.R. Arkansas

Dear Miss Davidson:

Thank you so much for your letter of September 30th, reporting on the March and the service in memory of the children of Birmingham. Please forgive me for not answering your letter sooner, but our office has been so deluged with mail that I am just beginning to make a dent in it. You deserve a great deal of credit for the work you have done.

You will be interested to know that the March on Washington which will continue in existance is planning several new projects. Literature about these projects, in which we beleive that you will want to participate, will soon be loff the press, and I will forward copies to you, as soon as they are available.

Once, again, thank you for your good work, and we look forward to your continued cooperation adn support in the great struggles that lie ahead.

Sincerely,

BAYARD RUSTIN
Deputy Director

522 West 26th Street
N.L.R. Arkansas
September 30, 1963

Mr. Bayard Rustin
170 W. 130 Street
New York 27, New York

Dear Sir:

The North Little Rock Youth NAACP President, Miss Sarah Davidson called a meeting of importance Wednesday September 18, 1963. Mrs Williams had received a telegram giving instructions to hold a silent march on Sunday September 22, for the four Negro girls killed in Birmingham, Alabama, September 15.

1. We met at the home of Mrs. Birdie Williams at 9:30 A.M. Sunday morning.

2. We marched from 2nd & Main - 23rd & Orange to the Mount Pleasant Baptist Church, where the Memorial Service was conducted by the minister Rev. Otis C. Jones.

The service was as follows:

Duet- Jacquelyn Wilson & Linda Hatchett

Poems read by- Diane Watson, Carolyn Smith, Ann Bush & Sarah Davidson

Solo- Mrs. Janie Ruth Butler.

Sermon- The Love that Forgives- Rev. Otis C. Jones

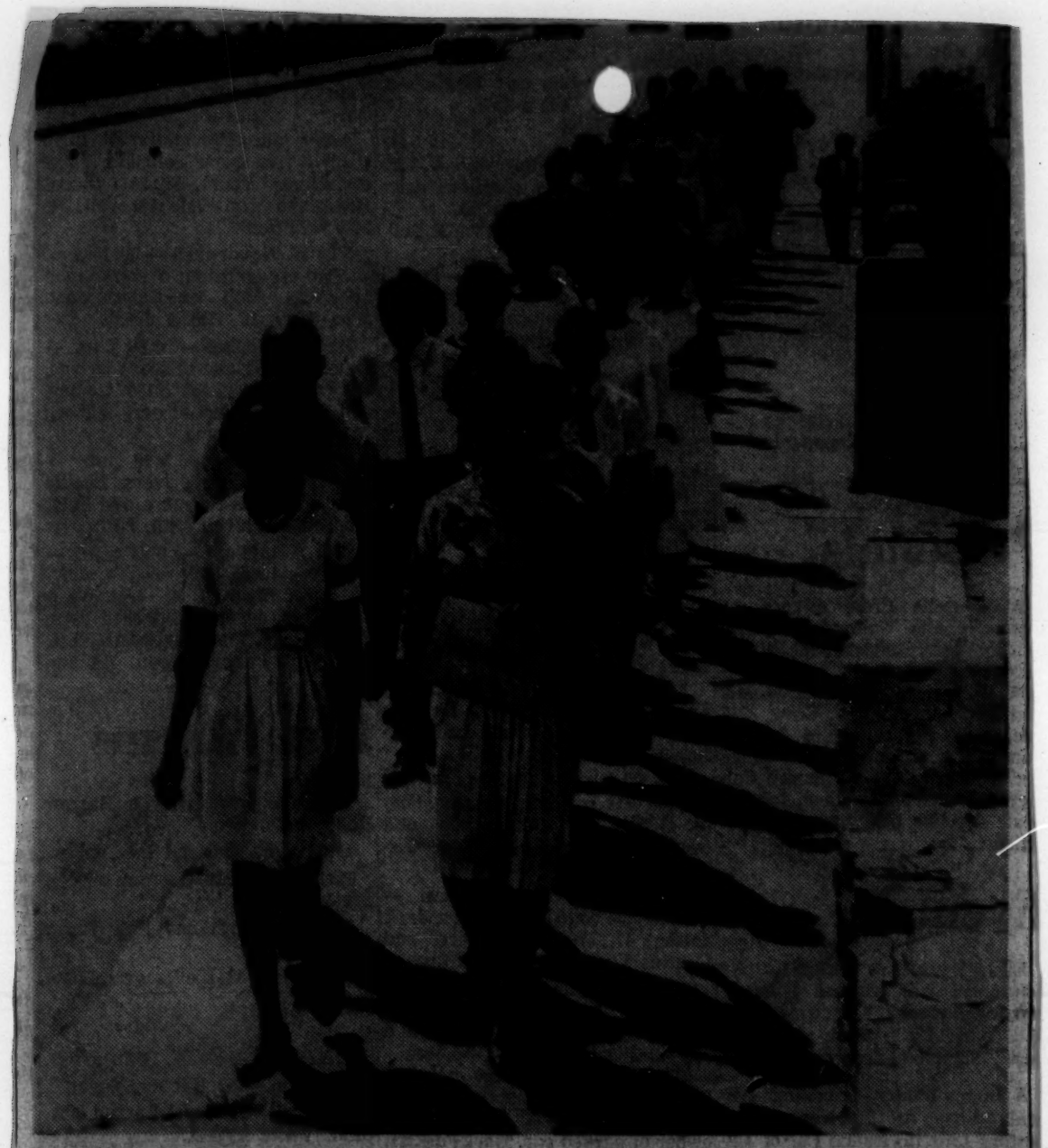
Number of person participating in the march- 80.

Sincerely Yours,
Sarah Davidson
NAACP Youth Council President

—Staff Photo by Dan Miller.

Seventy-five Walked, Few Watched

About 75 Negroes took part in a march and a church service at North Little Rock Sunday to commemorate the four Negro children killed a week before in the bombing of a church at Birmingham. The Negroes walked quietly and largely unnoticed from Second and Main Streets to the Mount Pleasant Baptist Church at Twenty-third and Orange Streets, where the service was held by Rev. Otis Jones. The group is shown here at Twentieth and Main Streets. The march began at 10:15 a. m. and took 45 minutes. It was led by Mrs. Birdie Williams, president of the North Little Rock Branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.



Democrat Photo by Moon

NORTH SIDE MARCHERS — This group of Negroes, shown crossing the Main Street viaduct, marched peacefully, and virtually unnoticed, yesterday in North Little in memory of the four Negro children killed a week before in the bombing of a church in Birmingham. According to one report, the marchers numbered 75. They were led by Mrs. Birdie Williams, president of the North Little Rock branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

December 10, 1963

Mr. Jefferson Poland
c/o CORE
306 Ivey Street
Plaqueimine La.

Dear Mr. Poland:

Thank you for your letter of September 22nd. Please accept my apologies for this belated answer.

The question you raise is an interesting one and certainly can not be exhausted in this correspondance. Let me suggest however that there is nothing in the socialist or pacifist philosopies which outlaws punishment. What distinguishes socialists and pacifists is the kind of punishment they advocate. I am not advocating capital or corporal punishment for the Birmingham bombers. There is nothing in the socialist or pacifist philosophy that condones murder with impunity. I am all for the rehabilitation of even the most depraved and despicable men, but I do not think that such rehabilitation should take place under circumstances which would permit the lives of other Negro children in Birmingham to be constantly in peril. This is not the time to discuss socialist and pacifist views on criminal rehabilitation. I do want to make clear, however, that my position has nothing to do with " an eye for an eye." If it did, I would propose that the Birmingham murders be bombed to death.

Unfortunately, I am not in control of the penal institutions of this society. I do not, however, by virture of that fact forfeit my right to insist that those who brutalize Negroes be accorded the same treatment. I do not happen to believe that policemen play a progressive role in society, but that as long as there are policemen I want the police force to be intergrated. As a pacifist I am opposed to war, but I also insist that so long

as armies exist, Negroes enjoy equal rights in them. Similarly I beleve Negroes should enjoy equal protection of the law even when the state guarantees such protection by means that socialists and pacifists might consider reprehensible.

Someday, we shall all live in a socialist and pacifist world. No group will benefit more from this than the Negro. But I am not sure that the Negroes cause is served by his beginning to live in that world before it exists.

Sincerely,

BAYARD RUSTIN
Deputy Director

Jefferson Poland
c/o CORE
306 Ivey Street
Plaquemine, La.
22 September 1963

C. Bayard Rustin, Deputy Director
March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom
170 West 130 Street
New York 27, New York

Dear Comrade Rustin:

Recognizing the strong emotions aroused by the Birmingham atrocity, I was still shocked to find a socialist and a pacifist endorsing such an irrational, sterile, and inhumane policy as punishment of criminals--- even these. Such approval was implied in the instruction to wear the armbands "until the murderers are caught and punished."

An-eye-for-an-eye is Governor Wallace's prescription for the miserable psychopaths whom he has incited. I would hope that the nonviolent movement for freedom would make a better proposal.

I'm writing this letter as an individual, <u>not</u> as a member or volunteer worker of CORE.

Fraternally,

Jefferson Poland

Jefferson Poland

December 10, 1963

Rep. Robert F. Ellswot
439 House Office Bldg.
Washington 25, D.C.

Dear Congressman Ellsworth:

Please forgive me this belated reply to your letter of August 28th. Not only has the March on Washington been deluged with mail since August 28th, but I hav had to be out of town for long periods of time since then.

Let me say that I appreciate your taking the time to comment on my remarks at the Lincoln Memorial. If my use of the phrase "Dixiecrats and Reactionaly Republicans," conveyed the feeling to you or anyone else that I was attempting to smear Republicans and to let Democrats get off scott free then " I am prepared to admit that the phrase was not well constructed." I must say, however, that at least in the Negro community the term dixiecrats means southern democrats. In any case, what I tried to get across was the fact that right-wings in both parties had in fact entered into an alliance, which is impeding not only Civil Rights legislation, but any progressive social legislatinn. That this alliance exists, is, I think, admitted. It is further my view that, aside from its effects on the cause of Negro freedom tended to undermine responsible party goverment. I Suspect that the forth-coming Civil Rights struggle in Congress will give us ample opportunity to watch t this alliance in operation. I think it is disproportional control of congressional machinery, and it will have to be broken if there is to be real progress on the Civil legislative front.

I hope these remarks make my position clear. Please be assured that I am the last person who would want to see the democrats get off scott free. Quite the contrary, I beleive the failure of Congress to move forward vigoriously on behalf of Civil Rights is a bi-partisan failure. To the extent that street-demostrations by the Negro community constitute a loss of confidence in the legislative process, to that extent, must both parties share in the blame for this loss of confidence. Congress has a opportunity to claim this lost confidence now, and I know that I speak for the other chairmen of the Maren on Washington in expressing the hope that congress is acutely aware of the challenge confronting it and that it will aquit itself with a higher regard for freedom and justice than for political expediancy.

Let me say on behalf of the chairmen, that we very much appreciated your participation in the march and are counting upon your continued support for a Strong Civil Bill.

Sincerely,

A. Philip Randolph, Director

APR/tl

ROBERT F. ELLSWORTH
KANSAS

COMMITTEES:
VETERANS' AFFAIRS
MERCHANT MARINE AND FISHERIES
POST OFFICE AND CIVIL SERVICE

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

WASHINGTON OFFICE:
439 HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING

RICHARD L. BOND
ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT
204 FEDERAL BUILDING
KANSAS CITY, KANSAS
TELEPHONE: MAYFAIR 1-0832

August 28, 1963

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
President, Sleeping Car Porters
170 West 130 Street
New York 27, New York

Dear Mr. Randolph:

Certainly it was a great pleasure for me to be down with you on the steps of the Lincoln Memorial earlier this afternoon attending the meeting which was the culmination of the March for Jobs and Freedom. You and the other leaders of the March are to be commended for the inspiration, the imagination, the leadership, and the organizational ability you have brought to this fine event.

As a Republican who feels deeply about the issue of Civil Rights, and whose records here in the Congress -- not only with respect to votes on the Floor of the House but also with respect to the introduction of strong and comprehensive legislation, and with respect to employment practices on my official Congressional staff -- speaks for itself, however, I want you to know that I took personal offense at the content and the tone of your remarks on the steps of the Lincoln Memorial as those of us who had left the House to come down and join you were toiling up those steps to take our seats beside you.

In those remarks, you took occasion to attack "Dixiecrats and Reactionary Republicans". Of course I do not consider myself a "Reactionary" Republican, and so it might be argued that your remarks did not apply to me or those of my persuasion. However, by using the word Republican and avoiding use of the work Democrat, it struct me forceably and irresistably that you were using the sematics of mass psychology to smear Republicans and to let Democrats get off scot-free.

The truth of the matter is, Mr. Randolph, that there will not be Civil Rights legislation this year except with Republican help. In fact, there will not be Civil Rights legislation this year with-

out Republican leadership and without the help of the titular leadership of the Republican Party here in the House.

For that reason, I feel that -- in addition to offending me personally -- you made a tactical mistake in your remarks there on the steps of the Memorial.

I hope you will accept my comments in the same spirit in which they are offered -- that is in a spirit of constructive and creative criticism.

Those of us who are deeply and irrevocably committed to the cause of full Civil Rights, as well as full equality in every sense of the word in the whole social structure of the United States and of Western Civilization, are deeply grateful to you for your long and inspiring leadership.

Please keep in touch with me, and if there is ever anything at all I can do for you, do not hesitate to let me know.

Warm personal regards and best good wishes.

Sincerely,

Robert F. Ellsworth
Member of Congress

RFE:pc

December 10, 1963

Mr. Kenneth Wheeler
134-52 175th Street
Springfield Gardens 34, New York

Dear Mr. Wheeler:

Thank you so much for your kind letter of August 29th. Copies of Dr. King's speech, I understand from the New York Post for 10¢ a piece. In addition several organizations have put out recordings of the March. The March on Washington has put out an official record which the enclosed material will give you all of the necessary information.

Thank you again for lyour encouraging letter. You will be interested to know that the March on Washington movement is continuing and plans several new projects. I will keep you informed of these projects.

Sincerely,

BAYARD RUSTIN
Deputy Director

BR/tl

August 29, 1963

March on Washington
for Jobs and Freedom
170 West 130th St.
New York 27, New York

sirs:

Having participated in "the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom," I was never so overwhelmed by the spirit of this Civil Rights movement. Many times, being a Negro, at St. Francis College in Brooklyn I've spoken of "the quest for Rights and Freedom," but never as eloquently or movingly as did Rev. King, yesterday. The "I have a Dream" speech was worth everything that was said or has been said to date. Is it at all possible to obtain a copy of those speeches made yesterday, especially Rev. King's dynamic words.

Please forward any information to me:

Kenneth Wheeler
134-52 175th St.
Springfield Gdns. 34, N.Y.

Thank you very much for your attention.

Again, I've taken "the Pledge" and intend to re-dedicate myself to the this "New Revolution" until it is finished, and sooner!

Indeed, the password is Freedom, and the time is Now!

Sincerely,

Kenneth Wheeler

Kenneth Wheeler

December 10, 1963

Mr. Daniel H Schwartz
4320 Van Cortlandt Park East
New York 70, New York

Dear Mr. Schwartz:

Thank you very much for your report of the March follow-up in the Bronx. I think you have got together a rather impressive list of supporters.

As you probably know by now, the March on Washington is planning several new projects, which the enclosed brochure will furnish you with details.

Let me take this opportunity to thank you and the other Bronx activist on the work that you have been doing.

Sincerely,

BAYARD RUSTIN
Deputy Director

DANIEL H. SCHWARTZ
4320 VAN CORTLANDT PARK EAST
NEW YORK 70, NEW YORK
APARTMENT 5N

Dear Mr Bustin

Here is our March Follow-up in the Bronx.

We will keep you informed

Dan Schwartz

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Call Daniel Schwartz

Tulip 1-1000 or
FA 4-5819

A Bronx-wide committee on civil rights has been formed to facilitate unified action by all Bronx organizations interested in helping to attain equality for Negroes.

Chairman of the Committee is Reverend Edler Hawkins, Pastor of St. Augustine Presbyterian Church, who said that the committee was formed at a meeting held Thursday night, October 3rd, in the Sachs Auditorium, 150th Street and Third Avenue, when the Bronx leaders who had participated in the march on Washington came together to decide how to implement the program of the march in the Bronx.

The name of the new organization is The Bronx Committee on Civil Rights Action, and the executive committee includes: Reverend Hawkins, Reverend George Hardy, President of the Association of Bronx Community Organizations, Miss Jo Anne Graham of Bronx Core, Mr. Philip Michaels, Mr. Bernard Jackson, President of the Bronx NAACP, Mrs. Jane Harris, President, Catholic Interracial Council, Miss Laura Valdes, President of the Williamsbridge NAACP, Mr. Joseph McLemore, Bronx Urban League, Mrs. Robert G. Jones, Co-chairman, Marble Hill-Riverdale-Kingsbridge Committee for Civil Rights, Mrs. Frances Ayala of the Cooperative Christian Churches of the South Bronx, Mr. Seymour Posner, Bronx American Jewish Congress, Reverend Festus Carey of the Protestant Council, Mr. Bernard Mannheimer, Councilman and Chairman of the Gun Hill Civil Rights Group, Mr. Homer Glenn, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. Mr. Daniel Schwartz, Chairman of the Committee on Human Rights of the Association of Bronx Community Organizations, who was Bronx coordinator of the March on Washington, is Secretary of the committee.

The Executive Committee will meet shortly to formulate action plans for the new organization.

-MORE-

Among others who attended the meeting to form the new organization were:

Robert Agar	United Civil Cadets Inc.
Rev. James Keller	Morrisania Presbyterian Church
Rev. Gerald Ryan	St. Anthony of Padua Church
Magr. Gustav J. Schultheis	St. Raymond's Church, Dean of Bronx Catholic Clergy
Allen Stewart	N. Y. C. Association of Elks, IBPOE
Rev. Forrest Johnson	Edgehill Community Church
Sophie Engel	Bronx Community Council
Nathan Rapoport	YMHA of East Tremont
Burton M. Fine	Assemblyman, 2nd A.D., Bronx
Donald J. Sullivan	Assemblyman, 1st A.D., Bronx
Hugh K. Johnson	East Side Settlement House
Homer Glenn	Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
Alfred Stevenson	NAACP
Helena McCallum	St. Anthony of Padua Church
Virginia Bebohn	Riverdale Committee on Defense of Human Rights
Susan K. Kincy	Riverdale Committee on Defense of Human Rights & MA-R-K for Civil Rights
Helen Liggett	MA-R-K Comm. for Civil Rights (Marble Hill, Riverdale, Kingsbridge)
Rose Brooks	Riverdale Committee on Defense of Human Rights

December 10, 1963

Mr. Douglas Pedersen
435 Alexander Street
Princeton New Jersey

Dear Mr. Pedersen:

Thank you very much for your kind note of October 30th and for recovering my watch. I have had the watch for some years and I would have hated to have lost it.

I thought that the demonstration and the meeting were extremely successful and memorial occasions. I was very impressed by the students and their behavior. I will be happy to do anything I can to keep the spirit of the students alive.

The March on Washington movement is planning new projects about which you will be kept informed. Literature is almost ready, and I shall send copies to you.

Thank you again for your letter and for recovering my watch.

Sincerely,

BAYARD RUSTIN
Deputy Director

30 October 63

Dear Bayard,

I recovered your watch and have just turned it over to Peter Spackman for delivery to you.

I consider it a great honor and pleasure to have met you; and I hope most certainly it will not be our last meeting.

Our demonstration was immeasurably dignified by your presence, and I thank you, both personally and for the Committee of Protest. The experience we have gained here must be kept alive, and I am now set on pursuing just

what can be done, not only here on the Princeton Campus but perhaps also throughout the higher education system of New Jersey, since now loose liaison with four or five colleges and universities has been established. Any suggestions you might make ~~might~~ will be appreciated.

I reiterate my pleasure in our meeting, and my thanks for your support. Looking forward to seeing you again soon.

Sincerely,

Nancy Pedersen

December 10, 1963

Mr. William Jones
Box #392
Bellmore L I New York

Dear Mr. Jones:

Thank you for your letter of September 27th and your suggested Christmas card for the March on Washington. Please accept my apologies for this belated reply, but our office has been deluged with mail since the march. I want you to know that we are very appreciative of your suggestion. It is unlikely that we will engage in the sale of Christmas cards this year. For one think, as you know, other civil rights organizations traditionally sell Christmas cards and we would not compete with those fund raising efforts. In addition, the March on Washington will be involved in two projects, about which you will be kept informed.

We simply do not have the staff or facilities to take on the responsibility of selling Christmas cards this year.

I will be in touch with you if it is anyway possible for us to do so. Once again, thank you for your interest and your support, which means a great deal to us in the great struggles that lie ahead.

Sincerely,

BAYARD RUSTIN
Deputy Director

BR/tl

Mr. Rustin

Here is a crude pictorial model of the card that I suggest for Christmas.

If your organization finds it impossible or inadvisable to sponsor it, will you please recommend it to some other interested organization such as National Council of Churches, National Council of Christians and Jews, CORE, NAACP, Artists and Writers for Justice, etc, etc, etc.

Thank you,
William W. Jones

Mr. Rustin—

I have an idea which I'd like to suggest to you. Since Christmas '63 is going to be self-denial, self-sacrificing, in memoriam to the bombed children of Birmingham, Ala, even the seasonal cards should express the subject. Let us not buy any of those supposedly brotherhood cards sponsored by CORE because we could not in conscience plead on their behalf and the message was too subtle. [illegible]

JONES, WILLIAM (MR

Don't forget: The first fellow killed in Birmingham in Sept. 1963 was John L. Coley, who was killed in the crowd after the bombing of Cathy Shores' home. His name might be included, also. We should not forget him!

(Card should be all black with white printing)

(Complete information selected)

16th Street Baptist Church

Birmingham, Alabama

Sunday Morning, September 15, 1963

CHRISTMAS - - - - - - - - - - 1963

dedicated to the memory of:

(any other message, picture, or drawing if any) you desire,

Addie Mae Collins
Denise McNair
Carol Robertson
Cynthia Wesley
Johnny Robinson
Virgil Ware

.... glad tidings, and peace to men of goodwill.

Cards Sponsored by:

December 12, 1963

Mr. Sid Aberman
2545 Grand Concourse
Bronx 58, New York

Dear Sid,

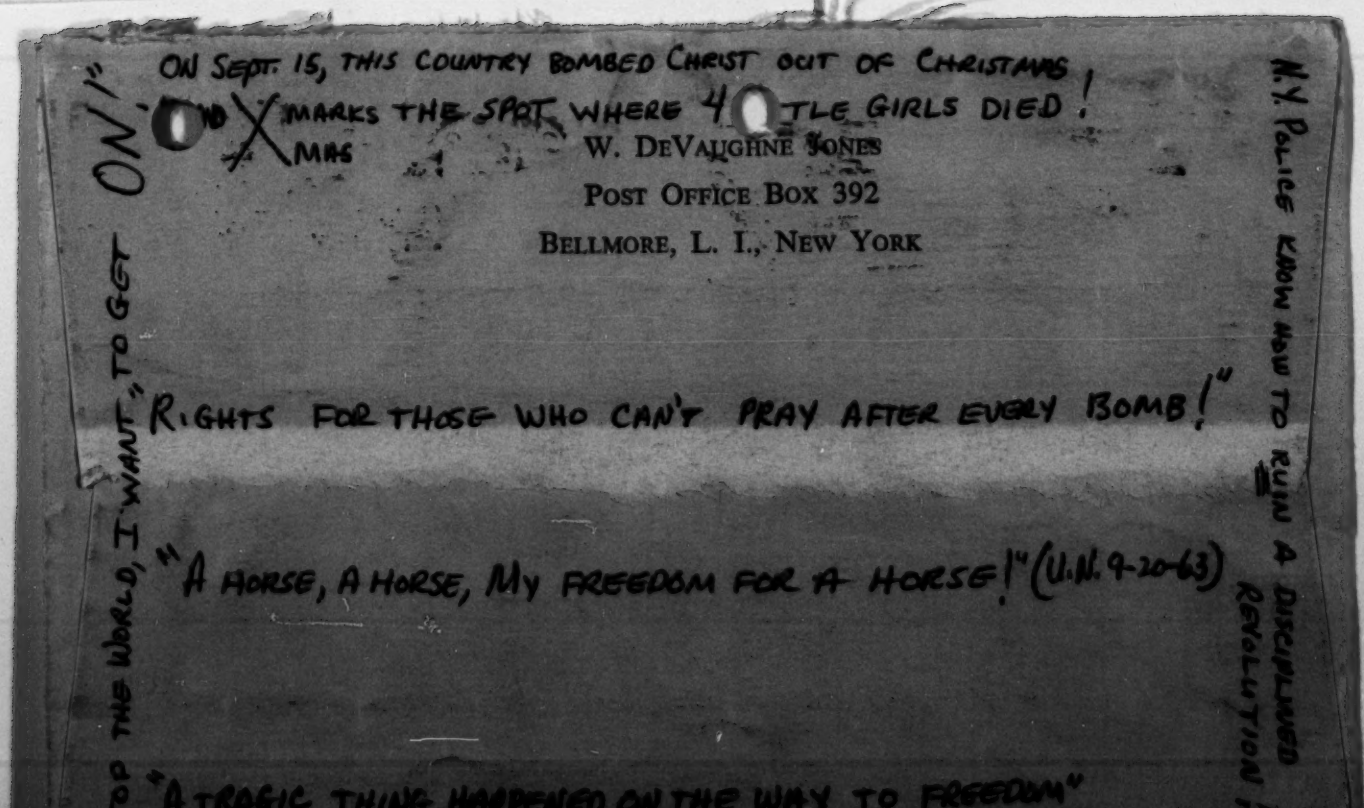
Thank you very much for your nice note of September 6th, so great has been the volumne of mail since the march that the note has only just come to my attention.

I must say that no one was more surprised than I to find myself with Mr. Randolph on the cover of life, I don't know what to make of it, and I am not sure that the sensation is entirely pleasurable. It was good of you to think of me ad to drop a line.

Best wishes,

BAYARD RUSTIN
Deputy Director

BR/tl



25-45 Grand Concourse
Bronx 58, N.Y.

Sept. 6

Dear Bayard,

Just a note to tell you glad I am that you are receiving at last some of the recognition you so richly deserve.

I don't know what has come over Henry Luce. Maybe the Encyclicals are having their effect, or shame before world opinion. Anyway it was nice to see you and "Phil" together on the cover of Life.

Best wishes.

— Sid Alexander —

December 12, 1963

Mr. Isaac. G McNatt
Chairman
Bergen County Coordinating Committee
125 Voorhees Street
Teaneck, New Jersey 07666

Dear Mr. McNatt:

Thank you for your letter of September 12th, and please forgive my delay in answering it.

I am very happy to know that the Bergen County Coordinating Committee for the March on Washington continues in existance. Our office also continues to function as the coordinating center for a series of projects about which you will receive information about shortly.

Let me take this opportunity to thank you and the Bergen County Coordinating Committee for the excellent work you have done. We look forward to your continued cooperation/

Sincerely,

BR/tl

BAYARD RUSTIN
Deputy Director

ISAAC G. McNATT
125 Voorhees Street
Teaneck, New Jersey, 07666

September 12, 1963

National Office March on Washington
170 West 130th Street
New York 27, New York

Attention: Mr. Bayard Rustin

Dear Mr. Rustin:

At the evaluation meeting of the Bergen County Coordinating Committee for the March on Washington, it was decided:

To continue the ad hoc committee for the March which had been formed in order to:

a. Mobilize participants for the planned daily busses to Washington during the anticipated filibuster

b. Mobilize people for a projected March on Trenton should the fair housing legislation, dormant in the State Assembly for two years, fail to be brought to the floor

c. Channel the energies of people aroused by the March on Washington into active support of - and work with - civil rights groups in the area.

We look forward to being in regular communication with you concerning nation-wide plans and our role in them.

Sincerely yours,

Isaac G. McNatt
Chairman
Bergen County Coordinating Committee

IGM:lct

sponsors

The Duke of Bedford
Dr Max Born, Heidelberg, Nobel Prize for Physics
Lord Boyd-Orr, FRS, Nobel Peace Prize
Pablo Casals, Puerto Rico, Cellist
Danilo Dolci, Sicily
Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth of the Belgians
Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of India
Vanessa Redgrave, Actress
Dr Albert Schweitzer, Lambarene, Nobel Peace Prize

Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation

3 & 4 Shavers Place Haymarket London SW1 telephone Whitehall 4209 - 4200

16 December, 1963.

Mr. Bayard Rustin,
Room 1026,
5 Beekman Street,
New York 38,
N.Y., U.S.A.

sent address T.L.

Dear Bayard,

Each letter sent to Martin Luther King in Alabama is returned as indicated on the enclosed envelope. I should imagine that the postal authorities are simply preventing mail from reaching him. Would you be so kind as to see that these two letters, which concern an appeal on Soviet Jews, reach him?

I hope you are well.

With kind regards,

Ralph [redacted]

Send King's address

563 Jackson Ave NE
Atlanta 12 Ga

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EDWARD MARCINIAK
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Sent T.N.

No copy
Send letter to Times

December 16, 1963

Mr. Bayard Rustin
Deputy Director
March on Washington for Jobs
and Freedom
170 West 130th Street
New York 27, New York

Dear ~~Mr. Rustin~~: Bayard

If you have a copy of the recent talk you gave at Howard University, I would very much appreciate one. Everyone has been discussing it here.

Best Wishes.

Sincerely,

Ed

Edward Marciniak

Rustin Says Non-Violence Stirs Violence

By Robert L. Caserio

Bayard Rustin, deputy-director of the March on Washington, said here Friday that non-violent protest inevitably brings out violence in a nation whose social institutions depend upon psychological or physical violence.

Mr. Rustin, speaking to a contemporary civilization-philosophy class in "Ideology and Society," said the Negro's demand for the vote does not create violence, but only brings it to the surface. "And this is three times better than allowing hidden violence to fester," Mr. Rustin said.

As an example of the social institutionalization of latent violence in the United States, Mr. Rustin described the treatment of the "poor white"' in the South. He said "poor whites" are told to be satisfied with their status, because they are at least better than "Niggers."

Mr. Rustin said "the absence of severe brutality in British criminals" could be ascribed to the fact that British police do not carry guns. He cited the armed American policeman and high American crime incidence to explain his belief that "the use of violence means simultaneous self-injury, and leads to destruction. Violent means cannot be used to produce a non-violent end," he declared.

Mr. Rustin said the philosophy of non-violence is "central" to all of the world's religions. Discussing Hebrew "mythology," Mr. Rustin noted the Biblical distinction between the creation of the animals "according to their kind" and of man as a unity. He called this "tremendous social psychology."

He said that non-violent theory calls on men "to live the truths in which they believe." This Mr. Rustin said, is the way toward social justice. Had people "acted out" what they believed, Mr. Rustin said, the massacre of the Jews in Nazi Germany might not have happened.

Columbia University in the City of New York

DEPARTMENT OF PHILOSOPHY

Philosophy Hall
New York 27, N. Y.

Dec. 17, 1963

Dear Bayard:

Thank you very much for your lecture to the students last Friday. They were very moved, and came in on Monday full of questions and answers.

I enclose the account in Spectator by the student. If you feel the head is misleading, write a short, (or long) letter and Caserio (the student who wrote the story) will get it printed.

Thanks again. Hope to see you soon.

As ever,

Sam

400 East Franklin St.
Elsinore, Calif. 92330
Dec. 19, 1963.

Mr. Bayard Rustin
c/o Liberation Magazine
5 Beekman St.
New York, N. Y. 10038.

Personal and Confidential

Dear Mr. Rustin:

This is a most difficult letter for me to write, for I have no desire to hurt your feelings or to bring back unpleasant memories. After watching the monumental job that you did in organizing the March on Washington, you are a "great guy" in my lexicon, and nothing--I repeat nothing-- can detract from your stature in the eyes of all men and women of good will. Having said this, I can now come to the main subject of this letter.

For the past 2½ years I have been working night and day on a book dealing with the hate groups, the indigenous Fascists, and the Ultra-Rightists. It was distressing to me to read the attack hurled against you on the floor of Congress by such Neanderthal characters as Strom Thurmond and E. C. Gathings, in which they brought up that incident in Pasadena many years ago. In the course of my book I want to deal with this matter as an example of dirty politicians hitting below the belt, because even if the allegations are true, once a man has rehabilitated himself and has become a socially useful person, it is sheer sadism to taunt him with a minor transgression of the past. However, it has occurred to me that perhaps this whole matter was a police frame-up and that you pleaded quilty to the charge because it was the most expedient thing to do at the time. If this is so, it is most important that you so advise me. And if it is not so, I still would like to hear from you with any comments you care to make and any suggestions you wish to offer as to the manner in which I should handle this matter in my book.

In order to allay any possible apprehension or suspicion about my motives in writing to you, I enclose herewith the Aug. 7, 1963, issue of that virulent hate sheet, Tocsin, in which you will please note the attack upon me. Please return this to me, together with your reply. Thank you.

Once again, let me assure you of my profound respect and admiration for you, and please forgive any hurt this letter may have unintentionally caused.

Faithfully yours,

Morris Kominsky

Morris Kominsky.

Encl. 1.

See Page 2.

TOCSIN

THE WEST'S LEADING ANTI-COMMUNIST WEEKLY ™

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Vol. 4, No. 32 BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA, AUGUST 7, 1963 20 Cents

UC STUDENT WRITES FOR COMMUNIST PAPER

Daughter of CP Leader Jailed

The daughter of the Communist Party's Northern California chairman has come of age.

Twenty-year-old Margaret ("Margie") Lima, a University of California junior, seemed to be responding to a kind of historical determinism last month when she made her debut as a writer for the Communist People's World.

Her by-line article on Communist-backed racial agitation in which she took part preceded by only two days her father's guest appearance at the University of California. CP Chairman Albert J. ("Mickie") Lima spoke to a campus audience under the new UC policy welcoming acknowledged Communist Party members.

As early as 1938, her father was named as one of its outstanding subscription-getters by the People's World, while Mrs. Helen Lima, mother of the UC student, served in 1949 as a People's World sales manager.

Illustrative of the Communist Party custom of turning even its young into political activists, Margie Lima, then eight years old, was compelled in Sept. 1951 to deliver a speech at the Communist Civil Rights Congress local Children's Festival. The event — duly reported in the People's World — featured the youthful Miss Lima as guest of honor, according to the paper.

SPEECH QUOTED

"'I love my daddy because he works for peace and socialism,'" the People's World quoted Miss Lima as saying, "'and because he works for that he is now in the Los Angeles County jail.'"

"Lima," the article continued, "is one of the 15 California working class prisoners held under Smith Act indictments. Margaret quoted from a letter received recently from her father telling her 'it will be a little rough at first,' but she would 'learn more about the reasons' for his and other Smith Act victims' arrests as she grows older."

Twelve year later — in the July 20, 1963, People's World — Miss Lima proudly reported her own arrest and brief incarceration in a Baltimore jail for participation in a "civil rights" demonstration.

"It was one of the most exciting and fruitful experiences of my life," Miss Lima declared.

She innocently recounts that "a very nice young man" from a chapter of the Congress on Racial Equality in New York asked her to participate in the demonstration and that she agreed. She later attended a "training session" for that purpose.

Following the demonstration and jailing, Miss Lima and her cohorts were released to the custody of their lawyers and returned to Baltimore's Metropolitan Methodist Church, which she describes as "a center of the civil rights movement."

"The minister told us we had helped Baltimore tremendously," she declared "He indicated mass demonstrations were just beginning."

Miss Lima was a delegate to the Communist World Youth Festival held last summer in Helsinki, Finland. At the University of California she has served as treasurer of the left-wing Slate party and as an executive of the campus Women for Peace organization.

Atomic Project Foes Use Demo Mail Permit

"How come a private project is making unauthorized use of the facilities of a political party?" asked one Bay Area Democrat last week.

He referred to a circular received in the mail announcing a fund-raising affair for a group fighting the establishment of a peace-time nuclear power plant at California's Bodega Head.

The circular which announced that Malvina Reynolds, an identified Communist, would be among performers at the July 28 affair, used the mailing permit (#4637) of the Democratic State Central Committee.

Prepared by California Democratic Council Clubs in San Francisco, the circular was distributed from the mailing list of The Liberal Democrat, a Berkeley left-wing monthly edited by Thomas Winnett.

Folksinger Barbara Dane, a regular performer at Communist-staged benefits, was announced along with Mrs. Reynolds as a featured attraction at the anti-Bodega program, held at Earthquake McGoon's, 630 Clay St., San Francisco.

In an appeal to nuclear anxiety, the circular urged "help save Bodega Head (and your own skin)."

Communist at Utilities Quiz

An Oakland resident identified only as a "farm editor" in a San Francisco Chronicle article about hearings against the Pacific Gas and Electric Co. is in reality an identified Communist.

William Reich of 7615 Sunkist Drive was among three angry questioners who challenged the PG&E president about the way his company operates at a State Public Utilities Commission hearing July 25.

Reich was identified as a Communist by Charles David Blodgett, former People's World reporter, at Dec. 1953 hearings of the House Committee on Un-American Activities. Reich, who is associate editor of the left-wing California Farm Reporter, invoked constitutional immunity during his 1960 appearance before the committee (TOCSIN, Jan. 2, 1963).

Along with Richard C. Miller, history and political science teacher at the San Francisco Art Institute, and John B. Neilands, professor of biochemistry at the University of California, Reich is asking the State Public Utilities Commission to forbid PG&E to engage in any political or advertising activities..

Violent Change Near, Says Castroite Letter

The inevitable bloody explosions seething behind the facade of "non-violence" as advocated by Communist-fronters in current racial strife is conceded in an unaccountably frank report printed in the latest newsletter of the Bay Area Fair Play for Cuba Committee.

Quoting William Worthy, who faces a jail term for a U.S. passport violation following a propaganda trip to Cuba, the report says:

"Sadly but realistically even a pacifist has to make a prediction that will scare and alarm many persons. The prediction is that it is going to take a drastic, Castro-type revolution before this problem of the races will be resolved."

Calling for drastic political changes, Worthy advocates mass jailings and forced incarceration in "humanely operated rehabilitation centers" for enemies of the proposed new radical regime.

He also demands burning of all the irreplaceable evidence of subversive activities gathered by the FBI over the years and urges the jailing of J. Edgar Hoover, FBI director.

New Bay Area chairman of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee is Marxist attorney Vincent Hallinan of San Francisco.

The Communist People's World for July 20 claims "a victory for academic freedom" in the campus-sponsored appearance of Northern California Communist Party Chairman Albert J. ("Mickie") Lima at the University of California July 22.

TOCSIN published weekly at Berkeley, California. Publisher, Charles Fox; Editor, George H. Keith Second-class postage paid at Berkeley, California Subscription rate $10 per year.

Articles of incorporation for TOCSIN, Inc., were filed on April 25, 1963. The Franchise Tax Board of the State of California has recognized TOCSIN, Inc., as a tax-exempt organization to which contributions are deductible by donors in arriving at their taxable net income.

A ruling by the Director of Internal Revenue will be obtained after a year's wait. Gifts made in the interim can be claimed as a tax deduction when a favorable ruling is rendered.

TOCSIN, Inc. is an independent organization, not affiliated officially or unofficially with any other group.

'Worker' Hails Pastor's Fete

The Worker, national Communist Party newspaper, announces a celebration Oct. 15 honoring the 90th birthday of Communist clergyman Rev. Harry F. Ward.

"Dr. Ward," commented the Worker of July 23, "first came to prominence in the early years of this century, as the exponent of what has become known as the 'social Gospel.'"

Ward, who was identified as a Communist before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee by former Worker editor Louis F. Budenz, is a former professor at New York's influential Union Theological Seminary where he was a teacher of many of the country's future Protestant ministers.

He was also executive secretary for many years of the Methodist Federation for Social Action, a Communist front not officially connected with the Methodist Church.

The MFSA publication, Social Questions Bulletin, Jan.-Feb. 1963, noted that Ward "studied both Marxism and language in the Moscow Library for three months," prior to a lengthy inspection tour of the USSR in 1931-32.

Ward, whose articles are regularly published in the Bulletin, declared in the April 1963 issue that the Methodist Federation "proposes to change the economic base of society by getting rid of the struggle for profit."

He attacked "the prevailing attitude... (of) satisfaction with the so-called 'New Capitalism' which is supposed to have delayed and lessened further depressions by devices built into the economy by liberal economists. These, however, are of no avail against the present threat of disaster because that is not another cyclical depression but the collapse of the financial underpinning of capitalist society."

The major scource of printed literature emanating from the USSR is the Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, which produces material in scores of languages. Another official Soviet agency, Mezhdunarodnaya Kniga (International Book Company) operates as the exporter of propaganda documents to agents located throughout the world.

New Smear Book in Preparation

A new smear attack in book form against the anti-Communist movement is in the offing from an Elsinore (Calif.) resident identified as a one-time officer in the Rhode Island Communist Party.

Morris Kominsky, listed in a 1938 report of the Dies Special Committee on Un-American Activities as educational director of the Rhode Island CP, is preparing the book as "a serious and accurate portrayal of the conservative movement."

But a hint of the direction his portrayal will take is found in the 1961 report of the California Fact-Finding Subcommittee on Un-American Activities, which devoted considerable space to Kominsky's role in a Communist-fomented racial controversy that rocked the resort town of Elsinore starting in mid-1957.

Kominsky, who has remained active in Communist fronts since he moved to California, served as publicist for an Elsinore Property Owners Association headed by Communist James McGowan and helped in the preparation of a TV program on the Elsinore controversy which the California probers termed "highly sensational" and "utterly irresponsible."

The controversy began when Lake Elsinore dried up and the mineral waters that had formed the basis of the community's thriving resort trade completely vanished. Resort owners, many of them Jewish, charged city officials with bad faith and anti-Semitism when efforts to replenish the water were abandoned.

The city took the step after the State Public Health Department warned that the fluoride content of the replenished water would be too high for health. Into the tense situation following resort owners' charges, the California committee said, came the Communist agitators.

The city government was shaken up, angry charges made and a court action filed. As the situation was beginning to settle, Kominsky's television program stirred troubles anew. It stressed racial strife. The state Attorney General's office investigated and found several incidents to be untrue or exaggerated. The committee predicted further strife for the once flourishing community as long as Communists and fellow-travelers continued to reside in what had suddenly become a depressed area.

The committee report noted that Kominsky and his wife Anna sent greetings to a 1959 publication of the Los Angeles Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, a long-time Communist front which thrives on the exploitation of minority groups, that Kominsky was a sponsor of the group in 1953, and that he had signed the nomination petition for James R. Reed, Communist candidate for Governor of Rhode Island in 1936. Kominsky himself ran for Governor of that state in 1938; was a regular subscriber to the People's World, West Coast Communist paper, as early as 1942; and was among persons protesting the 1942 prosecution of Communist organizer Sam Darcy on criminal syndicalism charges.

"In 1949 Kominsky joined in a Civil Rights Congress petition for the discharge of the Grand Jury investigating the Communist Party," the report continued. The CRC is a Communist legal defense front.

Kominsky was also a member of a Los Angeles committee supporting the 1950 candidacy for State Senator of Robert W. Kenny, a veteran member of Communist fronts. A voter with the Communist-run Independent Progressive Party, Kominsky was also a frequent contributor of letters to the Communist National Guardian.

The Communist People's World also shows Kominsky to have been a speaker at various Communist-run forums in the 50's on such subjects as "the atom spy hoax."

Samples of questions Kominsky has asked anti-Communists in the preparation of his new book include:

Are you in favor of a thermonuclear war? Are only Communists and those

(continued on page 4)

TOCSIN contains scores of useful facts in every issue. Readers who know TOCSIN respond strongly to its articles in varying ways. Some recent testimonials to TOCSIN's effectiveness:

"One of the best, most factual anti-Communist publications I have run across in many, many years."

—Jack Lotto, syndicated columnist

"....aides the community...."

—Albert J. Lima, Northern California Communist Party chairman

"....operate(s) just on the legal side of the libel line...."

—Urban Whitaker, San Francisco State College professor

Irreplaceable, unchallenged for accuracy, TOCSIN seldom meets with indifference from those who read it regularly. Support TOCSIN's growth. Use the coupon on page 3 to order a gift subscription, send a contribution that will keep TOCSIN sounding.

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ANTON REFREGIER CASE

C P Blasted the 'Attack on Art'

Communist Party efforts to link investigations of subversive activities with a general attack on culture — and with the supposedly innate but vague American mistrust of the artist — overlook one fact: Artists and writers who have come under suspicion of government probers have generally done so not through their function as artists but through their participation in clearly non-artistic areas of activity. In other cases, their artistic efforts have been used to enhance political causes.

A notable example is Russian-born Communist-fronter Anton Refregier, whose murals depicting California history grace San Francisco's Rincon Annex Post Office.

The "most interesting feature" of the creative art of Anton Refregier, whose work is often exhibited in the Soviet Union, is its "exceptionally sharp, politically pointed content," Soviet official Miss A. P. Altoukhoa said at a meeting of a USSR painting commission, reported in the People's World, Dec. 7, 1946.

Criticism of the historical accuracy of the murals and of the proposed inclusion of scenes held to be outside the scope of their subject matter was attacked as "bookburning" in a long hassle over the work which took place more than a decade ago.

Refregier had originally planned to include President Franklin Roosevelt and Communist longshore boss Harry Bridges in various panels, but the plan was abandoned.

PERSPECTIVE QUESTIONED

Scenes depicting the San Francisco waterfront riots of 1934, the Warren Billings-Tom Mooney incident and the inclusion of the Soviet flag were attacked as not in keeping with the historical perspective of the project. The murals, opponents held, overemphasized the "class struggle," racial hatred and discrimination, labor strife, violence and political corruption.

It was also noted that the contract for the murals had been awarded to Refregier by a jury which included Communist fellow-artist Victor Arnautoff (who is currently a one-year guest of the Soviet Union) (TOCSIN, May 22, 1963).

When the National Public Buildings Administration in 1947 turned down Refregier's sketch showing Roosevelt in one of the panels, Communist Holland Roberts, former head of the now defunct California Labor School, called for a people's revolt against "this attempt to censor our history and our art."

In New York the Progressive Citizens of America — cited as a Communist front by a California legislative committee — held a mass meeting to protest the mural critics' attempt at "thought control."

ARTIST'S SUPPORTERS

Roberts, Arnautoff, Communist radio commentator Sidney Roger and Estelle Caen, sister of Bay Area gossip columnist Herb Caen, were among those whom the Communist People's World cited as Refregier boosters in the mural controversy.

Refregier — whose Communist-front involvements began in the early 30's when he was a member of the John Reed Club — was active meanwhile in more than the defense of his right to paint what he chose.

He was among speakers at a Wallace-for-President luncheon in San Francisco May 17, 1948 — part of the Communist-run third party movement; was a sponsor a few days later of a so-called "Emergency Conference on Civil Liberties" aimed against the anti-Communist Mundt-Nixon bill; and was among Communist-fronters who attacked the Attorney General's labeling of the California Labor School as a subversive organization.

In 1948 the artist was also among a delegation protesting anti-Communist measures implemented by the Franco Government of Spain; intervened on behalf of Communist spy Gerhart Eisler; and was a member of the national reception committee for French Communist Mme. Joliot-Curie at a New York City dinner staged by the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, a declared party front.

KENT TESTIMONIAL

Refregier and exiled Communist W.E.B. DuBois were among those paying tribute to Communist-front artist Rockwell Kent at a testimonial June 19, 1957, and both attended a Stockholm meeting of the World Council of Peace, May 8-14, 1959, along with Holland Roberts and Los Angeles Unitarian minister Rev. Stephen Fritchman.

During his trip to Europe, Refregier stopped over in the Soviet Union and described his visit in the Nov. 1959 issue of the Communist New World Review.

A graduate of the Rhode Island School

(continued on page 4)

TOCSIN, 2490 Channing Way
Berkeley, California 94704

I enclose $..... for

.....a one-year subscription ($10.00)

.....a six-months subscription ($5.00)

.....a contribution to your work

for .....

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Party Poses as Culture Champion

"Peace," "civil liberties" and "civil rights" — those three currently favorite causes in Communist propaganda — are not the only areas in which the Communist Party has managed to persuade large segments of the non-Communist public that the CP is their champion.

A less pressing but even more pervading reason for much of the tacit acceptance of the Communist line among U.S. intellectuals lies in the Communist Party's self-appointed role as the champion of "culture."

While in the early unsophisticated days of Communist propaganda activities in this country, the party largely confined its appeal to workers and racial minorities, it has made increasingly frequent bids since the early 50's to the cultured and culturally pretentious.

An article by the former Hollywood writer, Communist John Howard Lawson, in the May 1953 issue of Masses and Mainstream contains all of the basic propaganda line of this type of appeal.

Entitled "McCarthyism and Culture," the article — though written a decade ago — set the pace for the party's current courtship of intellectuals. It equates anti-Communist investigations with "bookburning," threats to academic freedom and "thought control."

Attempts to root out Communist subversives are first defined as "the drive to regiment every area of culture." With this hyperbolic assumption as a premise, Lawson's conclusions about the "fascist offensive in the U.S." follow each other with stunning rapidity. A probe of Communist authors' works is bewilderingly linked to racism, capitalist warmaking, the Rosenberg spy-case, opposition to the New Deal and anti-climactically — to an attack on "culture."

'Information' Group Sends 'Worker' Lit

The Fund for Public Information, a New York organization, last month distributed a pamphlet with a cover letter declaring "it is not our purpose to advocate any specific viewpoint . . . We seek to promote an atmosphere of democratic discussion throughout the country — a 'town meeting' atmosphere."

The pamphlet? A 16-page supplement from the Communist Party Central Committees of the Soviet Union and China and recent pronouncements of CP Boss Gus Hall.

The signer of the letter? Oakley C. Johnson, an identified Communist.

Back Copies

Incomplete sets of back copies of TOCSIN are available for $2.

Nuclear Foes - Not New or Local

New evidence that the campaign against establishment of a nuclear power plant at California's Bodega Head is more than a local affair is spelled out in the National Guardian, New York-based Communist weekly, of July 18.

The Guardian treats the anti-Bodega campaign jointly with a similar drive against a Queens County, New York, A-plant. It attempts to arouse public fears of nuclear danger and accuses the Atomic Energy Commission and private utility companies of "increasing insouciance" toward the public's welfare.

The Worker, official Communist Party organ, has thus far limited its discussion of opposition to the plants to those in Detroit and New York, leaving the People's World, its West Coast equivalent, to report the California campaign.

TOCSIN pointed out the similarity between the California and East Coast opposition drives in an exclusive report published in its July 24, 1963, issue.

* * *

Communist strategists know how to implement one goal at a time.

In the far-away 40's, when the atomic bomb was already a reality but peacetime use of atomic energy still in the future, the Communist press launched its campaign against nuclear protection for the U.S.

Said Communist Party Labor Secretary John Williamson in a Los Angeles speech Jan. 26, 1947:

"America should take the lead in disarmament and in barring of atomic power for anything but peaceful pursuits."

Now that American industry has reached the stage of large-scale peacetime use of nuclear power, the Communist press is raising a new hue and cry and appealing to the same nuclear hysteria even though no bombs are involved.

In addition to its earlier opposition to the Pacific Gas and Electric Co. Bodega Bay (Calif.) A-plant (TOCSIN, July 24, 1963), the People's World of July 20 gloats over resistance to a similar plant in the Malibu (Los Angeles) area.

"This is exactly the strategy which the Communists use against the House Committee on Un-American Activities," a Berkeley resident commented. "The HCUA should be abolished, they have often claimed, because its function can better be served by the FBI. So what happens? This year they started a new drive to abolish the FBI."

Boston Minister Supports Revolutions

While the Communist press exults in exhorting the U.S. to mind its image, a Boston minister long active in Communist fronts was busy last month helping to tarnish the image before a Canadian audience. Rev. Donald G. Lothrop of the Universalist-Unitarian First Community Church, Boston, told the fifth Geneva Park (Canada) leadership conference that U.S. citizens are being silenced in Nazi-like fashion when they attempt to oppose "war" polices.

The minister, whose Communist-front record dates from before the Spanish Civil War period, spoke before an audience of high school students attending the conference.

His comments, reported in the Toronto Globe and Mail July 6, voiced support for the Castro regime, denied that the Cuban revolution was Communist-led and accused the U.S. of becoming the leader of counter-revolutionary forces throughout the world.

Lothrop attacked U.S. investigation of subversion in Cuba, the existence of the Guantanamo base, and the economic blockade and expressed support for revolutionary movements in South Vietnam, China, Korea, Iran, Spain, the Congo and Guatemala.

The minister has 77 separate references to Communist-backed affiliations through 1959 in a compilation prepared by Circuit Riders, Cincinnati. They range from a statement defending the Communist Party to his support of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, a declared Communist front.

More recently, Lothrop has been among sponsors of a rally held by the Conference of Greater New York Peace Groups in 1961 and signed newspaper petitions to President Kennedy for an "end to the war in South Vietnam."

KOMINSKY

(continued from page 2)

who follow the Communist line in favor of peace? Is anyone who makes any effort on behalf of civil liberties, civil rights and for our constitutional rights ipso facto pro-Soviet? Do you consider it subversive or sinister or un-American for anyone to advocate the abolition of the HCUA?

Mao Tse-tung, Chinese Communist leader, told American Communist Maud Russell that the best propaganda weapon to use against Americans are their own publications, taken out of context. This was the testimony of Anita Bell Schneider, a former undercover operative for the FBI, who related Miss Russell's statement about Mao to the House Committee on Un-American Activities, June 27, 1955.

ANTON REFREGIER

(continued from page 3)

of Design, Refregier covered the United Nations Conference in San Francisco for Fortune magazine. He has also executed murals in the Plainfield, New Jersey, post office as well as for the SS President Polk, the Lurline, the Independence and the Constitution. A California Congressman noted in 1953 that Refregier was not an American citizen at the time he received the commission to paint the San Francisco murals.

A former teacher at two Communist schools, Refregier is also an occasional writer. The artist is named as one of the contributors to a collection of essays assembled in a book entitled "Public Ownership in the USA" advertised in the June 3, 1961, People's World. Other featured authors were Holland Roberts and Communist theoretician Herbert Aptheker.

The Communist press brings up to date the long record of Artist Refregier's front activities as recorded in reports of un-American activities committees.

Last year he contributed paintings to the defense committee of a group of arrested pickets from the Fair Play for Cuba Committee's Philadelphia branch. The Communist Worker's "Christmas card" department advertised Refregier's work as available on greeting cards being sold to readers. He was also a sponsor of the U.S. Committee for Cooperation With the Japan Council Against A & H Bombs, held last year in Tokyo.

This year Refregier was among a long list of Communists and fellow-travelers who sent cheer-up messages to imprisoned Mexican Communist agitator (and fellow muralist) David Alfaro Siqueiros. DuBois and Cheddi Jagan, Communist premier of British Guiana, were others.

Artist Refregier's other non-artistic, Communist-backed activities include support for or participation in affairs of the following groups and publications:

California Labor School, Spanish Refugee Appeal, Daily Worker, American Youth for Democracy; New Masses, Masses and Mainstream, Champion, New Theater, and Fight (all Communist magazines); the anti-Smith Act Committee for Free Political Advocacy; and the American Continental Congress for World Peace.

Also, the League of Struggle for Negro Rights, American League for Peace and Democracy, Harry Bridges Defense Letter, Artists Front to Win the War, American Peace Mobilization, United American Artists, National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born and Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy.

Also, Jefferson School of Social Science, Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace, Civil Rights Congress, American Peace Crusade, American Russian Institute of San Francisco, and American Labor Party.

Also, China Aid Council, Medical Bureau to Aid Spanish Democracy, National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, New Theater League, statement in praise of Henry Wallace's open letter to Stalin, Communist May Day parades and the currently active Citizens Committee for Constitutional Liberties (a recent party front opposing the Supreme Court's decision to enforce the McCarran Internal Security Act).

TOCSIN
2490 CHANNING WAY
BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA 94704

CANADIAN BROADCASTING CORPORATION

(X)

File

P.O. Box 3220,
Station 'C',
Ottawa, Ontario.

December 19th, 1963.

Mr. Bayard Rustin,
340 West 28th St., Apt. 9J,
New York City 1, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Rustin,

I should like to take this opportunity to offer my personal thanks for your kind co-operation last December 9th, when you agreed to appear on our major Public Affairs program, The Sixties. After the taping of the show I was unable to express adequately the Corporation's gratitude for your assistance. We were well aware that in coming along to the studio on such short notice you were making some considerable sacrifice, and I am especially anxious that you should know how deeply we appreciate your co-operation.

There has been, as you may have already heard, a very warm reaction to the show itself, and in my office I have already received a number of queries as to the reason you haven't appeared more frequently on our network. I mention this because I thought you would like to know that your contribution was well received in this country and provided an excellent background as well as some assurance about extremism in North America and indeed in "Western" society.

In closing let me thank you once more for your trouble, and express my sincere hope that before too long we will be able to invite you to appear on our network in a related subject of mutual interest.

With all good wishes,

I remain,

Yours sincerely,

Bernard Ostry,
Supervising Producer,
Public Affairs - TV.

P.S. I hope the Corporation's cheque arrived all right.

December 31, 1963

Mr. Gus Tyler
Assistant President
ILGWU
1710 Broadway
New York 18, New York

Dear Gus,

Just a short note of thanks for your compliments and for sending the article which I found most helpful.

It is always pleasing to learn that more and more people are becoming more and more interested in the struggle.

Thank you again,

Sincerely,

BAYARD RUSTIN
Deputy Director

CABLE ADDRESS: ILGWU-NEW YORK • PHONE: COLUMBUS 5-7000

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Thank him for sending article which was helpful

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LOUIS STULBERG
GENERAL SEC'Y-TREAS.

LUIGI ANTONINI
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

•

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December 4, 1963

Mr. Bayard Rustin
5 Beekman Street
New York, New York

Dear Bayard:

I read a report of your interview with the press in the New York Times. I feel the policy you are pursuing there can be a major positive contribution.

I thought you would be interested in the enclosed as well. It was originally written at the request of the American Federationist as the lead article in their convention issue. Subsequently, a number of union and other liberal organizations asked for reprints in quantity. The response stimulated me to get out a few additional reprints to molders of liberal opinion in this country.

Sincerely yours,

Gus Tyler

Gus Tyler
Assistant President

GT/td

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The New Challenge To Liberalism

by Gus Tyler

American liberalism faces a dual challenge: the first, and most serious, from a newly invigorated conservative coalition; the second, from a "new" leftist critique that damns labor's existence in order to save its soul. To counter both requires a liberal coalition that will effectively unite the unions, the civil rights movement and the progressive-minded intellectual community.

In conservative circles, a well-designed move is under way to reverse the fundamentally liberal trend that has characterized America since the first Hundred Days of the New Deal. The rightwing strategy comes in two phases: the first, to elect its "conservative of conscience" to the presidency; the second, to rewrite the Constitution to make liberal government in America almost impossible.

The unifying theme of the conservative coalition is state's rights: the right of conservative Republican states and of segregationist Democratic states to escape the economic and social liberalism of the modern presidency. This movement would be the conservative counter-revolution to America's "second revolution" now in the making. By forcing a referendum on race, conservatives hope to pick up "white" votes on which they had not counted in the past, in the North as well as in the South, to elect a rightwing president. The long-run aim of the conservatives is the passage of its "disunity" amendments to the Constitution—to shift the center of decisionmaking from Washington, D. C., where liberalism enjoys an active voice in the Presidency, the Supreme Court and, occasionally, the Congress, to the separate state legislatures synthetically controlled by conservative minorities.

The liberal strategy also falls into two phases: win the next presidential election and move ahead to win majorities in state and federal legislatures. To do the latter—win legislative majorities—will require more than votes. Court action—probably Supreme Court action—will be required to democratize the legislative bodies so the voice of the voting majority may be properly heard. But to win elections—whether for the presidency or the legislatures—requires a third and basic element: an effective liberal coalition. Only such a coalition can provide the nose count necessary for electoral victory.

The dominant leadership in the various groups that compose this coalition recognize the need for a political alliance. Yet there is a real danger that this coalition will be disrupted, even impaired, by a small though highly publicized coterie of liberal intellectuals who are making a career out of fostering friction and schism among the great liberal movements. They propose a split in labor as a means of invigorating the unions; they see a Negro assault on organized labor as a prime means to invigorate the civil rights movement; they see in a return to the radical formulas of the 1930s a pattern for behavior in the 1960s. This new "leftism," with its accent on the negative, is the "enemy within" the liberal coalition.

Some of this "new" critique reflects a general malaise among certain intellectuals who become angry

GUS TYLER is Assistant President and political education director of the Ladies' Garment Workers.

with mass movements if the latter do not, in school-child fashion, follow the teacher. Some of it reflects a sense of guilt on the part of brief sojourners in the labor movement who justify their AWOL by denouncing either the old general or the old cause. Some of it is a kind of reactionary radicalism that tries to rediscover the kicks of youth by reciting old cliches in new jargonese. But most of it derives from plain ignorance—a state to which most intellectuals, especially those least informed, will rarely own up.

The depth of their ignorance can best be plumbed by measuring their views against the real state of American liberalism today, especially the labor sector.

The labor movement is the single greatest force for economic well-being in the nation. Its basic dedication to job security, higher earnings, a shorter work-week and a variety of collective though privately-financed social benefits is at the base of that pillar called the American standard of living.

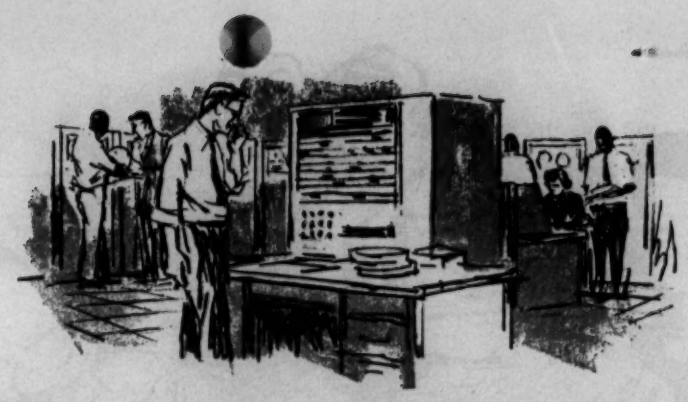
Since 1947, this basic force for progress has moved to a new level: the political. That was the year that the former AFL Labor's League for Political Education was organized, primarily as a response to the passage of the Taft-Hartley Law. After 1947, the older unions of the AFL moved into national politics for "keeps." They supported a permanent organization not only to ward off restrictive labor-management laws but, in keeping with the mood of the New Deal, to advance a vast body of sweeping social legislation, at the very center of which was the repetitive cry for a full employment economy.

From 1947 to the present, labor has developed a respectable political punch, not quite as powerful as charged by its business critics who insist the unions are taking over the country politically nor quite as puny as alleged by some of the liberal intellectual critics who see the unions as political nonentities. Measured mathematically, labor can count on about 160 to 180 members of the House of Representatives to stand with it today as contrasted with the bare fourscore who were ready to back Truman's veto of Taft-Hartley in 1947.

One of the most prolific authors on the current labor movement stated at an off-the-record egghead conference recently: "The labor movement is today a more powerful factor for social justice . . . than it has ever been. . . . It is the main bulwark of the liberal-progressive program on legislation."

The "new" critique, however, holds a contrary view: this group insists labor has lost its collective bargaining function, it is declining politically and it is without prospect of future growth.

What are the facts here? In the last two decades, organized labor has displayed a staying power hitherto unproved in the history of trade unionism. Up to the 1930s, the story of the American worker was the story of rapid rise and rapid decline, a rapid growth with a business boom and a sharp drop with a business bust. Labor was as cyclical as the economy. Since the 1930s, there has been dramatic growth with-



out any accompanying dramatic decline. (A rise from about 3 million to about 19 million, with a decline to about 18 million.)

This fundamental stability of organized labor is underscored by the fact that labor has held its numerical strength in spite of the Taft-Hartley Act, the state "right-to-work" laws, an eight-year Republican Administration, the Landrum-Griffin Act and—perhaps most important—a relative fall in the number of blue collar workers and a rapid proportional rise in the number of white collar workers.

In the three decades since 1934, the unions have converted the process of collective bargaining from primitive warfare into sophisticated struggle. Some of the most remarkable advances in both content and method have been made in the last ten years.

The contracts of the 1930s were rather simple documents: wages, hours, jobs and union security clauses. Today, unions have evolved novel and complex concepts: guaranteed annual wage; the Kaiser and Armour formulae; health, welfare, retirement, vacation, optical, dental, sabbatical plans; in-training, upgrading, anti-discrimination clauses. Whole new areas of collective bargaining have opened up—not with employers, but with Blue Shield and Blue Cross, with the Hospital Insurance Plan and hospitals, with insurance firms, with bankers and builders, with governmental and semi-governmental agencies.

The method of bargaining has changed from the elementary sporadic clashes of 30 years ago to continuous bargaining, backed by expertese, in the presence of third parties. This development, one union official notes, implicates labor in "concerns, activities and decisions which nowhere have been described adequately, certainly not in the texts and treatises dealing with collective bargaining. What actually happens is complex and varied to a degree that falsifies the conception most people hold of union negotiations."

No one is more aware of the fact that the United States in the present decade has moved into its most inventive era of collective bargaining than those liberal intellectuals who are personally involved in the process. These men serve as mediators, arbitrators, impartial chairmen, teachers of industrial relations, governmental agency heads.

Another group of liberal intellectuals is in direct service with unions in greater number than at any time in our national history—as researchers, as lawyers, as engineers, as bargaining experts, elaborating new formulas and new methods of negotiating. These creative intellectuals serve as a link between the trade

unions and the liberal intellectual community, an effective tie in the progressive coalition.

The spokesmen of the "new" critique, however, devote their talent to penning obituary notices for collective bargaining. They feel that automation has given labor its coup de grace. They argue that "the system of collective bargaining, which has operated successfully since the passage of the Wagner Act 28 years ago in 1935, has proved less and less adequate for the solution of some basic problems now faced by unions and management." Projecting this trend, they argue that with more and more automation, collective bargaining will mean less and less.

This is a moth-eaten line of reasoning dated circa 1930s and was just as inaccurate then as it is now. In the depth of the great depression, a few radical sectarians insisted the union no longer had a function as a collective bargaining agency since unemployed workers cannot bargain against a non-existent employer. Hence the unions had better forget about the piddling business of dollars and cents and contracts and turn to the more meaningful business of seizing power for a social revolution. This is basically the line of reasoning of the "new" critique, with the word "automation" replacing "unemployment" and with a vague "call for action" replacing the now unfashionable "revolution."

What actually happened in the 1930s is a valuable lesson for today. The unions, in a great liberal coalition, used their votes to elect Roosevelt and enact a New Deal. As the economy revived, unions turned more vigorously than ever to collective bargaining. The gains on the industrial front were made possible by the climate of legislation and economic growth spurred by political action.

Today, history repeats itself. Automation produces a creeping and continuous unemployment. This problem of "unemployment" cannot be handled either exclusively or primarily at the bargaining table, although something can be done through contract. Unions can evolve formulas such as in Kaiser and Armour. Unions can push for the shorter workweek; they can also stimulate economic growth by expanding consumer power. But there are recognized limits to changing the course of the total economy by bargaining alone. The major contours of the economic system—distribution of manpower, tax policy, foreign trade, education of the labor force, allocation of investment, early retirement, public control—can only be consciously directed and determined by government. Hence the labor movement is ideologically pledged to unceasing political action for a full employment economy, not because such politicking is a substitute for but a precondition of effective collective bargaining.

Unfortunately, the "new" critique is as badly informed about labor's political activity as it is about labor's industrial creativity. Thus one commentator insists that "as the economic strength and power of unions grew during the first fifty years of the Twentieth Century, their commitment to political goals grew progressively weaker." This last sentence would be quite correct if the last word were changed from "weaker" to "stronger." In 1900, the American Federation of Labor eschewed any and all social legislation—minimum wage laws, maximum hour laws, social security laws—as delusory goals that would weaken the unions as bargaining agents. It was this rejection of political solutions to economic matters that Gompers defined as "pure and simple" trade unionism.

It was not until the New Deal days that the trade unions began to accept in a real sense the concept of social legislation. It was not until the 1940s that the CIO founded its Political Action Committee; not until 1947 that the AFL founded its LLPE and not until the 1950s that the labor movement united politically in its Committee on Political Education to endorse formally a candidate for President of the United States.

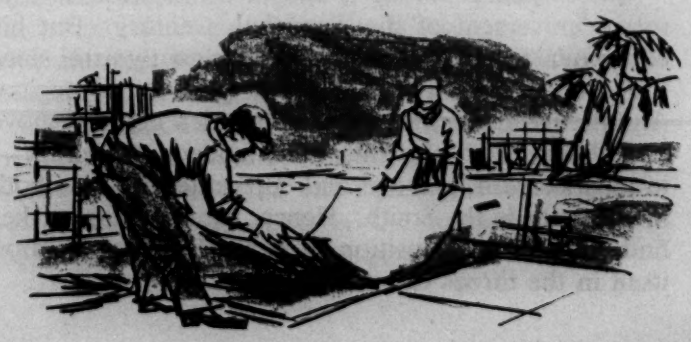
In short, the story of labor in the first half of the Twentieth Century is the story of labor's politicalization. Reactionaries know it and demand that labor's political mouth be gagged. But the "new" critique, written without restraint or research, manages to rewrite history backwards to describe the political decline of labor.

The final point of the "new" critique is its belief that "an increasing number of workers remain outside the system (collective bargaining) with very little possibility that they will ever come into it." Reference is repeatedly made to the white collar worker and to the workers in the non-union South.

Here, too, the "new" critique sounds old and tired. For generations, there has been talk of the group of "unorganizables." For years, "foreigners" were considered unorganizable until men like Gompers, Strasser, Maguire, Debs and the Irish, Jews and Italians proved otherwise. Women were considered unorganizable until 1909 when 20,000 young girls shocked America with one strike. Unskilled workers in basic industry were considered unorganizable until the CIO proved otherwise. Negroes and Puerto Ricans, in their time, were viewed as unorganizable. And now it is the fad to talk about the new unorganizables: the white collar workers or the southern worker or—in some more refined prophecies—the workers in small towns or in small-unit firms.

The irony is that such predictions, traditionally issuing from conservative trade unionists of little faith and less energy, now issue from a leftist intelligentsia. It is doubly ironic that these alleged students of human behavior hold such a non-behavioral point of view.

Two new classes are arising in the United States: the white-collared managers and handlers of the auto-



mated machines and the new industrial worker in the South. They are both beginning to feel their oats. And eventually, like other social groupings in America, they will organize to advance their interests.

If the AFL-CIO unions now in existence do not have or do not develop the proper techniques to reach these new classes, then the latter will find their own leaders and their own methods. The organization of workers into unions does not, in the long run, depend upon the arrival of an organizer from outside. Organization of a given social stratum into a self-protective community is instinctive to man and inevitable in a free society.

The white collar workers are already giving proof of this. According to the report of the National Labor Relations Board (fiscal year 1962), a majority of the elections held among white collar workers were won by unions, overwhelmingly by AFL-CIO affiliates.

White collar workers in government employment have been warming up to unionism continuously as the rosters of the civil service unions show. Schoolteachers have been among the most energetic. And, spurred on by the American Federation of Teachers, the conservative National Education Association has been talking wages and working conditions and advising its members to boycott school systems that do not live up to professional standards.

Among the last of the white collar groups to move will be the technicians handling automated and cybernated equipment. But what reason is there to believe that these latest aristocrats of labor will be more resistant to self-organization than doctors or political scientists or movie actors?

These technicians are under the same stresses and hopes as others. A chief draftsman was recently quoted as saying: "I don't know what to do. I have some hundred engineers and I have to treat them in the same bureaucratic way we treat blue collar workers. I have no other way of control. Well, there's a restiveness among that group." And out of that restiveness will come organization—organization as employes resisting bureaucratic controls.

These "new" aristocrats can enrich the whole labor movement. They are educated, articulate, community-minded and politically active. They will bring quality as well as quantity.

The industrial worker of the South is also an emerging new class. He is part of a society living in the Twentieth Century with an economy that is Nineteenth Century and a politics that is Eighteenth Century.

The southern worker is caught up in the industrial urban movement of the Twentieth Century. But his economic background is still predominantly rural since the southland is America's last great rural region. And the political structure within which he must move is still based on the rule of a landed aristocracy—in alliance with financial and corporate elements both in and outside the South. Hence, the southern worker finds himself in transition in a conflicted civilization itself in the throes of transition.

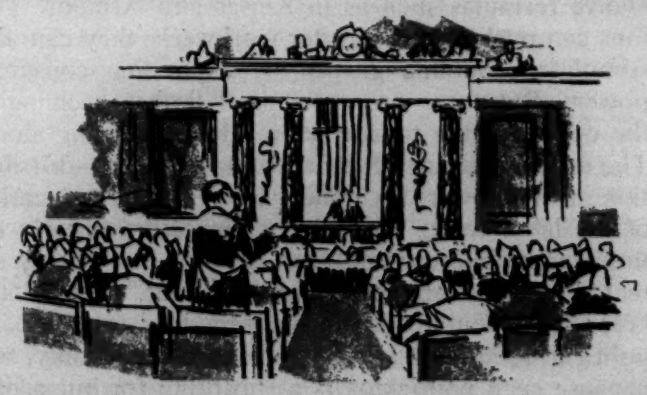
In this respect, the southern worker repeats the history of the midwest worker in the 1930s, also held back by a predominantly rural background and a political structure ruled by coal, iron, lumber and oil barons. But just as the workers in these industries rose to create the great industrial unions of America in the 1930s, so is it reasonable to expect that the industrial workers of the South will do likewise.

In the past, the great labor organizing advances came simultaneously with or after liberal political victories. This is true both nationally and regionally. Consequently, it may be expected that labor's great breakthrough in the South will accompany or follow the political liberalization of the South.

Viewed historically, the prospect for the labor movement in America is growth: numerically, economically and politically. That is, provided labor does not take the advice of one of its "new" leftist advisers who suggests in a widely distributed booklet that "an authentic split (in the AFL-CIO) might be the impetus for a surge of new activity." But because labor does not and will not, in and of itself, constitute a majority of the nation, unions need liberal allies to realize their hopes for a society of fuller freedom.

The civil rights movement is a natural ally for labor in a liberal coalition. To begin with, both have a common enemy: the conservative coalition in Congress. This coalition rests on its opposition to labor and the Negro, to the economic rights of the former and the civil rights of the latter. If labor and the Negro had no other reason to unite than their common oppressors that would be reason enough.

But there is a deeper reason: jobs and freedom are indivisible. A labor movement that denies freedom to all will first find itself split and weak and will ultimately be denied the freedom it denied to others. Germany under Hitler and Russia under Stalin taught the lesson. Likewise, a freedom movement that does



not fight for full employment will create inner tensions and frustrations that will imperil and ultimately destroy freedom itself.

Labor's priority is for jobs; the Negro's priority is for freedom. Liberalism's priority must be for a simultaneous expansion of jobs and freedom. There is no hope for either jobs or freedom if the great struggle in America revolves around whether the job shall

go to a white man or a black man, to a Jew or a gentile, to the North or the South. The only hope is a full employment economy where every man can find a job suitable to his taste and his talents—regardless of origin.

It is at this point that labor and the Negro are closest: jobs for all. This is also the most realistic way to bring new ethnic groups, whether Jewish, Italian, Irish, Negro or Puerto Rican, into closed industries where the doors have been shut against overcrowding. When jobs are more plentiful, closed doors can be opened. When jobs are lacking, nobody—whether of new or old ethnic origin—will be welcome.

Labor and the Negro have a second major point of contact: the legislative struggle for civil rights. The trade unions have been at this for decades. The unions have paid a heavy price for this dedication: the Landrum-Griffin Act might not be on the statute books if the unions had been ready to trade in civil rights for a defeat of Landrum-Griffin. And much more of the South might be unionized today if major unions had not insisted on integration of their members. The basic adherence of American labor to civil rights, combined with its mounting political effectiveness, has sent to the Congress of the United States and to the Presidency the men who, at this moment, represent the nation's first best hope for civil rights legislation.

The civil rights movement, on its part, can make dramatic contributions not only to the status of the Negro in America but to the entire liberal movement. In the South, the registration of Negro voters can mean gradual liberalization of Dixie politics. In the North, the recent demonstration of Negro awakening, as proven in the voter registration figures in New York City, can give liberalism fresh new battalions of voters. And in both, the new self-image of the Negro can move one-tenth of our population from economic and political apathy to creative citizenship.

Responsible Negro leadership recognizes the proximity and interdependence of the struggle for jobs and for freedom. "This unity of purpose is not an historical coincidence," said Dr. Martin Luther King at the 1961 AFL-CIO convention. He observed:

"Negroes are almost entirely a working people. There are pitifully few Negro millionaires and few Negro employers. Our needs are identical with labor's needs: decent wages, fair working conditions, livable housing, old age security, health and welfare measures, conditions in which families can grow, have education for their children and respect in the community. That is why Negroes support labor's demands and fight laws which curb labor. That is why the labor-hater and labor-baiter is virtually always a twin-headed creature spewing anti-Negro epithets from one mouth and anti-labor propaganda from the other mouth."

While the responsible leadership in the civil rights movement recognizes the need of a liberal coalition, there is a militant minority that counsels and practices a contrary course. They believe the labor movement should be a prime, if not the prime, target of the

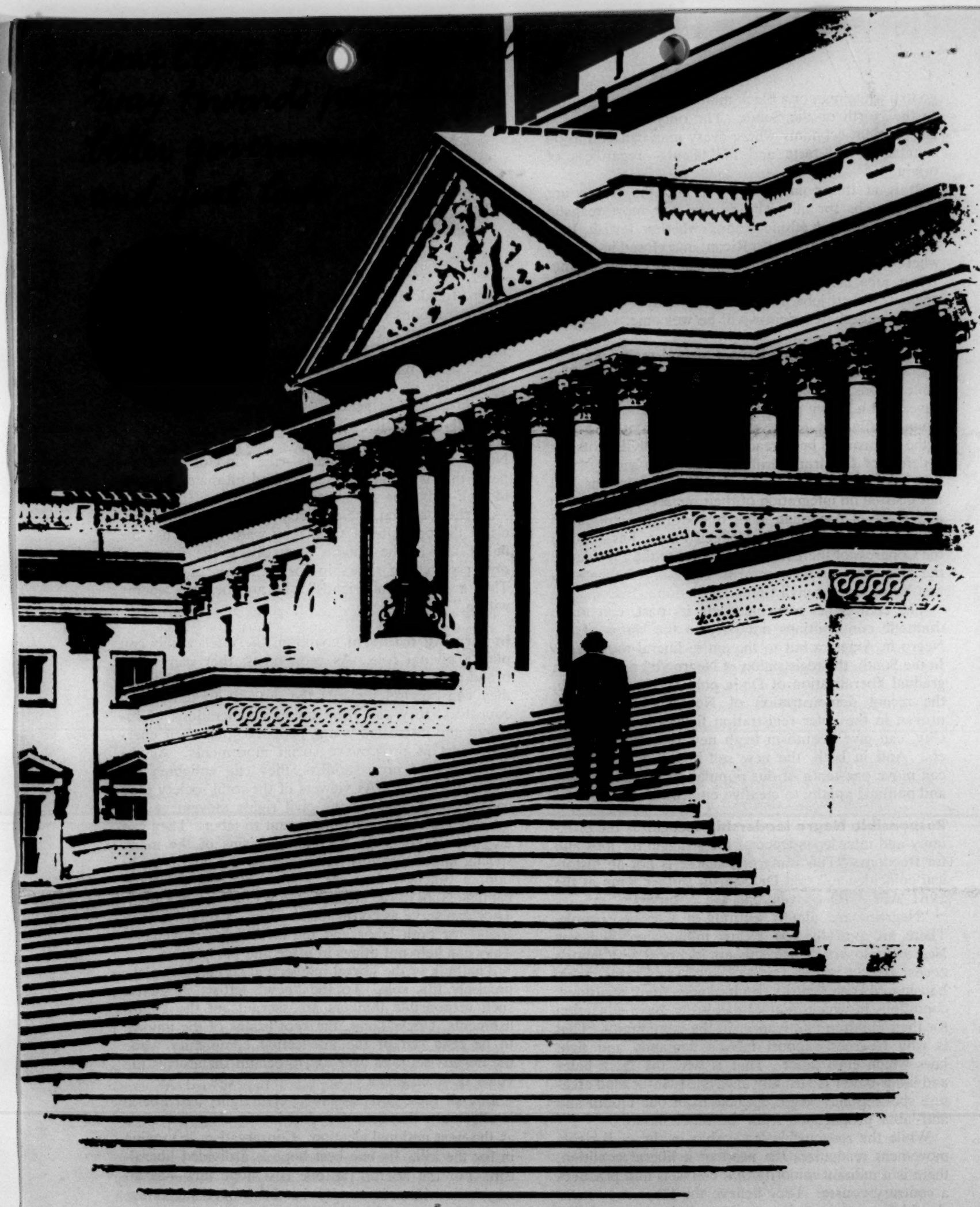
Negro freedom fight; they prefer not to limit this fight to those unions that do practice discrimination but to widen the assault to include the entire labor movement—and especially the more progressive trade unions. They make a theory and practice out of the advisability of concentrating the main fire on American liberalism in general, on the assumption this is the soft underbelly of white supremacy. They even advocate a new political party in America, either a Negro or Civil Rights Party—the kind of separatist party that is always the logical and ultimate resort of the self-righteous sectarian.

In the long run, these extremists help produce precisely the opposite of what they want. They use the better to kill the good. They divide the forces of progress to give rulership to the forces of reaction. They are the "dear friends" who are the true "enemy within."

In forming a liberal coalition, the intellectuals can play a pivotal role. As economists, they can shape broad programs. As students of inter-group relations, they can counsel towards the end of prejudice. As educators, they can raise up new generations of inspired and instructed young people to play their energetic part in progressive social movements. As researchers and propagandists, they can enlighten the nation politically. As viewers of the total society they can interpret labor to the civil rights movement and interpret the civil rights movement to labor. They can and should voice the needed criticisms of the many special interest groups that make up the liberal coalition, a function they are able to perform from the vantage point of the disinterested yet dedicated scholar. They can serve as constructive critic—a sorely needed friend for both labor and the civil rights movement. They can help put things in place and perspective.

The bulk of the liberal intellectual community plays precisely this role. To the "new" leftists, however, such responsible thinkers are servants of the Establishments, Uncle Toms, the kept brains of the unions, to be read out of the intellectual community while the negativists take over and proclaim themselves the voice of intelligence.

For all these forces—labor, civil rights and liberal intellectual—the time for decision is close, as close as the next national election. Conservatism is moving in for the kill. Its one best hope is a divided liberalism. For the liberal, the one best hope now—as always—lies in unity, unity in the immediate future around "jobs and freedom."



COMMITTEE ON POLITICAL EDUCATION AFL-CIO

Reprinted from November 1963
AFL-CIO AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST

P. M. MAJITHIA, P. O. BOX 155, DAR ES SALAAM, TANGANYIKA.

Dear Bayard,

Christmas, 1963.

Great changes have taken place here since I last wrote to you. To-day, the whole of East Africa is free. Kenya and Zanzibar have joined its neighbours Tanganyika and Uganda as independent sovereign states. Thus the long, tenacious struggle by the leaders of the African people and their supporters for the right to rule themselves comes to an end. The battle for political independence has been fought and won. Now a bigger and more challenging battle against ignorance, poverty and disease begins.

Kenya's attainment of independence removes a major barrier to the establishment of an East African Federation. True, genuine difficulties still exist - differing economies; differences in constitutions; the heritage of colonialism; the very fact that there are now four sovereign states in East Africa. Nevertheless an East African Federation can and should be created.

Well now let me tell you something about myself. I am now an established Lawyer in Dar es Salaam. From morning till evening, I work in my office dealing with all sorts of legal problems. I have general practice and I deal with all sorts of Civil & Criminal cases. I quite enjoy my work especially conducting cases in the court - it is a very hard but exciting work.

In my spare time, my greatest interest is music: I am still collecting European, Asian and African classical and folk music on tape. I also play tennis and cricket to keep fit. We have not many opportunities of seeing plays here but I try to see a good film if there is one in the town.

How are you and your family, my friend? I wish you all a MERRY CHRISTMAS and a VERY HAPPY NEW YEAR.

I often remember you and think about our time together with great pleasure. I feel like writing to you many times but the pressure of work and other activities makes it rather diffucult. Anyway, we shall do a lot of talking when we meet again - and I hope that it will be soon !

I hope to hear from you soon. BEST WISHES.

Yours sincerely,

Vadan

Dear Bayard —
Drafted into seeing you — to give this to you personally —
seeing as I wrote about you.
Best wishes
Morris

Greenbelt Knoll
5 Longford Street
Philadelphia, Pa. 19136
Holiday Season, 1963

Dear Friends,

This year of the civil rights revolution, of sudden death in Dallas and Birmingham, has also been one of progress and challenge.

Betty and Gene, both high school seniors, are young adults who will be leaving for college in September. Betty's first choice is Brandeis, which she visited November 12th when I gave the Helmsley lecture on civil rights there.

Gene, to be 18 in February, has gotten his driver's license -- first try. He's been taking courses at U of P -- sociology and computers -- in spare time from care of his dog Champ, studies at Lincoln, ball games, and chores at the Greenbelt Knoll pool and at home.

Betty, 16 this month, helped at the Dept. of Health this summer. She's on the school paper and debating team, and writes erudite papers on labor in politics, peace, etc.

Grace continues as research associate at the Institute for Urban Studies, U of P. She's directing an Institute study, "Land Utilization and Costs." Two books that she edited are off press: Tom Reiner's The Place of the Ideal Community in Urban Planning and Bill Grigsby's Housing Markets and Public Policy.

She did some painting during our Vermont vacation, which Betty and I interrupted to join the historic March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom, August 28th. Gene and Grace couldn't go.

I've become membership chairman of the Greenbelt

Knoll swimming pool, which, with wading pool, is in the community's two acre park. Membership is open to non-resident families; if you are interested, call some evening or weekend before 10 p.m., DE 2-7669.

To relax, I continue to collect world stamps, but especially plate number singles, old and new. More and more I find pleasure in the garden, for which Grace this year bought scores of bulbs.

*****

As the year began, the Deerfield battle got a lift from distribution of Ethel Untermyer's Deerfield Coloring Book, illustrated by her daughter Alice, and by Avon's issuance of 100,000 paperbacks of Harry and David Rosen's But Not Next Door.

But we lost, after four years in the courts: the U. S. Supreme Court on June 10th declined to hear our appeal from the Illinois Supreme Court decision upholding the condemnation for parks of our two separate sites and two model houses in that all-white Chicago suburb.

High point of the fight was the support of all the key Negro leaders, who with a hundred others wired the Attorney General urging an amicus curiae brief. "A decisive stand by the Department of Justice in this case will serve as a deterrent to other towns," they said, to what "Time called 'segregation by condemnation.'" Even after a conference with civil rights leaders at which Jim Farmer, B. J. Anderson, Pauli Murray and others eloquently stated the issues, Robert Kennedy declined to act. Burke Marshall did have a brief prepared, after being impressed by cases of this type cited in the Freedom of Residence Foundation pamphlet, The Negro in White Suburbia, by Ian McMahan.

An ADA delegation had raised the issue with Pres-

ident Kennedy, who promised to discuss the case with Marshall.

Words can't do justice to the warmth I feel for all the wonderful people who helped in the Deerfield battle -- the American Freedom of Residence Fund, so ably led by Charles Benton, and especially those in Deerfield, led by Deerfield Citizens for Human Rights, who risked their jobs, plus the able lawyers, headed by volunteer Joe Rauh.

The Deerfield battle, it seems to me, secured major public discussion of the problem of all-white suburbia. Modern Community Developers, Inc. learned the importance of working with the local leadership and power structure, not merely the regional leadership. The work for equal housing goes on. . .

Friends won during the Deerfield struggle have made new gains possible:

This summer one of them, an MCD-PC board member, established a second revolving fund to buy apartment houses. With the $250,000 fund set up last year, (by another board member), this $350,000 made possible an agreement of sale on a second building twice as large as the first. Our first building, which now houses 5 non-whites in its over 3 score apartments, has begun a cash flow of 8%, now tax free due to depreciation. A portion of this goes to Planned Communities, of which MCD is a major stockholder.

During the year PC profitably sold two sites in the Washington, D. C. suburbs and concluded negotiations for control of three other sites there. On two of these, construction of single family houses is underway; homes are available for early occupancy. After a third subdivision was OK'd for recording, the local board of education decided to take over half of our hundred lots for a school.

We're still working in Wilmington, Delaware suburbs, in Waterbury, Conn., in New York City, and Provi-

dence, R. I., where, under Irving Fain's leadership, construction starts in 1964 on 480 garden apartments.

In '63 the MCD-PC office moved from Princeton to 7750 Roosevelt Blvd., Philadelphia, two miles from Greenbelt. Tom Garth, the able office manager, lives at Concord Park.

In January in Urbana at the quadrennial national student assembly of the YMCA-YWCA, I was urging students to live their beliefs and to consider careers in open housing. The speech, "Developing Open Communities," is available (50¢) from Association Press, 291 Broadway, N. Y. In November I urged planners at Cornell to consider becoming developers of integrated communities. There I visited with U. of Newark friend, Milton R. Konvitz, whose First Amendment Freedoms has just been issued by Cornell U Press.

Norman Thomas, whose biography by Harry Fleischman is being published in January by Norton, says "Utopia is not a republic of fraternity to be taken by violence." The Birmingham bombings and the Dallas shootings must be considered in the context of a society which gets distraught at the economic disaster of apparent disarmament (actually shifts in types of arms.) Our society spends billions devising weapons to kill, virtually nothing to study how people can live together in peace. We glorify wholesale killing and are shocked when the lesson is applied retail.

The key man of 1963, it seems to me, was Bayard Rustin, executive secretary of the War Resisters League, who with A. Philip Randolph organized the dramatic March on Washington. The 200,000 participants are a force for change stronger than they know; if all their lives would demonstrate their beliefs, the March's aims could be achieved in our time....

Happy holiday! As ever,

Morris Milgram

Morris Milgram

P.S. Do call me collect at home DE2-7669 or 215-Cole
office DE8-2333
when you can, please —
Did Roberts see you Sun
Bertens, Pa.

December 30, 1963

Miss Caroline Pezzullo
Executive Secretary
Commission for Internation Development
211 East 43rd Street
Room 1003
New York 17, New York

Dear Miss Pezzullo:

Mr. Rustin has asked me to forward his deepest apologies that he will be unable to meet your four friends from Brazil.

Unfortuanately, Mr. Rustin will be in Europe at that time. I hope that this will not discourage you and hope that he will be able to meet with you in the near future.

Sincerely,

Tina Lawrence
Sec. to Mr. Rustin

COMMISSION MEMBERS
GERALD KING, CHAIRMAN
PRESIDENT, Y. C. W.
FRANK E. FERRARI
ASSISTANT EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
FOUNDATION FOR YOUTH
AND STUDENT AFFAIRS
JAMES T. HARRIS, SECRETARY
GENERAL, INSTITUTE OF LAW
AND PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION
LEOPOLDVILLE, CONGO
RT. REV. MSGR. REYNOLD HILLENBRAND
NATIONAL CHAPLAIN, Y. C. W.
PATRICK KEEGAN, K.S.G., PRESIDENT,
WORLD MOVEMENT OF CHRISTIAN WORKERS
MARIE POWERS, VICE PRESIDENT Y. C. W.
PAUL SIGMUND, PROFESSOR OF
GOVERNMENT, PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

COMMISSION FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT
211 EAST 43 STREET
ROOM 1003
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.
TEL. MURRAY HILL 2-6275

In Europe
Sorry can't
Comm.

CAROLINE PEZZULLO
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
MICHAEL COLEMAN
PROGRAM DIRECTOR

December 26, 1963

Mr. Bayard Rustin
Deputy Director
The March on Washington for
Jobs and Freedom
170 West 130 Street
New York, N. Y. 10027

Dear Mr. Rustin:

We would like very much to have our four friends from Brazil meet you while they are in the United States during the month of January. The enclosed background sheet will give you an idea of who they are and what they are doing. Just as you are in the forefront of our American revolution, they are very much involved in the social revolution taking place in Brazil.

If there is any feeling of allegiance on the part of the Latin reformer with the United States, it is certainly with the American Negro and his struggle for justice. They want very much to speak with leaders of the civil rights movement to better understand their thinking.

On Saturday, January 11th, Father Phillip Berrigan, whom I believe you know as a supporter of your cause, will be preparing a study program in Harlem during the morning and/or early afternoon for the delegation. We would appreciate very much if you could take time out from your busy schedule to meet the Brazilians to brief them on the background and broad issues of the civil rights struggle, and on the practical work-a-day solutions being undertaken on the community level, both in the North and South. May we suggest 4:00 p.m.?

On a number of occasions in the past, Mr. A. Phillip Randolph most graciously met with delegations we invited to this country. Those discussions with him were always pointed to as the highlight of their trips. I am sure such an exchange with you would be of great value.

We look forward to hearing from you at your earliest convenience. I join with you in your firm determination--we shall overcome.

Cordially,

Caroline Pezzullo

Caroline Pezzullo
Executive Secretary

CP:mc
Enclosure

December 31, 1963

Mrs. Joseph Willen
National President
National Council of Jewish Women
1 West 47th Street
New York 36, New York

Dear Mrs. Willen:

Thank you for your letter of December 3rd, and please forgive the belated answer. However, our office has been deluged with mail and is just begginning to make a dent in it.

I wish to thank you for your kind words regarding my statement in the New York Times. It is always encouraging to know a that so many people are aware of the acute economic dilemma facing all of us. It is my fond hope that the civil rights movement will begin to hammer away at this problem in the very near future.

thank you again,

Sincerely,

BAYARD RUSTIN
Deputy Director

NATIONAL
COUNCIL
OF JEWISH
WOMEN

ONE WEST FORTY-SEVENTH ST., NEW YORK 36, N. Y. CIRCLE 6-3175 • MRS. JOSEPH WILLEN, NATIONAL PRESIDENT • MISS HANNAH STEIN, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Thank her

December 3, 1963

Mr. Bayard Rustin
340 West 28th Street
Apartment 9J
New York 11, N.Y.

Dear Bayard:

It was a great pleasure for me to read in yesterday's New York Times of your very fine statement on necessary tactics in civil rights. Without speaking of what you call "gimmicks" or in any way criticizing recent methods which have undoubtedly been proper for their time, I have long felt with all the ardor that I possess that the most pressing attack must be on our basic economic potential in the United States. How can America's leadership be stirred up to understand that we cannot tolerate and continue to be healthy with an unemployment figure of the dimensions we now have. What means are really necessary to stir up public feeling for finding basic measures to meet the technological needs of our times? I think if the civil rights movement could hammer away at this problem it would perform the greatest service not only for the inherent rights movement, but also for the future of all of us, for I do not know of any other group that seems to be as made to order to hit this issue.

Thank you for keeping your eyes on the ball.

Cordially yours,

Pearl L. Willen/ms

Mrs. Joseph Willen
National President

PLW:ms
dictated but not read

Miss Roberta Kulekofsky
155-22 Jewel Avenue
Flushing 67, New York

Dear Roberta:

My sister, Mrs LeBon forwarded to me your letter of October 21 requesting an interview with me for your high school newspaper.

Although my schedule is very heavy I would be very happy to talk with you. I think a personal interview would be best., and I suggest that you call my office at the above number for a appointment.

I will look forward to meeting you, and I enjoyed reading your editorial columnm.

Sincerely,

BAYARD RUSTIN
Deputy Director

BR/tl

BAYARD RUSTIN - CORRESPONDENCE

JANUARY - JUNE, 1964

292

THE LONDON SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS AND POLITICAL SCIENCE.

HOUGHTON STREET,
ALDWYCH,
LONDON, W.C.2.

Telephone: Holborn 7686 (7 lines)
Telegrams: "Poleconics, Estrand," London

Mr. Bayard Rustin,
March on Washington,
170 West 130 Street,
New York 27,
New York, U.S.A.

3rd January, 1964.

Dear Mr. Rustin,

Many thanks for your letter. I am sorry that you did not feel able to write an article on the Negro Freedom Movement for the Socialist Register, but I understand perfectly well how busy you must be. May I send my heart-felt wishes for much success in 1964?

Yours sincerely,

Ralph Miliband.

Ralph Miliband.

January 3, 1964

Mr. Rustin has asked me to inform that unfortunately there are no copies of his address delivered at the SNCC conference, he spoke from notes--however, here is a copy of his letter to the New York Times, which contains most of the things that he stressed at the conference.

Sincerely,

Tina Lawrence, Sec. to Mr. Rustin

Current

905 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 21, N. Y., YUKON 8-7900

December 13, 1963

Sent T.L.,

Sorry no copy from notes

Mr. Bayard Rustin
March on Washington
170 West 130th Street
New York 27, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Rustin:

The editors of Current would like to receive a copy of the address which you delivered to the Fourth Annual Conference of the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee at Howard University.

If a transcript is available I should be most grateful if you would forward it to my attention.

Sincerely yours,

Helen Lincoln

Helen Lincoln
Editorial Department

Wednesday
August 28, 1963

MARCH ON WASHINGTON FOR JOBS AND FREEDOM

170 West 130 Street
New York 27, New York
FIlmore 8-1900

Founding Chairmen
Mathew Ahmann
Eugene Carson Blake
James Farmer
Martin Luther King
John Lewis
Joachim Prinz
A. Philip Randolph
Walter Reuther
Roy Wilkins
Whitney Young

Administrative Committee
Cleveland Robinson
Chairman
Courtland Cox
Ann Arnold Hedgeman
Rev. Thomas Kilgore, Jr.
Rev. George Lawrence
James McCain
Gloster Current
Guichard Parris
Irwin Suall

Director
A. Philip Randolph

Deputy Director
Bayard Rustin

Coordinators
Norman Hill
L. Joseph Overton

Southern Administrators
Dr. Aaron Henry
Worth Long
Att. Floyd McKissick
Rev. Wyatt Walker

January 6, 1964

Mr. Maurice F. McCRACKIN, Treas.
Operation Freedom
932 Dayton Street
Cincinnati 14, Ohio

Dear Mr. McCRACKIN:

Mr. Rustin has asked me to inform you that he is in Europe until the 20th of January. He apologizes for not having been able to answer your letter, but he has been so swamped with mail that it was just impossible for him to do so. However, upon his return he will write you a more extensive reply.

Thank you,

Tina Lawrence, Sec. to Mr. Rustin

I'm Europe
will write after Jan 20

Operation Freedom
932 Dayton Street
Cincinnati 14, Ohio

Mr. Bayard Rustin
War Resisters League
5 Beekman Street
New York 38, New York

Dear Mr. Rustin:

You will recall that on October 28, 1963 we wrote to you describing the program of Operation Freedom and asking for possible cooperation between our two organizations in future endeavors. To date we have not received a reply from you and we would like to bring this to your attention.

We would greatly appreciate it if you could reply to our letter of October 28, because we would value your comments on it. Please disregard this note if you have replied in the meantime. Thank you.

Sincerely,

Maurice F. McCrackin

Maurice F. McCrackin
Treasurer

I'm looking forward to seeing you next Spring and am to have the privilege of introducing you -

Sincerely,

Mac

OPERATION FREEDOM

c/o Rev. Maurice F. McCrackin
932 DAYTON STREET
CINCINNATI 14, OHIO

Chairman: Rev. Clarence Nelson
Co-chairman: Miriam Nicholas

Sec'y: Rev. L. Richard Hudson
Treas.: Rev. Maurice F. McCrackin

Corr. Sec'y: Ernest Bromley
Coordinator: Jack McKart

October 28, 1963

Mr. Bayard Rustin
War Resisters League
5 Beekman Street
New York 38, New York

Dear Mr. Rustin:

As you know, for nearly three years Operation Freedom has attempted to help those people in Haywood and Fayette Counties, Tennessee who have suffered economic reprisals because of their participation in voter registration drives. As in many other Southern counties, Negroes in Haywood and Fayette Counties who attempted to register were fired from their jobs, evicted from their homes, refused credit at banks and grocery stores, and subjected to numerous other reprisals.

In order for these people to maintain their struggle, they must be enabled to make a living - to feed and clothe their families - in the face of this economic pressure from racial segregationists. In short, Operation Freedom's work is concerned with what happens to people when the demonstrations are over or when a father of eight children loses his job because he has stood up and demanded to be counted as a human being.

Operation Freedom, which began its work in Haywood and Fayette Counties, has recently expanded into the Delta area of northwestern Mississippi. The need in these areas is overwhelming but Operation Freedom has been able to help a number of people by making crop loans, paying medical expenses, and paying living expenses. The conscience of a people can be stirred by headlines of dramatic action, but when the headlines stop, people forget and the people who were behind the headlines become the forgotten. This is when Operation Freedom attempts to help sustain the spirit and power of a movement by meeting the practical needs of the people.

In the nearly three years of attempting to do this, Operation Freedom has provided over 100,000 dollars to help these people. Now little money is coming in to Operation Freedom because people who continue to give support to the dramatic (the action that makes the headlines) do not always remember that there are living people behind these demonstrations; people who, because of the stand they have taken, are suffering and need immediate aid. What is needed is aid that will sustain people until they can work ahead to more concrete and permanent solutions to their economic ills.

We are writing to let you know that since it is so difficult for us to continue at present, we are considering just what to do in the coming months. We are sure you are aquainted with our work and we ask you for any suggestions or ideas concerning it. Might we hope for cooperation with the War Resisters League in the future, such as mailing Operation Freedom literature to the people on your mailing list or occasionally mentioning the work of Operation Freedom in your own literature?

We ask you to think about these things and then write to us as soon as possible giving your reactions. For your information we are enclosing a copy of our current brochure.

We are looking forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely,

Maurice F. McCrackin

Maurice F. McCrackin
Treasurer

Greetings, Bayard!

January 7, 1964

W.C. Thompson
Goverment of the District of Columbia
Finance Office, Revenue Division
Room 3153, Municipal Center
300 Indiana Avenue N.W.
Washington 1, DLC.

Dear Sir:

Enclosed you will a check in the amount of $30.00 which covers taxes for materials we presume sold in Washington on August 28th. I say presume because not knowing in advance that we were required to pay revenue on what was sold, frankly admit no accurate records were kept.

After questioning persons concerned with sales, I can presume that buttons and pennants sold on the Washington monument grounds came somewhere between $950.00 and $1,000.

Sincerely,

BAYARD RUSTIN
Deputy Director

8 8

January 7, 1964

W.C. Thompson
Goverment of the District of Columbia
Finance Office, Revenue Division
Room 3153, Municipal Center
300 Indiana Avenue N.W.
Washington 1, DLC.

Dear Sir:

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Sincerely,

BAYARD RUSTIN
Deputy Director

8 8

GOVERNMENT OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

DEPARTMENT OF GENERAL ADMINISTRATION

FINANCE OFFICE:
REVENUE DIVISION

REPLY TO:
SALES, USE AND EXCISE TAX SECTION
ROOM 3153 MUNICIPAL CENTER
300 INDIANA AVENUE, N. W.
WASHINGTON 1, D. C.

CERTIFIED MAIL
RETURN RECEIPT REQUESTED

September 5, 1963

Mr. Bayard Rustin
Deputy Director
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
170 West 130th Street
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Rustin:

During the past few weeks and particularly on August 28, 1963, it came to our attention that your association has been making sales of tangible personal property in the District of Columbia.

On August 27, 1963, we contacted the D. C. branch in connection with the sale of merchandise, and we have been advised by Dr. E. Franklin Jackson, President of the local branch, that we should contact you in reference to the liability for District of Columbia sales tax on such sales.

Dr. Jackson advised us that all funds received by members of the local branch as a result of these sales have been forwarded to the National Office and that they have been advised that the National Office will deal with the several municipalities and state governments for requirements under their respective Sales and Use Tax Acts.

It is requested that you please remit to the District of Columbia the 3% sales tax on sales of tangible personal property made by and on behalf of your organization in the District of Columbia. For this purpose we are enclosing a blank Sales and Use Tax return and it is requested that you indicate on the return the period covered. In the event your organization intends to make sales subsequent to August 1963, we are enclosing an application for Certificate of Registration to be completed and returned to this office.

Sincerely yours,

W. C. Thompson

W. C. Thompson,
Supervisor.

WCT:mc
Enclosures 2

GOVERNMENT OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA
FINANCE OFFICE
Revenue Division
Sales, Use and Excise Tax Section

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA SALES AND USE TAX - GENERAL INFORMATION

GROSS SALES TAX

Applies To: Those making sales of tangible personal property at retail or selling certain selected services defined as sales at retail as indicated under "Remarks" below.

Returns and Payments Due: Monthly, on or before the 20th of each month, covering sales of the preceding month.

"Every vendor who has filed all required monthly sales tax returns shall be deemed to have complied with the requirements imposed on vendors for filing annual returns: provided, the total amount of his taxable gross receipts for his tax year is not in excess of the total of the amounts reported on his monthly returns for such tax year. Where the taxable gross receipts of any vendor for his tax year are in excess of the total of the amounts reported on the taxpayer's monthly returns, he shall notify the Finance Officer, D. C., in writing, within 30 days after the end of his tax year. The notice shall show the amount of excess taxable receipts over the amounts already reported and he shall pay the tax on such excess."

Filed With and Paid To: The Finance Officer of the District. Remittances are made payable to the D. C. Treasurer.

Forms: The District of Columbia Sales and Use Tax Returns are mailed directly to each registered taxpayer by the Finance Officer of the District on or before the first of each month.

Registration: Before engaging in or continuing to engage in the business of making taxable retail sales, a vendor is required to apply for a certificate of registration, without charge, upon a blank (Application for Certificate of Registration, Form FR-304) secured from the Finance Officer of the District, for each retail establishment. The certificate is to be displayed in the applicant's place of business. There is no provision requiring renewal of registration certificates.

Rate of Tax: 3% of the gross receipts of the vendor from the sale of taxable tangible personal property at retail and services defined as sales at retail as set forth below.

In obtaining reimbursement where the 3% rate applies, the vendor is to add and collect from the purchaser the following amounts:

Sales Price	Tax
1¢ to 14¢	no tax
15¢ to 44¢	1¢
45¢ to 74¢	2¢
75¢ to $1.14	3¢
$1.15 or more	3¢ on each dollar plus the above tax on any fraction of a dollar.

Sales of food for human consumption off the premises where such food is sold are subject to a tax at 1%. In obtaining reimbursement where the 1% rate applies, the vendor is to add and collect from the purchaser the following amounts:

Sales Price	Tax
28¢ to $1.27, inclusive	1¢
$1.28 to $2.27, inclusive	2¢
Each $1.00 or fraction thereof in excess of $2.27	1¢

Sales or charges for accommodations furnished to transients are subject to a tax at 4%.

Extension of Time: The Finance Officer may extend for cause shown the time of filing any return for a period not exceeding 30 days.

Remarks: The term "sales price" is defined to exclude deductions on account of the cost of the property sold, the cost of materials used, labor or service cost, interest charged, losses or any other expenses, the cost of transportation of the property prior to its sale at retail, or amounts charged for any cover, minimum, entertainment, or other service in hotels, restaurants, etc., where meals, food, drink, etc. is furnished for a consideration. The total amount of the sales price includes all of the following: (a) Any services that are a part of the sale; (b) Any amount for which credit is given to the purchaser by the vendor. However, "sales price" does not include: cash discounts allowed and taken on sales, amounts charged for property returned under certain circumstances, amounts charged for labor or services rendered in installing or applying the property sold, provided these charges are separately stated from the selling price of the property sold, the amount of reimbursement of tax paid by the purchaser to the vendor, or transportation charges separately stated, if the transportation occurs after the sale of the property is made.

"Retail sale" and "sale at retail" are defined to mean "all sales of tangible personal property to any person for any purpose other than those in which the purpose of the purchaser is to resell the property so transferred in the form in which the same is, or is to be, received by him, or to use or incorporate the property so transferred as a material or part of other tangible personal property to be produced for sale by manufacturing, assembling, processing or refining." These terms also include:

(1) The sale of any meals, food or drink, or other like tangible personal property for a consideration;
(2) Any production, fabrication, or printing of tangible personal property on special order for a consideration;
(3) Sales or charges for rooms, or accommodations furnished to transients by hotels, etc. for a consideration;
(4) The sale of natural or artificial gas, oil, electricity, solid fuel, or steam other than for resale or for use in manufacturing, assembling, processing or refining;
(5) The sale of material used in the construction, and of materials used in the repair or alteration, of real property, which materials, upon completion of such construction, alteration or repairs, become real property, regardless of whether such property is to be sold or resold;
(6) The sale or charges for possession or use of any article of tangible personal property granted under a lease or contract, the lease or contract being considered the sale of such article and the tax is to be computed and paid by the vendor upon the rental paid: provided, however, that the gross proceeds from the rental of films, records, or any type of sound transcribing to theaters and radio and television broadcasting stations is not to be considered a retail sale: provided further, that the gross proceeds from the rental of textiles, the essential part of which rental includes recurring service of laundering or cleaning thereof, is not to be considered a retail sale.

"Retail sale" and "sale at retail" do not include: (1) Sales of tickets for admission to places of amusement and sports; (2) Sales of transportation and communication services; (3) Professional, insurance, or personal service transactions which involve sales as inconsequential elements for which no separate charges are made; (4) Any sale in which the only transaction in the District is the mere execution of the contract of sale and in which the tangible property sold is not in the District at the time of such execution, but nothing herein is to be construed to be an exemption from the Compensating Use Tax.

Exempt gross receipts include the following: Sales to the United States or the District or any instrumentality thereof except sales to national banks and Federal savings and loan associations; sales to a state, territory or possession or their political subdivisions if they grant a similar exemption to the District; sales to a semipublic institution, provided such institution has applied for and received a Certificate of Exemption from the Finance Officer, D. C.; sales of motor vehicle fuels upon which the District motor fuels tax is imposed; certain sales of property purchased by a utility or public service company; sales of newspapers; casual and isolated sales; sales of livestock, poultry, seeds, feeds for livestock and poultry, fertilizers, lime and land plaster used for agricultural purposes; sales of food or beverages on transportation facilities operating in commerce between the District and a state; sales of natural or artificial gas, oil, electricity, solid fuel, or steam, directly used in manufacturing, assembling, processing or refining; sales

of motor vehicles and trailers, subject to the provisions of Title III of the D. C. Revenue Act of 1949; sales of medicines, pharmaceuticals and drugs; sales of crutches, wheel chairs, artificial limbs, eyes and hearing devices, false teeth, dental materials, eyeglasses specially designed or prescribed, and artificial braces and supports; sales of cigarettes; sales of material to be incorporated permanently in any war memorial authorized by Congress to be erected on public grounds of the United States.

COMPENSATING USE TAX

A tax at the prescribed rates (see "Rate of Tax" above) of the sales price is imposed on the use, storage or consumption in the District of any tangible personal property and services sold or purchased at retail sale upon which the gross sales tax has not been paid. Vendors not registered under the Gross Sales Tax requirements are required to register with the Finance Officer of the District before engaging or continuing in business, on forms secured from the Finance Officer. Every vendor engaging in business in the District and making sales at retail is required to collect the tax from the purchaser and make monthly returns and payments thereof on or before the 20th of each month. Returns are filed with the Finance Officer of the District and remittances are made payable to the D. C. Treasurer. Any vendor or retailer not engaged in business in the District but making sales at retail of tangible personal property for use, storage or consumption within the District may, upon application to the D. C. Treasurer, be authorized to pay the tax and collect the reimbursement of the tax from the purchaser, giving the purchaser a receipt therefor, and thereafter will be required to make monthly returns and payments of the tax. Where a purchaser has not reimbursed a vendor or retailer authorized to pay the tax, the purchaser is required to file monthly returns with the Finance Officer and pay the compensating use tax monthly to the D. C. Treasurer.

It is provided: " 'Engaging in business in the District' includes the selling, delivering, or furnishing in the District, or any activity in the District in connection with the selling, delivering, or furnishing in the District, of tangible personal property or services sold at retail as defined herein. This term shall include but shall not be limited to the following acts or methods of transacting business: (a) The maintaining, occupying or using, permanently or temporarily, directly or indirectly, or through a subsidiary or agent, by whatever name called, of any office, place of distribution, sales or sample room or place, warehouse or storage place, or other place of business. (b) The having of any representative, agent, salesman, canvasser, or solicitor operating in the District for the purpose of making sales at retail as defined herein, or the taking of orders for such sales. "

MEMO

TO BAYARD

FROM TOM

BAYARD, I trust that you have forwarded the previous copy of this letter to Cleve. Even if you have, you do not necessarily escape k liability

I strongly suggest that you:

1. remind Cleve to deal with this problem;
2. that you inform WC Thompson that you have placed the matter before Cleve, chairman of the adminis. committee who is in charge of these matters, and trust he will be in touch with him.

GOVERNMENT OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA
DEPARTMENT OF GENERAL ADMINISTRATION

FINANCE OFFICE:
REVENUE DIVISION

REPLY TO:
SALES, USE AND EXCISE TAX SECTION
ROOM 3153 MUNICIPAL CENTER
300 INDIANA AVENUE, N. W.
WASHINGTON 1, D. C. 20001

CERTIFIED MAIL
RETURN RECEIPT REQUESTED

November 19, 1963

Mr. Bayard Rustin
Deputy Director
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
170 West 130th Street
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Rustin:

Please reply to our letter of September 5, 1963, copy of which is enclosed.

Sincerely yours,

W. C. Thompson

W. C. Thompson,
Supervisor.

WCT:mc
Enclosure 1

CERTIFIED MAIL
RETURN RECEIPT REQUESTED

September 5, 1963

Mr. Bayard Rustin
Deputy Director
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
170 West 130th Street
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Rustin:

During the past few weeks and particularly on August 28, 1963, it came to our attention that your association has been making sales of tangible personal property in the District of Columbia.

On August 27, 1963, we contacted the D. C. branch in connection with the sale of merchandise, and we have been advised by Dr. E. Franklin Jackson, President of the local branch, that we should contact you in reference to the liability for District of Columbia sales tax on such sales.

Dr. Jackson advised us that all funds received by members of the local branch as a result of these sales have been forwarded to the National Office and that they have been advised that the National Office will deal with the several municipalities and state governments for requirements under their respective Sales and Use Tax Acts.

It is requested that you please remit to the District of Columbia the 3% sales tax on sales of tangible personal property made by and on behalf of your organization in the District of Columbia. For this purpose we are enclosing a blank Sales and Use Tax return and it is requested that you indicate on the return the period covered. In the event your organization intends to make sales subsequent to August 1963, we are enclosing an application for Certificate of Registration to be completed and returned to this office.

Sincerely yours,

W. C. Thompson,
Supervisor.

WCT:mc
Enclosures 2

January 8, 1964

Mr. Todd Gitlin
Students for a Democtatic Society
112 E. 19th Street
New York N Y

Dear Mr. Gitlin:

Mr. Rustin has asked me to inform you that he has no objection to you using the quote mentioned in your letter.

Please contact us if we can be of further assistance.

Sincerely,

Tina Lawrence, Sec. to Mr. Rustin

L D 1·9 0·5

Students for a Democratic Society

Student Department of the League for Industrial Democracy

National Office: 112 East 19th Street, New York 3, New York • GR 3-2181; AL 4-5865

O.K. to use

715 Arch Street
Ann Arbor, Michigan, 48103

December 20, 1963

Mr. Bayard Rustin
War Resisters League
5 Beekman Street
New York, New York, 10038

Dear Bayard:

SDS is now in the process of composing an introductory brochure for campus distribution, and we would like to include a series of quotations from our elders: specifically, Harold Taylor, William F. Ryan, Walter Reuther, and yourself. In your letter to our June Convention, you said, "SDS, both through its program of study and research, helps to move all of us to the point where we can hope to see the emergence of a new and vital grouping of forces on the Democratic Left." Can we have your permission to use that quote?

Fraternally,

Todd Gitlin

Todd Gitlin
President

January 8, 1964

Mrs. Lillian Griffin
22 Scotland Street
Ansonia Conn.

Dear Mrs. Griffin:

Mr. Rustin has asked me to ask you if you would forward the newspaper article Mr. Lear promised and also a copy of Dr. Morsell's telegram.

Thank you,

Tina Lawrence, Sec. to Mr. Rustin

Ask Mrs Griffin to send me the news paper article Mr. Lear reminded and also a copy of Dr. Morsell's telegram

THE

101st

ANNIVERSARY

of

the

EMANCIPATION

PROCLAMATION

January 2, 1964

Ansonia Branch of the NAACP

at

Ansonia High School Auditorium

Ansonia, Conn.

LIFT EVERY VOICE AND SING

Lift ev'ry voice and sing, till earth and heaven
Sing, sing with the harmonies of liberty;
Let our rejoicing rise, high as the list'ning skies,
Let it resound loud as the rolling seas.
Sing a song full of the faith that the dark past has
taught us;
Sing a song full of the hope that the present has
brought us.
Facing the rising sun of our new day begun,
Let us march on till victory is won.

Stony the road we trod, bitter the chastening rod
Felt in the days when hope unborn had died;
Yet with a steady beat, have not our weary feet
Come to the place for which our fathers sighed?
We have come over a way that with tears has been
watered;
We have come, treading our path through the blood
of the slaughtered;
Out from the gloomy past, 'til now we stand at last
Where the white gleam of our bright star is cast.

God of our weary years, God of our silent tears,
Thou who hast brought us thus far on the way;
Thou who hast by Thy might led us into the light,
Keep us forever in the path, we pray.
Lest our feet stray from the places, our God,
where we meet Thee,
Lest our hearts, drunk with the wine of the world,
we forget Thee;
Shadowed beneath Thy hand, may we forever stand,
True to our God, true to our land.

Words by James Weldon Johnson
Music by J. Rosamund Johnson

I. INTRODUCTION
Mr. Arnon H. Lear

II. SALUTE AND PLEDGE TO THE FLAG
Mr. Horace Russom

III. NATIONAL ANTHEM
Chorus and Mrs. Mary Adams, Soloist

IV. INVOCATION
Rabbi Theodore Cluck
Beth Israel Synagogue, Derby

V. SONGS BY CHORUS
"God of Our Fathers" and "Go Down Moses"

VI. ADDRESS OF WELCOME
The Rev. Dr. Julian Taylor

VII. ADDRESS
Attorney Charles Morgan, Jr.

VIII. INTERPRETIVE DANCE
Leon James and Minns
allen

IX. ADDRESS
Mr. Bayard Rustin

X. NEGRO ANTHEM: "LIFT EVERY VOICE AND SING"
Chorus and Audience
(PLEASE SEE OPPOSITE PAGE FOR WORDS)

XI. BENEDICTION
The Rev. Joseph Pettit
St. Mary's Church, Derby

HONORED GUESTS

The Honorable Joseph Doyle
Mayor of Ansonia

The Honorable John L. Bartimole
Mayor of Derby

The Honorable Vincent Tisi
Mayor of Shelton

The Rev. Gerald F. Gilmore
President of the New Haven Area Council of Churches
Rector of St. Paul's Episcopal Church, New Haven

The Rev. Edwin R. Edmonds
Pastor of the Dixwell Avenue Congregational Church, New Haven

The Rev. William M. Philpot
Pastor of Community Baptist Church, New Haven

PARTICIPANTS IN THE TABLEAU

Miss Sharon Bostic as Hariet Tubman
Mr. Harold Farnham as Dr. Daniel Hale Williams
Miss Denice Bostic as Mary McLeod Bethune
Mr. William Farnham as Dr. Charles Drew
Mr. Brian Gibbs as Robert Weaver

Director of Chorus and Tableau: Mrs. Grover Bostic
Organist: Mrs. Clarice Brockman

The Chorus is made up of youth
from many of the Valley churches.

22 Scotland Street
Ansonia, Conn.

NAACP
527-7856

December 27, 1963

Dear Mr. Rustin —

Please forgive the way we "country folk" carry on business. The chairman of our committee was supposed to contact you on such things as train schedules, etc. I just found out he hasn't done it — so I am.

(1) There is to be a pre-program get-together and dinner here about 5^46 or 6 PM. This is so you, Mr. Morgan & the committee can get acquainted.

(2) After the program there will be an informal reception at our chairman's home.

(3) Since transportation is so bad here, you & Mr. Morgan are invited to spend the night here. Arrangements have already been made.

22 Scotland Street
Ansonia, Conn.

④ As for trains, there is one leaving Grand Central at 3 PM, arriving in New Haven at 4 26 PM. The next one leaves G.C.T. at 4 PM & arrives in New Haven at 5 37 PM. Would you be able to get one of these? If so, please let me know which & I will meet you at the station to bring you here.

I believe I've covered everything. I'll be waiting to hear from you.

Sincerely,
(Mrs.) Lillian Giffin
203-734-7298
- Home -

January 10, 1964

Mr. Robert A Lyon
Friends International Centre
12 Rue Adrien Lachenal (4)
Geneve Suissee

Dear Mr. Lyon:

Mr. Rustin has asked me to apologize to you for this belated reply, but he has been deluged with mail, that we are just begginning to put a dent in it.

Unfortunately, Mr. Baldwin is putting on a new play; and will not be able to leave the U.S. for some time. I will let you know if and when he is coming to Europe.

Unfortunately, this is the present situation.

Sincerely,

BAYARD RUSTIN
Tina Lawrence, Sec.

SOCIETY OF FRIENDS (QUAKERS) SOCIÉTÉ DES AMIS

FRIENDS INTERNATIONAL CENTRE - CENTRE QUAKER INTERNATIONAL

TÉLÉPHONE 35 47 15
TÉLÉG. AFSERCO-GENÈVE
CHÈQUES POSTAUX I. 11414

12, RUE ADRIEN-LACHENAL (4me)
GENÈVE-SUISSE

December 12th, 1963

On Pray: Baldwin putting on a new show: can't leave U.S. If and when he is going to Europe — I will let you know

Bayard Rustin,
War Resisters' League,
5 Beekman Street, Rm. 825,
New York 38, N.Y.

Dear Bayard,

A number of people in the American Community of Geneva have spoken to me of their interest in the possibility of having James Baldwin speak here. There are several thousand Americans living in or around Geneva and I suspect that Baldwin would draw at least several hundred of them as well as some Swiss and others who would be interested in hearing him. I have the impression, as do a number of people of living here, that Baldwin lives in Paris, or is there a good bit of the time. Is this true, and if so, could you send me his address plus any hints on how to approach him if he is already tired of such invitations?

My judgment is that it would be a good thing to shake the souls of many of the Americans I see here, and I suspect Baldwin can do it. I noted in a recent issue of Peace News that Dorothy Day was quoted as saying that you had made a pacifist out of Baldwin. Is it true that you do things like this to people, or is this simply an anti-Rustin canard?

Pat joins me in sending you greetings. When are you going to drop in?

Cordially,

Robert A. Lyon

RAL/mw

The Centre is jointly maintained by: Le Centre est géré en commun par:
THE AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE (PHILADELPHIA) AND THE FRIENDS SERVICE COUNCIL (LONDON)
and provides accommodation for: et ses bureaux comprennent également:
FRIENDS WORLD COMMITTEE FOR CONSULTATION (REPRESENTATION TO U.N. GENEVA)
GROUPE QUAKER DE GENÈVE (FRIENDS MEETING) ★ CLARENS CONFERENCES FOR DIPLOMATS AND FOR PARLIAMENTARIANS

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF COMMERCE, ACCOUNTS, AND FINANCE
WASHINGTON SQUARE, NEW YORK 3, N.Y.

DEPARTMENT OF ECONOMICS

AREA CODE 212 SP 7-2000

January 13, 1964

8 East 8th street
NYC 3

Dear Bayard,

I hope that your trip was productive.

Enclosed is the essay that I mentioned to you. It was delivered as an address at the national convention of the Campus Americans for Democratic Action, before Christmas.

I have an idea and want to see how it strikes you. It is for a national convention of integrationists for the purpose of discussing and formulating a Five Year Plan and a Twenty Year Plan (e. g.) for integration. Whether or not adequate plans would emerge from one such meeting, at least the meeting would get everyone thinking about the need for such planning and the issues that the need poses. What's your reaction?

Regards,

Jim Becker

P. S. I'm off for the middle west today because of serious illness in my family, but will try to get in touch with you on my return in a week or so.

Post Office Box 608
Lawrenceville, Virginia
January 14, 1964

Mr. Bayard Rustin
170 West 130th Street
New York 27, N.Y.

Dear Sir:

As a member of Brunswick County Public Schools here in Lawrenceville, Va. I request material on the March on Washington, D.C. August 28, 1963.

I would appreciate any other information you might have concerning the Modern American Negro.

Thank you.

Sincerely yours,
Nancy T. Burwell

BGL

January 15, 1964
832 Donna Drive
Orange, Conn.

Dear Mr Rustin.

Enclosed please find telegram you requested. Apparently there were others here that eventual evening who wanted the same clippings from the newspaper. However, Anon will take steps to get you copies.

It seems so superfluous to keep saying what

a wonderful time we all had Jan 2 - It will certainly remain a memorable one for me. Please be assured that our welcome mat is always out for you and that summer time is "front door" time.

Sincerely
Betty Lear

CLASS OF SERVICE
This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1201 (4-60)

SYMBOLS
DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LT = International Letter Telegram

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is LOCAL TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is LOCAL TIME at point of destination

SYNCO 13 CK PD TIN BROOKLY,N. NEW YORK 12/30/63 11:32 P.M. EST

REV. WM. HOLMAN
DERBY METHODIST CHURCH
17 FIFTH STREET
DERBY, CONNECTICUT

REPLY YOUR INQUIRY PLEASE BE ADVISED THAT BAYARD RUSTIN THROUGHOUT HIS LONG ASSOCIATION WITH THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT HAS HAD CONFIDENCE OF ITS LEADERS WHO UNANIMOUSLY APPROVED HIS DESIGNATION AS DEPUTY DIRECTOR OF MARCH ON WASHINGTON. LEADERS OF THE MARCH HAVE PUBLICLY ATTESTED TO THEIR FAITH IN RUSTIN'S PERSONAL INTEGRITY, DEDICATION TO FREEDOM AND LOYALTY TO THE U. S. OF AMERICA, IN SPITE OF SLANDERS FROM QUARTERS WHOSE REAL TARGET IS NOT RUSTIN BUT THE CIVIL RIGHTS CAUSE. RUSTIN'S BRIEF STUDENT AFFILIATION WITH LEFTIST GROUP

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

CLASS OF SERVICE
This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM
W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1201 (4-60)

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The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is LOCAL TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is LOCAL TIME at point of destination

(CONTINUED)

30 YEARS AGO WAS LONG SINCE REPUDIATED AND THOSE WHO REPEAT THE COMMUNIST CHARGE KNOW THIS. TRUST YOU WILL HAVE OVER FLOW CROWD TO HEAR HIM. HE IS WELL WORTH HEARING.

(SIGNED) JOHN MARSELL, ASSOCIATE TO
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY,
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE
ADVANCEMENT FOR COLORED PEOPLE

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

C A M P A I G N F O R N U C L E A R D I S A R M A M E N T

2, Carthusian Street,
LONDON. E.C.I., England.

16th January, 1964.

Dear A.J.

I was very sorry that you were not in Sweden, though I understand your reasons for staying in America. The Conference was really very good and the Confederation is now firmly established. I have no doubt you will be getting a report on it from Bayard and Al, so I won't go into detail. In spite of one or two local difficulties, the overall effect - both on those who came to the Working Conference and on those who came to the Congress - was very good. There was an entirely different attitude from the W.C.P. people and we have even got some sort of a short-term solution, or modus vivendi, with I.P.B.

I am writing now to ask your help in one particular way, which is vital for the Campaign and for the health of the Peace Movements here in Britain. As you probably know, we have agreed this year, for various reasons, not to run a 4-day march from Aldermaston to London. Many of the reasons are purely technical and there is very little dissent in the Movement - everyone has agreed that there ought to be one really big March on the Monday, in Washington style.

A direct link with the Washington March would not only be invaluable but is essential if we are to get the right atmosphere and the right results. For this reason, it would be not only tremendously helpful but enormously important if Bayard Rustin could come over for ten days or so before the March to organise and direct it with us. It would also be important if Martin Luther King could come before the actual march itself and speak at the final Rally, which this year will be in Trafalgar Square.

I believe that you could help to ensure that our first request is granted and that you could use your influence with Martin Luther King to persuade him also to come to the Rally and March. I am asking you to do both these things because I think you believe - and I think you are right in believing - that the continued existence of a strong and virile Peace movement in this country is essential for the health and well-being of the International Confederation and all the Peace movements throughout the world.

I know that we are frequently a confounded nuisance and that at Oxford-and once or twice but not so drastically, in Tyringe - we have made things difficult but large animals are quite often obstreperous! We have to get the Campaign over the difficult period of moving from a short-term to a long-term organisation. We have to

..... contd.

keep it as a mass movement but shift it into more productive ways and means of working. The key to all this is the Easter March 1964, and the key to a successful Easter March may well be Bayard and the link with the Washington March.

So please do all you can to spare him for us, for a couple of weeks or ten days ~~at the end of~~ before the March, and please do all you can to get Martin Luther King over.

If you can do these two things we shall be eternally in your debt - but we are that already.

Regards

We are, of course, writing to Martin Luther King. ~~Canon L. John Collins.~~

Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament

2 Carthusian Street London EC1 *Clerkenwell 5146/7*

17th January, 1964.

Dear Bayard,

I wrote to A.J.Muste yesterday and sent you a copy of the letter. I am enclosing today a copy of the letter to Dr. Martin Luther King.

It would be pretty important if we could announce very soon - to the Peace movement and to the world that you and/or Martin Luther King are coming. As soon as you know, please pass the message on.

I spent a few hours with my Chairman last night. He was extremely friendly both to me and the Confederation, which leads me to believe that 'nothing succeeds like success'. He even went so far as to claim that while Mervyn Jones and David Swaffer had voted against our motion to table the B.P.C. application he had not!!!!! How dumb does he think I am?

Finally and in conclusion - Thank you for all you did at Tyringe. We would never have made it without you.

Yours

Peggy Duff

I hear from Gering that in fact he was right!

Mr. Bayard Rustin,
W.R.I.,
5, Beekman Street,
NEW YORK 38,
U.S.A.

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Lord Wilmot
Professor Barbara We

CAMPAIGN FOR NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT

2, Carthusian Street,
LONDON, E.C.I., England.

The Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament is organising at Easter this year a single mass March in London on Easter Monday, modelled on the Washington Civil Rights March, in place of the 4-day march from Aldermaston to London. We are all agreed that this sort of demonstration is likely to win more support and to have a greater impact.

It is important that there should be some direct link with the Washington March. We are hoping that Bayard Rustin will be able to come over for a week before the March to help us, but what we really need is that you should come to speak at the final Easter Monday Rally, in Trafalgar Square.

I hope very much that you may be willing to do this. It would give a great boost to the Peace movement in Britain at a time when possibilities of progress towards disarmament and peace are greater than ever before, and this would be particuarly important in an election year.

I hope to hear from you that you will come.

The Rev. Martin Luther King,
407, Auburn Avenue, N.E.,
ATLANTA 12,
Georgia, U.S.A.

January 17, 1964

Miss Jane Stembridge
c/o Rev. Ed King
Tougaloo Southern Christain College
Tougaloo, Mississippi

Dear Hane,

Please accept my apology for this late reply, however I am interested in you coming and will look into something.

I will write you a more extensive letter upon my return from Europe.

Sincerely,

Bayard Rustin
Deputy Director

interested in you coming to N.Y. will look into something late opening Dec. 1st

708 Avenue "N"
Greenwood, Mississippi
December 4, 1963

1

Bayard Rustin
Five Beekman Street
New York 38, New York

content

Dear Bayard,

Since you were rushing off to Long Island after the conference, I did not get to express appreciation for your speech to us in D. C. It is unfortunate, in a way, that this was not the keynote speech. Perhaps then the Conference would have faced the issues and would have accomplished something.

You will remember our conversation at Courtland's apartment during which I expressed the desire to come to New York for some study with you. With your schedule, it is probable that I could only talk with you off and on...but, at least, I would like to be in a position to do this.

With the exception of Bob Moses, no one in SNCC is facing the facts. There exists, indeed, a strong Know-Nothing element composed of people from north and south, Negro and white. The problems do, at times, seem insurmountable. But so many people have yet to see the problems, have yet to ask the questions and are content with the "revolution" as it is. Perhaps none of us are prepared to deal with unemployment and education, especially since this means revolution for America. Some of us are prepared to withdraw long enough to study, to think, and to plan. That is why I want to come to New York.

I am not concerned with formulating policy for SNCC, but in interpreting the revolution and, to the greatest extent possible, in laying the demands constantly before those people who are in the field. It does seem to me that the time has come for a person who knows SNCC, the South - at least part of it, and who has come through the ranks of SNCC to speak clearly and unequivocally for the overthrow of the political and economic strouture of this country... to speak, not to the country, but to the workers in the movement.

I am accustomed to shoving this responsibility upon someone else. It took me a long time to realize that no one else was performing this role in these exact terms. I am, if anything, a poet. And with the recent reading of Yevtushenko, have come to feel the intolerable weight of responsibility that the poet has - as writer, spokesman, gadfly. At this point, then, shuddering at the grave responsibility...I know that much study is needed, much thought - and, for me, that means, being able to talk and listen to you. So I want to come to New York.

Right now, I am in Greenwood laying the groundwork for the community center. By late January, I hope to have finished my part of this and to be able to turn it over to the people there. Beyond that, I have not committed myself. There are several pamphlets needing to be done for SNCC and these will either be finished by the time I leave or will be finished in New York. Finally, I am working on my own book - about Mississippi - and will continue plowing through on this wherever I am.

When I was ill this fall, Forman agreed to my being in New York and was completely willing to pay "New York subsistence." I assume he would still be willing, especially as he is interested in the book I am working on.

In a way, I'd like to be freed from the organization for a time. But this isn't important. You mentioned that funds might be obtained to get me to New York? Do you think it would be good for me to leave SNCC and work for WRL or WDL or what? There is time to work this out. Mainly, I just want to come and 'be around' to talk with you and Tom.

Let me know how you feel about this. I'll be receiving mail at this address until Dec. 14: care of Rev. Ed King
Tougaloo Southern Christian College
Tougaloo, Mississippi

During Christmas, until December 30: 141 Westmoor Avenue
Daly City, California
PL 5-5259

And, after December 30 - the Tougaloo address again.

I was very pleased at your response to these wishes and hope the details can be worked out. This letter is fairly vague. It is just that I must prepare myself more fully to assume the responsibility of speaking for the real revolution. And I am certainly willing to admit that I must learn a great deal more. Please give my best to Tom and Rochelle.

pax
Jane
Jane Stembridge

NEVER KNOW
where to write
you!

STUDENTAFTONUTSKOTTET
AKADEMISKA FÖRENINGEN
LUND 17.1.64

copy

To James Baldwin

The Student Evenings of the Lund University are an old cultural institution, but lively and popular in spite of its considerable age. To these evenings, we invite prominent person whom we want to meet from Sweden and from abroad to give talks to the students and to be our guests with all what that means of merriment and enjoyment.

This spring, we hope to be able to welcome a representative of contemporary American literature. There is nobody we would rather see among us than you. We know that you have things to say that would be very important for us to hear. We would also be extremely happy perhaps to be able to give you something in return for what you have given us, in your books and through your personal example.

I know that your Swedish publisher, Per Gedin from Wahlström and Widstrand, has already written and invited you to Stockholm. When I spoke with him last, he had not yet heard from you however. I hope you understand thatwe are many many people in this country-- and particularly in Lund! who are waiting for you and hoping that you will do us the great pleasure of coming over to us again.

Bayard Rustin, who has been kind enough to offer to help us and to bring you this letter, can tell you all about where Lund is!

I am very much looking forward to your reply. May I be an optimist and believe that it will be a positive one?

Yours very sincerely

Lotte Kallós(for the Student Union)

STUDENTAFTONUTSKOTTET
AKADEMISKA FÖRENINGEN
LUND 17.1.64

Dear Mr. Bayard,

I hope you are well back by now, and with good memories from your stay in Sweden. I know that you have left a strong and unforgettable memory behind you of a great artist and of an ardent personality. We in the student union were most unhappy that we could not arrange a student evening with you as our guest and speaker. But as I told you in Tyringe, we did not have enough time to make the necessary arrangements, and we always considered it an impoliteness not to be able to gather a good audience when we have important persons as our guests. We hope there will be other occasions, perhaps when you go to England fortthe Easter March.

I hereby enclose the letter for James Baldwin, which you kindly promised to give to him. I will of course be extremely grateful if you try to persuade him really to go to Sweden if he is hesitating! I also enclose a copy of this letter for your knowledge. I have also written to Martin Luther King. Perhaps you will find an occasion to talk with him about it, and tell him how eager we are to meet him.

Thank you in advance for your help.

Best greetings

Lotte Kallós

Lotte Kallós

address:
Warholms väg 8 a
Lund

Stockholm, 18/1 - 1964

Dear Bayard,

Several days have passed since you left Stockholm, and I suppose you were happy to leave it and to return 'home'. I hope, too, that you have been able to rest a little before the next conference!

Maybe you are surprised that I'm writing you, but if you think it over, it is not so surprising, since I told you that I was glad to have met you. In writing I want to tell you once more! Sometimes I have sensations of life being very near to me - if it's possible to express oneself in this way! - when you were singing at Tyringe I think I felt it so near that it had a physical effect on me. In some way you shouldn't sing in public as you did in Lund and at the bancett in Tyringe, but on the other hand people could not hear you if you didn't! There are, in fact, a lot of things to say, but it is difficult to say something to somebody you don't know!

I enclose the translation of what is written on the backside of the record "Jazz in Swedish"; I could not translate it very well, but you'll get something out of it. It might interest your assistant, too! Two of the melodies are published in notes, so if you are interested in having them, you should tell me and I can send them to you! I have played them myself, but one has got to improvise and to be able to improvise (!) to make it sound well!

I hope your fur-hat is still nice to you!!! I have to say that you showed up a great deal of patience in running about half Stockholm!

If you come here once more and you haven't forgotten your Swedish friends, comrades and acquaintances - then come and see me; that it is to say: if you can still get out from your note-book who is who! For me it is not difficult to remember, even if I see many people. I believe that people you want to remember - you can remember!!! There is also a passive way to remember: when you go here, you can think over whom you know here, and then you remember that way!!!

I don't thank you for what you have given us, I just tell you that it was very much! - With all my frienship to you,

Anja

(in your note-book: "the dark girl" or "the young lady who gave you the record"!!!)

Jazz in Swedish? wonders jan johansson

There is a tendence to make a family-dinner of the world, we are all alike and the distances are certainly no excuse for lack of understanding. To melt together races, traditions and for example musical manners of expressing. Jazz has struggled for being the esperanto of music, where the musicians speak in the same way everywhere. A nobel thought - with jazz we all link arms around the earth and rock to the same phrases and cry the same tears. / Let us accept that the exterior frame is international, for practical reasons and for understanding. In the same breath we must also accept that jazz outside America is good but 'washy' echo. Jazz-musicians all over the world speak american well, but the accent is evident and the lack of 'pith' depends on the self-evident inability of having American traditions. Jazz has for a long time been maintaining itself on the romantical attitude to passionate pulse and negroes. We will gladly believe that jazz is an especially sensitive music. But it is an unreasonable demand that a Yugoslave musician should have the same sensitivity, the same experiences as a base for his music, as an American. Play the same tones, but the content becomes another one. What is chocking in American musical milieu can sound in an indifferent way when it is played unvariedly in Finland. / At the same time there is another tendence (which in the beginning can sound 'nothing') - the tendence that every individual is 'cultivating' his own local conditions. If, in the future, jazz is to played honestly and fully outside America, then national forms must arise basing on national profundity. Painting and serious music have grown on clearly national peculiarities. ?????------We have got to realize that Jan Johansson is Swedish. He is open to different musical modes of expression, but his possibilities to create own and sensefull music are Swedish. I know that he has not speculated on this when he recorded it, but it is a natural source for a sincere musician: to choose the material of which he is born. / Here, Jan Johansson has chosen to play Swedish folk-songs. You can take it as an ironical coincidence that the name of the title-melody is "They sold their homesteads" with the sub-title "The emigrant-song", played when people emigrated to America ... -----
The other three songs are recorded in February, 28th, 1962, with the (?) bass Georg Riedel as the only accompaniment. (Skänklåt från Leksand, en Visa från Utanmyra)= "a song played when people were drinking; Leksand is a place in Dalarna, to the north-west of Stockholm - "a song from Utanmyra", which has become a blues, and the rythmically irregular Vallåt från Jämtland = a herdsman's song from Jämtland (J. is a province in the north of Sweden). One can wonder, if we have not got a Swedish form of romantic, a Swedish form of sadness and rythm which is clear and urgent enough, produced by a Swede? Is it jazz, by American law? "I don't care if you call it jazz, the main thing is that it is real music", said Duke Ellington.

Verband der Kriegsdienstverweigerer
In der War Resisters' International e.V.

Bundesvorstand

Antwort erbeten an:

Air Mail

Mr.
Bayard RUSTIN
March on Washington
for Jobs and Freedom

170 West 130 th St.

New York City 10027

U S A

January 20th, 1964 - Maurer

Dear Friend Bayard Rustin,

today we can give you good message: Enclosed please find No. 8/9-1963 of our group's periodical "Zivil". In this edition we had founded a Solidarity Fund to help finance your endavour in the United States. Our appeal did receive the appreciation of newspapers here and was mentioned in many papers. By this, your struggle in USA once more had been covered upon in the German Federal Republic.

Our association of war resisters is a pacifist organization. We don't have an extreme high number of members, but we are very active. We are member of the War Resisters' International.

Proceeding from the strength of our association, it stands to reason that our solidarity fund couldn't raise a giganitc sum. Nevertheless our summons had a nice success, and we are enabled to assign you DM 1400,-- to help your work; the money has been transferred to you. There are no conditions from our side, and we give you in person full authority tomake use of it at your own discretion, in the sense of the Solidarity Fund.

We hope that we were enabled to give you a support in your work with this money and, contemporary, have furnished proof of our community in solidarity with your efforts. This solidarity will give you the strength to keep on your way consequently.

Please turn over

Offenbach (M) · Waldstraße 99 · Postfach 648 Ruf 88 37 64 Postscheckkonto Hamburg 1870 · Bank: Deutsche Bank Hamburg Konto 53/00819

We wish you a good success in your further efforts.

With friendly greetings

(signed) Herbert Stubenrauch, Chairman

(signed) Klaus Vack, Treasurer

For Correctness:

Horst Maurer

(Horst Maurer)

Foreign Secretary

Enc.

January 20, 1964

Bernice Fisher
34 Monroe Place
Brooklyn 11201 New York

Dear Friend,

Thanks for your letter. WE are not far apart, for example I don't disagree with anything you say in your letter.

I think it is a matter of emphasis, when I get back from Europe after the 20th, we must talk.

Sincerely,

BAYARD RUSTIN
Deputy Director

Dear Bernice Fisher,

Dear Friend, Thanks for your letter. We are not far apart, for example I don't disagree with anything you say in your letter. I think it is a matter of emphasis. When I get back from Europe Jan 20 we must talk.

34 Monroe Place
Brooklyn 11201, N.Y.
UL 5 5681 or OR 7 0400, Ex 316

Dear Bayard:

After twenty years I still find you one of the most stimulating and provocative thinkers in the civil rights struggle! On the other hand I find some of your ideas provoking as well as provocative!

On your primary thesis, I should have a hard time disagreeing. That our fight must shift to Full Employment is something long a part of our political philosophy.

To achieve Full Employment...with Public Works, Cooperative enterprises, and some measure of economic planning... we must have strength. That far I'll go.

The primary goal, however, is still Negro Rights. To achieve such rights we must get more jobs, etc...but not at the expense of weakening ourselves inadvertantly while we do it. To make allies of white liberals could mean such dissipation of strength...all three groups you listed as allies were in this category. To disperse our housing concentration immediately would mean dissipation of our political strength....there would be no Negro politicians and no concentrated pressure.

On the School fight I agree that the immediate need is to teach our youngsters to read. To emphasize quality schools and theneed for a fundamental reorganization of the school system is fine. But when you move over to care for fear we alienate the liberals and the white community I'm in violent disagreement. Integration is not my goal, because I consider it ireelevant in the face of Non-Discrimination or Freedom as the ultimate goal. However, in the real situation today, the Board of Education and the general white population are opposing Integration because they do not want Negro children in their schools. For this reason the Board and the white liberals must be fought. That's why I joined the picket line at the Board of Education this morning. Far from a fear of alienating them I feared finding any common ground with them; since their motivation is diametrically opposite mine!

Meanwhile jobs are a central problem; we do need to make a common front with poor white working class people to get the power to change society. This is far from saying that we must be frustrated by the fear we will in any arena alienate the white liberal community...in the schools fight or in housing.

Now that I have this off my chest, I feel better!

Cordially,

Bernice

January 21, 1964

DR. Esther Milner
Brooklyn College
Brooklyn 10 New York

Dear Dr. Milner:

Mr. Rustin has asked me write you in his absence, and to thank you for your kind words in your letter of January 3rd.

Any words of encouragement are deeply appreciated in these trying times. Mr. Rustin would only be too happy to read your book, you can send it to the following address.

5 BEEKMAN STREET
ROOM 1025

Thank you again,

Sincerely,

Tina Lawrence, Sec. to Mr. Rustin

Blank appropriate Book pm 1025 5 Bulman

BROOKLYN COLLEGE
OF
THE CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK
BROOKLYN 10, NEW YORK

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION (SGS)

Bayard Rustin, Director,
March on Washington.

1-3-64

Dear Mr. Rustin —

I am writing you because of the picture of you that has been coming through to me from a variety of sources: an article in The Nation (I think it was) a few months back; one of my students — a very alert, worthwhile young man who is active in SNCC; the short but most perceptive contribution you made in CBS's "The Next Revolution"; your recent letter in the New York Times. All have added up to a phenomenon much too rare in American life these days: someone who can see beyond his immediate time + place + narrowly conceived self-interest. I'm very grateful that you are where you are when you are. These United States still don't know how much they need leaders of your depth of insight — but they will, they will; and I'm counting on your being very much "here" when they do (quite soon!)

It is this picture of you which makes me believe you would find my book The Failure of Success, the American Crisis in Values, worth its reading-time to you, (even though it is not quite as avant-garde as it was in 1954-56 when I wrote it). I should like to give you a copy if you would like to have one; will you let me know if you do?

Please consider this an honest-to-gosh "fan letter".

Sincerely,

Esther Milner (Ph. D.)

(If you prefer to reply by 'phone, I can be reached at UL9-7039 most mornings)

Milner (SGS)

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
BROOKLYN COLLEGE
BROOKLYN 10, N. Y.

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Bayard Rustin,
March on Washington Office,
170 W. 130 St.,
New York 27.

Contents
of
THE FAILURE OF SUCCESS, the American Crisis in Values
by Esther Milner

Part 1: The Touchstone Fallacy of Our Time.
Chap. 1. Ourselves: Means or Ends?
2. Rome Wasn't Necessarily the Last.
3. The Touchstone Fallacy of Our Time.
4. The Middle-Class Ego Struggle Has Deep Roots.

Part 2: Effects of the Fallacy.
chap. 5. The New Slavery.
6. Those Who Succeed and Those Who Fail.
7. Our American "D.P.'s".
8. Parents As American "D.P.'s."
9. Creative Individualists as American "D.P.'s."
10. Unenlightened Self-Interest.
11. "That Which We Call Freedom."
12. Comic Books or the Tattered Web?
13. Imminent: A Time of Testing?

Part 3: New Values for Old.
chap. 14. We Learn To Be Human and Ourselves.
15. Elements of a Viable Society.
16. Green Shoots Are Showing.
17. A Time for Choosing.

References.
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Published 1959.

ESTHER MILNER

has just written (1954-56)

The Failure of Success

The American Crisis in Values

1959

$3.50 *per copy*

AN EXPOSITION–BANNER BOOK

IN THIS penetrating and illuminating book, Dr. Esther Milner describes the genesis of the American belief that a person's acquisition of high occupational and consumer status will somehow transform him into a happy, psychologically whole human being —a belief in the psychological magic of success that she terms "the touchstone fallacy of our time."

With sharp insight, the author traces

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386 Park Avenue South, New York 16

why and how middle-class Americans have become so deeply involved emotionally in their economic and social status, and then goes on to catalogue the diverse negative social and individual effects of that involvement. She points especially to the increasing social irresponsibility among those in the higher status occupations and to America's shockingly low psychological standard of living. Chapter headings in the second section of the book literally snap, crackle and pop: "The New Slavery," "Those Who Succeed and Those Who Fail," "Parents as American 'D.P.'s,'" "Creative Individualists as American 'D.P.'s,'" "Unenlightened Self-Interest," "Comic Books or the Tattered Web?" Dr. Milner ends this section of the book with her documented prediction that the decade around 1975-85 will be a period of major political crisis in the United States.

The Failure of Success is specifically addressed, in the author's words, to "those people of all ages who are dissatisfied with the pattern of their lives and with accepted group values . . . a core of emotionally and intellectually uncommitted 'independents' who are not sure why they are dissatisfied, nor what they should do about it, but who have had sufficient inner stamina to keep up a kind of positive groping in the face of persistent discouragement."

Unlike most social analysts who "tear down" only, Dr. Milner, more constructively, includes a projection of positive, newly emerging paths to the future—paths which Americans must further explore and develop if they are to attain a reasonable measure of individual and social health.

The Failure of Success concludes with this challenging question: "Shall future historians date the mid-twentieth century as the period when the decline and fall of the great American experiment first became clearly evident . . . or as the period when we of the middle classes began to face up squarely to the necessity for developing fresh social, political, individual means for our continuing emergence towards human status?"

With the publication of *The Failure of Success* an "angry young woman" of, appropriately enough, combined Canadian and American background, must now be added to the "angry young men" of Britain.

January 22, 1964

Dear Friends,

Bayard Rustin will speak here April 9th under the auspices of AFSC. I need three gloss prints of Bayard for this occasion. The Service Committee's supply is limited. I would appreciate it immensely if youcould send me these as soon as possible. Also, his biographical data would be helpful.

If there is any charge please bill me.

With much appreciation.

Henry Wershaw

Henry

ttp interne

ORDER BLANK

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386 Park Avenue South
New York 16, N. Y.

Please send me.....copies of THE FAILURE OF SUCCESS by Esther Milner at $3.50 per copy.

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Jeunesse FLN d'Algérie.
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Front de la Jeunesse d'Indonésie.
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Student Peace Union des USA.

Secrétariat, secretariado: ARCI (CIP), Borgo S. Lorenzo, 1
Florence - Tel.: 28.06.08

Conferenza Internazionale della Gioventù e degli Studenti per il Disarmo, la Pace e l'Indipendenza Nazionale.

Conférence Internationale de la Jeunesse et des Etudiants pour le Désarmement, la Paix et l'Indépendance Nationale.

International Conference of Youth and Students for Disarmament, Peace and National Independence.

Conferencia Internacional de la Juventud y de los Estudiantes por el Desarme, la Paz y la Independencia Nacional.

FLORENCE (Italie) 26-II - 1-III 1964

Florence, 23rd January, 1964

PRESS BULLETIN N° 1 (second edition)

The International Preparatory Committee which met on the 17th, 18th and 19th of last November, has decided to convoke the Conference from the 26th of February to the 1st of March 1964.

The themes of discussions are as follows :

1. Disarmament and economical, social, educational and cultural problems : conversion of war expenses into investments for peace.
2. Disarmament and peaceful coexistence. Measures in reaching to the realization of general, total and controlled disarmament (atomic tests, denuclearised and demilitarised zones, foreign military bases, military pacts, etc...).
3. Disarmament, peace and the struggle of the peoples for national liberation, against colonialism, neo-colonialism and imperialism, for cultural and economical development of their countries.
4. Youth action in each country and international cooperation of youth and student organisations for disarmament, peace and national independence.

The bulletin you will received to-day demonstrates the considerable echo evoked by the Conference throught the world.

It is at the measure of the youth which is fighting for disarmament, peace and national independence, and which hopes common initiatives from all youth and student organisations will issue out of this Conference.

We hope you receive this bulletin in good time and would anticipate any information from your organisation.

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A F R I C A

The Pan-African Youth Movement in a letter of its General Secretary, has pointed out that the action of this movement is inserted intimately in the general activity of the african people struggling for their liberty, prosperity, happiness and unity, has announced that this movement approuves 'the idea of this Conference completely".

M E X I C O

The great echo of the Conference in the Mexican press : The News-Papers "Diario de Mexico", "El Dia" and "El Excelsior" have given much publicity to a statement of the Popular Socialist Youth which stated : "Youth of colonial and semi-colonial countries has always seen in disarmament and peace illimited prospects for obtaining the economic liberation of their countries and as a consequence for the solution of their immediate and future problems as the new generation. For this reason, the Popular Socialist Youth greats and supports this initiative of the Italian youth."

The Movement for National Liberation also supports the idea of the Conference in its integrity.

U.S.A.

"Turn Towards Peace" has informed the Committee that its organisation has transmitted an Appeal for the Conference to the groups of students affiliated with its organisation.

"Women Strike for Peace" has sent a cordial message.

"Progressive Youth Organizing Committee" has saluted the idea of the Conference.

"Women for Peace" of Sacremento, has congrulated the Committee.

"The Minority of One" monthly review whose Committee of supporters includes Helen and Linus Pauling, B. Russel, Dr A. Schweitzer, etc... said in a letter : "...devoutly hope that your International Conference will make a significant contribution to both the preservation of peace and socially juster world. May your Conference be crowned with success for the sake of all humanity".

Y E M E N

The United Youth Organization of Yemen actively supports the Conference and has proposed the creation of a national preparatory committee.

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S I E R R A - L E O N E

The Student's Union has nominated its representative to the Conference underlining the fact that this is the first time that the youth of all countries can meet together in order to seek solutions to the most important problems of these last years.

B R A Z I L

The Brazilian High School Student Union in a long letter to the Florence Committee, explains that worldwide disarmament and peace are the two conquests which humanity must work towards. The National Preparatory Committee is constitued of this group together with other Brazilian organizations.

The Brazilian Movement of Partisans for Peace has adressed its warmest best wishes to the Committee.

C E Y L O N

The General Secretary of the Youth Organizations of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party, governemental party, has communicated best wishes to the Conference in a letter to the Committee.

The Ceylon Moor Youth League supports the Conference and wishes it a great success.

F R A N C E

French Federation of Christian Student Associations : "We have taken part in the Temporary Committee against the "force de frappe" in France; in the same way, we met with other youth movements (confessionnal, unionist or political) in order to reach a unitary position against the "force de frappe". The themes of discussion elaborated in one of your consultative meetings are the same subjects we are working on. We would therefore desire to participate in your Conference."

National Student Union in a letter writes : "We have received your invitation to the Conference whose importance has not escaped us as our last Congress insisted on the necessity to engage the students and all french youth in the struggle for peace and disarmament."

General Confederation of Labour (C.G.T.) : "Our organization for its part is in complete agreement to participate in such a Conference."

National Federation of "Francs et Franches Camarades", its Bureau has accepted the "principle of participation" in the Conference.

Communist Youth Movement which reminded in a letter that "The French youth want schools, swimming pools, stadiums, youth clubs, and

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not cannons and missiles, a short military service; to throw all arms into the junkyard; peace and friendship among all peoples; feels that the holding of such a Conference can contribute in France to reinforce the union of all youth and student forces for peace."

MESSAGE from Mr Jules MOCH, Deputy, Former Minister : "I wish success to the Conference for Disarmament and Peace. General, total and internationaly controlled disarmament is the condition of that peace to which youth aspires as well to the liberation of all men from nuclear anguish. Men's present madness cannot be perpetuated. As a veteran of two wars, painfully tried by them, I have only one ambition : to avoid for the youth of do-tay the griefs which we bore as young people and which we were not able to avoid to our children. After having fought for twelve years for disarmament, I remain an optimist for the faith I hold in human reason. May public opinion impose its will for peace everywhere. (original text in french).

G E R M A N F E D E R A L R E P U B L I C

The Union of Socialist Students has expressed great interest and participated in the second consultative meeting in june.

The Socialist Youth "The Falcons", of Bremen, have made their interest know in a letter to the Committee.

"The Geschwister Scholl Jugend" of Hamburg, has done the same.

MESSAGE from the Professor Dr M. BORN : ...I beg you to give the members of the meeting my best greetings and cordial wishes for successful discussions. The problems of disarmament and peace are certainly the most important ones in our time. All national problems however urgent seem to be to those concerned, should have a second place behind the problem of peace and war, because the survival of the human race depends on the preservation of peace. I wish full success to your congress."

T O G O

MESSAGE from the Professor MULK RAJ ANAND : ...I wish your Conference profound success through deliberations which I hope will involve concrete work on the implication of disarmament...".

MESSAGE from Mr VIVEKANANDA MUKHERJEE, editor of Basumati, President of the West Bengal Peace Council : "...It is heartning to note that the youth organisations all over the world have made the Florence Conference a common platform for voicing their desire for peace and disarmament... Total disarmament and world peace are the two essential things the world needs most to-day. Moscow Test Ban Treaty is a definite stop towards disarmament. But unfortunately underground nuclear tests could not be banned immediately. But the goodwill is there. And I sincerely believe that the day is not far off when all nuclear weapons would find their place only in the museum... I sincerely wish the initiative a great success."

./.

B E L G I U M

The Flemish Socialist Youth (Jongsocialisten) excusing itself for not having been able to participate in the preparatory meeting in June, has asked the Committee to keep it informed of all preparations.

MESSAGE from Mr H. ROLIN, Senator, State Minister : "My most heartfelt congratulations to Unified Youth Committee of Florence for Disarmament and Peace. Certainly, we can be glad by the progress made in the road towards distensions in spite of the opposition of an Adenauer or a de Gaulle, yet it is frankly quite unbearable that no reduction of armaments has followed and that the majority of the countries persist in devoting enormous amounts to military expenditures, creators of insecurity while at the same time hundreds of millions of human beings lack the barest essentials. It is this which truly justifies the disgust and revolt of international youth. May its protests aquire suffisant intensity to make itself respected ! Please be assured, Gentlemen, of my best wishes." (original text in french).

MESSAGE from the National Secretary of the General Federation of Labour of Belgium, Mr WILLY SHUGENS : "...If there still exist political clans, financiers or military people who consider the possibility of resorting to war, are they made aware that they would have all the peoples against them. The youth, in its own domain, has a particular role to play, which is what Unified Youth Committee for Disarmament and Peace has understood. It is to be congratulated upon its happy initiative and wished the maximum of success in its enterprise. It may rest assured that in its struggle it has numerous allies and that in the midst of these efforts, victory is to be found."

MESSAGE from the Professor J. BRACHET, Faculty of Sciences, Free University of Bruxelles : "...I send you my best wishes for the full success of your Conference. It is extremely important that youth - students in particular - have a complete awareness of the necessity of assuring peace through disarmament..."

MESSAGE from the Professor W. PEE, Faculty of Letters of Gent : "...I congratulate you on your initiative and hope that your congress of the whole world will find and reach agrement on disarmament..."

MESSAGE from the Professor C. DELVOIE, Free University of Bruxelles :

"...Rest assured that I am with you whole heartedly..."

K E N Y A

The Kenya African National Union has expressed its intention to participate in the Conference and to "contribute fully to the cause of peace, liberty and disarmament". In this same letter, it was also proposed to complete the theme of the third commission.

G R E A T - B R I T A I N

The National Association of Labourist Student Organizations was represented at the second consultative meeting.

Youth Peace Campaign has expressed its support.

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D A N E M A R K

The Campaign Against Atomic Weapons (Kampagnen Mod Atomvaben) has manifested great interest for the Conference.

The "Socislistisk Ungdoms Forum" has announced its participation.

B U L G A R I A

National Committee for the Defense of Peace, message from Mr G. NADJAKOU, Academician, President of the Committee : "We wish you a fruitfull work and hope that you will be able to arrive at decisions which will help really the young people of the world in the fight for a world without war and for the development of education and culture for the benefit of the growing generations."

F I N L A N D

The Student Union of the University of Helsinki has sent a letter to the Committee of Florence : "We are very glad about you also know the proposition of our President Urho Kekkonen. These things, peace and disarmament are good things and very important things to finnish youth too. The Student Union of the University of Helsinki is very interested about things you told in your letter and will hope all good for you. If you just will write us about some concret propositions, we will discuss about them."

The Democratic Youth Union supports the Conference.

S W E D E N

The Swedish Campaign and the Youth Campaign against nuclear Weapons have given their active support.

The Student Group "Clarté" is interested in the preparations for the Conference.

C A N A D A

The Group "Sir George Williams University" of the C.U.C.N.D. of Montreal has decided to send a delegation.

The Council of Peace of the Manitoba, has wished us a complete success.

A U S T R A L I A

The Committe of Peace for International Cooperation and Disarmament of New South Wales, presided by the Reverend A.D. BRAND, has assured the Florentine Committee of its support among the youth and student movements of that region.

./.

A R G E N T I N A

Support of the Catholic Youth, Peronist Youth and Communist Youth.

C H I L E

Support of the Radical Youth, the Christian Democratic Youth, the Socialist and the Communist Youth.

MESSAGE from the famous writer PABLO NERUDA : "...Best wishes for the success of your Conference..."

M A R O C C O

Support of the National Student Union of Marocco.

P O L A N D

Support of the Student Union, the Socialist Youth Union, the Committee for Co-operation of Youth Movements, the Rural Youth.

G E R M A N D E M O C R A T I C R E P U B L I C

Message of support of the Free German Youth.

S O M A L I L A N D

Support of the Somali Democratic Youth Union.

H U N G A R Y

Support of the Hungarian National Youth Council.

C U B A

Support of the Communist Youth Union and the University Student Federation.

G R E E C E

Mrs LAMBRAKIS has expressed her support.

-=-=-

./.

APPEAL OF PREPARATORY MEETING
(17-19 November 1963)

The representatives of the following organisations have hold a meeting in Florence on the 17th, 18th and 19th of November 1963 :

- Florence University Representative Body
- Federation of Italian Socialist Youth
- Federation of Italian Communist Youth
- Radical Youth of Italy
- Youth Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament of Great-Britain
- Committee of Youth Organisations of USSR
- Socialist Youth League of Japan
- National Union of Algerian Students

Also the following organisations attended as observers :

- I.U.S. (International Union of Students)
- W.F.D.Y. (World Federation of Democratic Youth)
- COSEC (Co-ordinating Secretariat of the National Student Unions)

After an exhaustive debate on the points proposed by the Initiative Committee, the above mentioned organisations have decided to constituve themselves into an International Preparatory Committee for the organization of an International Conference of Youth and Students for Disarmament, Peace and National Independence, which will take place in Florence from the 26th February to the 1st of March 1964.

The essential subjects dealt will be four (see the first page).

The International Preparatory Committee appeals to all the youth and student organisations, asking them to back up the Conference, helping for its preparation, so as to ensure its success in the interest of Disarmament, Peace and National Independence.

The International Preparatory Committee appeals for an international financial subscription among all youth and student organisations, personalities and various institutions.

<u>Signatories</u> : O.R.U.F. (FURB)
F.G.S.I. (FSY of Italy)
F.G.C.I. (FICY)
Y.C.N.D. of Great-Britain
C.Y.O. of USSR
S.Y.L. of Japan
U.N.E.A. (NUAS)

Comité International Préparatoire :

Organisme Représentatif Universitaire de Florence.
Fédération de la Jeunesse Socialiste d'Italie.
Fédération de la Jeunesse Comuniste Italienne.
Jeunesse Radicale d'Italie.
Jeunesse FLN d'Algérie.
Union Nationale des Etûdiants d'Algérie.
Union Nationale des Etudiants du Brésil.
Campagne Nationale de la Jeunesse pour le Désarmement Nucléaire de Grande Bretagne.
Front de la Jeunesse d'Indonésie.
Ligue de la Jeunesse Socialiste du Japon.
Comité des Organisations de la Jeunesse de l'URSS.
Student Peace Union des USA.

Secrétariat, secretariado: ARCI (CIP), Borgo S. Lorenzo, 1
Florence - Tel.: 26.06.08

Conferenza Internazionale della Gioventù e degli Studenti per il Disarmo, la Pace e l'Indipendenza Nazionale.

Conférence Internationale de la Jeunesse et des Etudiants pour le Désarmement, la Paix et l'Indépendance Nationale.

International Conference of Youth and Students for Disarmament, Peace and National Independence.

Conferencia Internacional de la Juventud y de los Estudiantes por el Desarme, la Paz y la Independencia Nacional.

FLORENCE (Italie) 26-II - 1-III 1964

press release n. 2

JANUARY 23, 1964

FEBRUARY 26 - 10 o'clock a.m.

Palagio Di Parte Guelfa

CONFERENCE OPENING

urgent!

SEND YOUR CONFIRMATION OF PARTICIPATION !

development of the conference

(DECISIONS OF THE INTERNATIONAL PREPARATORY COMMITTEE - DECEMBER 21-22)

1. First day (February 26)

. Opening under the Chairmanship of the ORUF
. Election of the Presidium
. Messages, greetings
. Plenary sessions : introductory reports on the four themes.

February 27, 28 and morning 29

Works in Commissions :

. Free participation in the Commissions
. Each Commission will be able to create sub-commissions
. Each Commission will elect its leading body, including the reporter to the closing plenary session.

Half-day, February 29

. The plenary Assembly will listen to the results of each Commission. The results will be presented by a reporter from each Commission.

2. For each theme, several organizations have been requested to present introductory reports at the plenary session of February 26 :

Theme 1 : Disarmament and economic, social, educational and cultural problems : conversion of war expenses into investments for peace.

. Common report :
FGS (Socialist Youth Federation of Italy)
FGCI (Italian Communist Youth Federation)
Radical Youth of Italy
. Youth Section of SOHIO (General Council of Trade Unions of Japan).

Theme 2 : Disarmament and peaceful coexistence. Measures in reaching to the realization of general, total and controlled disarmament (atomic tests, denuclearized and demilitarized zones, foreign military bases, military pacts, etc...).

. Socialist Youth (SFIO) of France
. Young Pioneers of Ghana
. Committee of the Youth Organizations of USSR
. Student Peace Union of USA.

Theme 3 : Disarmament, peace and the struggle of the peoples for national liberation, against colonialism, neo-colonialism and imperialism, for cultural and economic development of their countries.

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. JFLN and UNEA of Algeria
. Indonesian Youth Front
. University Centers Federation of Venezuela.

<u>Theme 4</u> : Youth action in each country and international cooperation of youth and student organizations for disarmament, peace and national independence.

. Christian-Democrat Youth of Chile
. YCND (Youth Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament) of Great-Britain
. National Student Union of Poland.

3. A draft of regulations of the Conference, prepared par the IPC, will be submitted to the Presidium of the Conference.

4. The IPC will meet for the last time on February 24.

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The Secretariat has sent cards of confirmation of participation, for their adherent organizations, to the following international organizations :

. COSEC /Coordinating Secretariat of National Unions of Students/
. WFDY /World Federation of Democratic Youth/
. IUSY /International Union of Socialist Youth/
. ISMUN /International Student Movement for the United Nations/
. PAX ROMANA
. IUS /International Union of Students/
. WAY /World Association of Youth/
. World University Service
. World's Young Women's Christian Association
. World Council of Churches
. World Federation of Liberal and Radical Youth
. International Federation of Catholic Youth
. World Federation of Catholic Young Women and Girls
. Boy Scout International Bureau
. World Student Christian Federation
. Union des Jeunes Démocrates Chrétiens
. Service Civil International
. World Union of Jewish Students
. World Association of Girl Guides and Girl Scouts
. Young Christian Workers
. International Falcon Movement
. Youth Pan-African Movement.

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Letter from the INTERNATIONAL STUDENT MOVEMENT FOR THE UNITED NATIONS

/ismun/

7 January 1963

Dear Friends,

Thank you very much for your circular letter dated 10th December 1963, which retained all our attention.

We appreciate the courtesy of your invitation to the Seminar on Disarmament, Peace and National Independence you are planning to hold in Florence 26th February till 1st of March 1964.

ISMUN has always been very interested in the efforts undertaken by other Organizations to promote disarmament and peace and has since the fifteen years of its existence contributed towards the education for international understanding through Teaching about the United Nations without which true justice, peace and friendship connot be obtained.

The ISMUN Executive Committee has considered your invitation and decided in its recent meeting that in principle the Movement would like to participate as an observer in your Conference. In doing so we would like however to make the following observations :

It is probably known to you that ISMUN is primarily an educational Movement following a policy of non commitment in political issues. Since our Movement is having membership all over the world, irrespective of race, language or political belief, we follow this policy to safeguard the unity or our Organization. As far as our representation at other meetings is concerned, this policy has a few consequences :

a) The major international student organizations must be represented as well

b) Our observers are not in a position to pronounce themselves on political issues

c) The Seminar to which we are sending an observer must have a connection with the United Nations ans its activities.

Since we have to follow the rules laid down by our Annual Conferences, we are happy to inform you that we will be sending an observer only under the following circumstances :

1. Both the International Union of Students and the Co-ordinating Secretariat of the International Student Conference are sending observers as well.

2. Our observer cannot involve the Movement in the political standpoints you may be taking. It would be greatly appreciated if our observer be allowed to address the participants shortly on the Movement, its aims and activities.

3. We sincerely hope that your Conference will include a session devoted to the work of the United Nations in this field. To this effect we would be happy to supply you with sufficient copies of our most recent Political Forum which was devoted to the United Nations and the question of Disarmament. This Political Forum, held

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within the framework of the Annual Conference, is open to every participant at the Annual Conference and grouped this year no less than fourteen speakers from the most widely differing countries and organizations. We feel that this document, which is to appear shortly, may be of value for your Seminar.

Furthermore we would like to draw your attention to three documents published by the United Nations, which give useful information about the activities undertaken so far by the UN :

- Economic and Social consequences of Disarmament E/3593/ Rev.1
- Disarmament 1946-1961, a background paper tracting developments in post-war proposals towards disarmament Note N° 28/63 (Prepared by the Overseas briefing unit of the External Relations Division of the Office of Public Information, UN, New-York)
- Disarmament, 1962, some UN background documents, published by the Information Service of the European Office of the United Nations in Geneva.

All these documents can be obtained either from the UN Information Centre in Rome, from the European Office of the UN in Geneva or directly from OPI, New York in case the Information Centre in Rome has not sufficient copies at its disposal.

We would be grateful if you could communicate the contents of this letter to the International Preparatory Committee of your Conference. If our proposals are acceptable to you, we would appreciate an early answer. The name of our representative will be communicated to you at a later stage.

Wishing you success,

Yours faithfully,

Frank S. Verhagen
General Secretary

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COPY OF THE ANSWER OF THE SECRETARIAT

14th January 1964

Dear Friends,

This is in receipt of your letter dated 7th January, by which we learned, with keen interest, your stand.

We are grateful in knowing your suggestions and observations towards the International Conference for Disarmament, Peace and National Independence for which we are in preparation. In answering your intention and questions, not only we find nothing against you, but also we believe that your presence in the capacity of observer, under the proposed conditions, will be a great contribution to the Conference.

We hope our following explanations to your three observations will be able to meet your satisfaction.

1. Both International Union of Students and the Co-ordinating Secretariat of the International Student Conference have participed in the work of

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Page missing in original

wide support of the conference in

ITALY

• THE MAYOR OF FLORENCE RECEIVED A DELEGATION OF THE SECRETARIAT

Press Release :

On January 13, the Mayor of Florence, Professor LA PIRA, received at the Palazzo Vecchio a delegation from the Preparatory Committee of the International Conference of Youth and Students for Disarmament, Peace and National Independence, which will be held in Florence from the 26th of this February to the 1st of March.

During the reception, Professor LA PIRA emphasized the importance of this Conference as well as all other action of youth in support of peace by means of disarmament and renounciation of the atomic bomb.

The Mayor of Florence expressed his certainty that the people of the city will extend a warm welcome to the participants in the Conference, while the Mayor himself will welcome them at an official reception in the Palazzo Vecchio.

• The following newspapers have published, in fall or in part, articles on the meeting of the representatives of the International Committee with the Mayor of the city, Professor LA PIRA, and with the President of the province, Mr Elio GABBUGGIANI :

. LA NAZIONE (liberal)
. IL GIORNALE DEL MATTINO (catholic)
. L'UNITA' (communist).

• Articles on the Conference have likewise appeared in the QUOTIDIANO (officious voice of the Vatican State), PAESE SERA (left-wing daily), NUOVA GENERAZIONE (Italian Communist Youth weekly), LA CONQUISTA (Socialist Youth weekly).

In AVANTI (voice of the Italian Socialist Party, I.S.P.), the Federation of Socialist Youth attached to I.S.P. has renewed the pledge of the socialist youth to support the Conference.

• MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE PROVINCE OF FLORENCE

Your noble initiative which has for its purpose the discussion, among representatives of the youth of the entire world, of the vital and burning problems of our time - the problems of disarmament, of peaceful coexistence and of the struggle of oppressed peoples for their emancipation - finds me in complete agreement.

The people of the province of Florence - and in a particular manner the young people of all beliefs and political opinions - have given in the last decenniums, an important and valuable contribution to the cause of

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peace, demonstrating firmly and often their wish to oppose any action which might represent an aggravation of international tension and of the dangers of war, and expressing at every opportunity, faithful in this attitude to the traditions of civilization of their past and recent history, a true solidarity toward the peoples who struggle for their independence.

As President of the Provincial Administration of Florence, I adhere then to the International Conference of youth which will take place in our city, confident that from the debate and the engagements which will come forth from it, the world wide efforts which are made to establish between the peoples and the nations relations of collaboration and of peace, will be able to extract a new force and a new knowledge.

(original text in Italian) - Elio Gabbuggiani

- NUMEROUS MESSAGES OF SUPPORT

Among those who have sent messages of support to the Conference are the Mayors of the Communes of Certaldo, Montelupo Fiorentino, S. Casciano Val di Pesa - in the province of Florence -, as well as the Mayor of the city of Perugia, Professor Alessandro Sepilli, the Senator Mario Fabiani, former President, the Counsellor of the Commune of Florence, Mr Carlo Bartalesi, geometrist, and still others.

- Numerous Houses of the People of the Province of Florence support the Conference and participate in the subscription begun by the International Committee.

First list : Houses of the People of Tavarnuzze, Vie Nuove, Sesto Fiorentino, Scandicci, Campi Bisenzio, Calenzano, Montaione, Montespertoli, Montelupo, Empoli, S. Casciano, Impruneta, Galluzzo, Limite sull'Arno.

Total : 500.000 lires.

world-wide news

- EQUATOR

The Federation of University Students of Equator has written us :

"The National Direction of the Federation of University Students of Equator, has received the circular in which you inform us of the Constitution of the International Preparatory Committee, for the organization at Florence of an International Youth and Student Conference for Disarmament, Peace and National Independence.

According to the themes presented in the circular, we can deduce the importance of this coming event, in which the National Union of University Students of Equator is particularly interested.

If our participation in such a great event for world peace should be accepted, I ask you to indicate to us the form in which we may intervene for the best success of the discussion."

(original text in Spanish)

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- VENEZUELA

. Democratic Action (Opposition) has written us :

"We are happy to inform you that the Youth of the Democratic Action of Opposition supports with enthusiasm the Appeal made to the youth and the students of the world in order that they participate in the International Conference of Youth and Students for Disarmament, Peace and National Independence.

The themes of the Conference appear to us to be very complete. We give our warmest support to the celebration of this event, which we already consider as a revolutionary step towards the triumph of Peace and of National Independence. This Conference must constitute one step further towards the attainment of our ideals, which are none other than the definitive liberation of oppressed peoples."

(original text in Spanish)

. The Federation of University Centers of Venezuela has agreed to present the introductory report asked by the IPC.

- GHANA

The Young Pioneers of Ghana have agreed to present the introductory report asked by the IPC.

- MONGOLIA

Telegram from the Committee of the Mongolian Youth Organization :

"Acknowledging your kind invitation, Committee of the Mongolian Youth Organization has the honour to express its intention to the Preparatory Committee to participate with its full representation in the Conference which is a good initiative to solve the main topics of today."

- SWEDEN

A National Committee for the Conference has been formed. Mr Bosse Hammar, its Secretary, has informed us in a letter of its composition : "...The committee consists of the following seven persons : Clarence Ekman, Stockholm, Rolf Hagel, Stockholm, Bosse Hammar, Stockholm, Jan-Erik Roos, Stockholm, Bengt Höglund, Lund, Aina Larsson, Stockholm, and Jörn Svensson, Malmö. They are all in this committee as individuals and not as representatives of different organizations but the members of the committee are leading personalities in the following organizations : CND-Movement, Socialdemocratic Student Association, Clarté-Movement, Democratic Youth, Committee for Non-Violent Actions. ...I hope between 5 and 10 delegates. We have also sent out an appeal to different trade unions for economic support..."

- JAPON

. The idea of the Florence Conference has agitated Japanese youth, and preparations for it are now in full swing.

Under the joint initiative of three influential organisations : Socialist Youth League, Youth Section of SOHIO (General Council of Trade Unions) and Youth Section of Independent Federation of Trade Unions (all of these are non-affiliated to any international organization),

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a Japanese Committee in support of the Conference has been established with the participation of most of the principal Japanese Youth organizations.

Its representation is becoming ever broader. Japan Seinendan Council, one of the biggest affiliates of WAY, which now takes part in an observer capacity, will be fully represented after its Executive meeting. Its liaison works, to which the Youth Section of Postal Workers Union is responsible, succeeded in having had meetings of young leaders of three trade union national centers, in which all political tendencies are included, to discuss their support to the Conference. It is a new experience to the Japanese youth movement. Peasants Union Youth Section as well as a number of Student Autonomous bodies are also included in the National Committee.

It is particularly note worthy that interest and support have arisen a great deal among young intellectuals, such as groups of journalists, schoolars (economists, physicians, pedagogists and so on), artists and writers.

A 15 member Japanese Youth Delegation is expected to be composed with high representation and diversity.

. The Youth Section of SOHIO has agreed to present the introductory report asked by the IPC.

- GREECE

. Letter from the Democratic Youth Movement "Grigoris Labrakis" :

"We have received the decisions of the Preparatory Committee of the Conference of Youth for Disarmament, Peace and National Independence.

We are very interested in the subjects which are going to be discussed and we believe that this Conference will be a decisive event for the international youth movement for peace and national independence.

...The Democratic Youth Movement "Grigoris Labrakis", which is at this moment the largest Greek youth movement for Peace and Democracy, congratulates you on this happy inspiration.

The Executive Committee of our organization has decided on the participation of our Movement in your Conference.

A special Committee is preparing our position on the subjects which are going to be discussed."

(original text in French)

. A message from composer Mikis Theodorakis, Sibelius Prize 1963 :

I wish with all my heart for the greatest success of the Conference of youth for peace. The Peace was a distant dream for our generation tortured by war and fascism. For you, the ardent generation of young fighters for nuclear disarmament, it is becoming something more real and more close.

The future is yours, because fascism and war will be finally beaten.

Democracy and peace will be the garantees of a radiant future for the human race.

(original text in French)

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- MARTINIQUE

Great interest of the General Association of Students of Martinique, which writes us :

"...We congratulate you on your happy initiative and wish for the total success of your work."

- BULGARIA

Greetings and support from the Dimitrovian Union of Communist Youth, which expresses its "whole solidarity and support of the initiative of summoning up an International Conference of youth for disarmament and peace. The Bulgarian youth have been and remain always in the ranks of contenders for peace, friendship and understanding between peoples of the whole world, apart from their political, religious beliefs and races." (original text in French)

- SUISSE

Support of the Genevese Socialist Youth.

- GREAT BRITAIN

. Message from Mr James JARVIE, Trade Union General Secretary, in the British Shipbuiding Industry :

I welcome the decision of the International Preparatory Committee to convene an International Conference of Youth and Students for Disarmament, Peace and National Independence. Our generation have given an uneasy inheritance. A life clouded by the dread of atomic war. May your efforts secure Peace for all time, so that your children inherit a life of peaceful happy tranquility.

. Message from Mr Gordon SCHAFFER, Chairman, British Peace Committee :

I believe that the International Preparatory Committee will carry out a most important task if it succeeds in bringing together the broadest possible section of youth opinion at the coming conference. All the progressive organizations of our time owe much to their inspiration and success to the young people taking part. It could not be otherwise, for the young people today have on the one hand the greatest opportunities in human history and on the other hand, live under the most terrible threat in human history. A generation shadowed by the threat of nuclear annihilation cannot but have special problems. It is to the eternal credit of the youth of today that so many of them are devoting their energies to ensuring that mankind will take the path of peace, coexistence and freedom for all peoples and will abandon for all time the evils of racial oppression and hatred.

I wish your Conference every success.

//

Appreciate

Telephone: AUdubon 6-9232

Most Worshipful Prince Hall Grand Lodge, F. & A. M.

State of New York and Jurisdiction

Freedom Fund Committee

454 WEST 155th STREET
New York 32, N. Y.

James H. Johnstone
M.W. Grand Master

Alton L. Haywood, Sr.
R.W. Grand Secretary

Henry G. Walton
R.W. Grand Treasurer

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Timothy McKnight
Andrew Nelson
Reginald Nichols
Frederick W. Reynolds
George Riggs
William H. Robinson
John B. Skeete
Charles K. Smith
Clifford J. Storey
Thomas F. Swann
Maryland Turner
Robert Turner
Edgar Venable
Leigh Whipper
Murray Wilkerson
Harold A. Wilson

January 25, 1964

Dear Bayard,

I thought you might like to see the enclosed copy of our official publication, since you played such an important part in helping our New York Prince Hall Masons participate successfully in the historic March.

Many of those in positions of leadership in our Grand Lodge were quite resistant to the proposal that we join the March as an identified group even though as individuals they were more or less in support of our Civil Rights Organizations.

Since I left the New York Council for SANE, I have been doing all I could to convince the leadership of our Grand Lodge that we should become concerned and involved, as a responsible Negro institution with historic traditions extending back to colonial days, in all areas of social action, especially civil rights, equal employment opportunities, integrated educational opportunities, etc., and (hopefully) eventually in the peace movement. Sometimes, I think I will never be even reasonably successful.

It is for that reason that I believe the success or failure of our Freedom Now Rally scheduled for February 15th at the 369th Armory is of critical importance. If we succeed, our leadership and our membership will be inspired to increased direct involvement. If we fail, the do-little and do-nothing group will be greatly strengthened. The fact that Brother A. Philip Randolph cannot appear at the Rally has made the task of those committed to this program considerably more difficult.

Knowing your personal commitment to our long-range goals, may I urge you to do all that you can to encourage support of our Freedom Now Rally by all those who respect your dedication and your good judgment, especially such men as David Livingston, Cleveland Robinson, Norman Thomas, etc., and such groups as W.R.L., C.N.V.A., F.O.R., etc.

I also hope that you will be able to accept the invitation previously sent you to be the guest of our Grand Master at the Rally.

With best personal regards,

Sincerely yours,
Edward A. Lawrence
Edward A. Lawrence
UL 2-9027

Chestnut Lodge, 501 West Montgomery Ave. Rockville, Maryland 20850 1-26-68

Early this morning I was thinking about the different types of regimes available, and what we all had to cope with. I linked you and C.T. Rowan and Spottswood Robinson.

Then I proceeded to unscrambled a letter to Kenneth Kaunda getting to the bottom of all our troubles.

My logic may not be apparent, but I hope it helps.

Margaret Butcher

i wrote of "tons of magnetic (emotional) charge drawn out of a person" in humbly pursuing an idea to the end, when it drops back as retired emotional energy. Most unscientific of me. I present a large amount. MB

January 26, 1964

Dear Bayard,

I have tried to reach you by phone but you have been out of town. I have an idea and it occurred to me that you would be helpful in weighing the possibilities of it's success.

I would like to get about 100 women together to work on voter registration in the south this summer for one week. I haven't figured out the details as yet but I have lots of ideas. I wondered if I could get together with you some time soon by phone or personally. I'll be in N.Y. many times within the next few weeks at various meetings but it would be fine if we could get together on Saturday, Feb. 8th in the late afternoon. I have a 10 A.M. meeting of the N.Y. yearly meeting of the Peace Institute Steering Committee. It will probably be over anywhere between 2 and 4.

I'm also writing Claree Collins Harvey of Womens Power Unlimited in Jackson, Miss. She's an old friend of mine and has been doing a wonderful job with her group.

Hope you're not knocking your brains out!

Love,
Honey Knopp

5 Daybreak Lane
Westport, Conn.

From PAUL SALSTROM, MEDICAL JAN. 28, 1964
(Date)
CENTER FOR FED. PRISONERS, SPRINGFIELD, MO.
To BAYARD RUSTIN WRL, 5 BEEKMAN ST., RM. 1029, NEW YORK 38, N.Y.
(Name) (Address)

DEAR BAYARD — I'VE A FEW MATTERS ON MY MIND PERHAPS WORTH YOUR ATTENTION. NON-DIRECT-ACTION CONFRONTATION BETWEEN FREEDOM MOVEMENT WORKERS AND THE GENERAL POPULATION IN THE SOUTH, ON A LARGE SCALE, SEEMS TO ME A WORTH-WHILE EXTENSION OF GANDHIAN METHOD. I HAVE THE IMPRESSION THAT DIRECT ACTION CONFRONTATIONS MIGHT BE MORE EFFECTIVE (... EMPATHETIC, TRUSTFUL...) IF PRECEDED BY LESS TENSE MEETINGS, SUCH AS DOOR-TO-DOOR CAMPAIGNING. ALSO IN DOOR-TO-DOOR CAMPAIGNING, HONEST QUESTIONS CAN BE ASKED AND ANSWERED. SUCH CAMPAIGNING AIMED AT SOUTHERN WHITES WOULD BE IN THE CATEGORY OF "UNDERSTANDING BUILDING" RATHER THAN "PRESSURE". MORE CONTACT BETWEEN THE TWO CAMPS AND TWO POINTS OF VIEW IS NEEDED THAN THAT AT THE "NEGOCIATION BY REPRESENTATIVES" LEVEL. WHAT MIGHT BE POSSIBLE AND MOST TIMELY (GIVEN THE ABOVE) COULD BE A NATIONALLY COORDINATED CAMPAIGN AIMED AT TALKING WITH A MEMBER OF EVERY SOUTHERN HOUSEHOLD THIS SUMMER ON THE ISSUE OF VOTING REGISTRATION. THE KEY TO INTEREST IN SUCH A CAMPAIGN MIGHT BE INITIAL PROMOTION AMONG FRIENDS OF SNCC, CORE, NAACP AND OTHER GROUPS ON NORTHERN CAMPUSES. VOLUNTEERS WOULD BE EXPECTED TO PLAN TO SPEND A GOOD CHUNK OF THE SUMMER CAMPAIGNING (NOT NECESSARILY EXCLUSIVELY TOWARD ONLY THIS ONE GOAL OF COURSE), THUS ASSURING THAT THEY WOULD IDENTIFY WITH AND BE INDENTIFIED WITH THE S. WORKERS THROUGH MORE THAN JUST ORG. LABELS. THE VOTING REGISTRATION ISSUES TAKEN DOOR-TO-DOOR SHOULD OF COURSE VARY WITH LOCAL CIRCUMSTANCES — AND OFTEN PERHAPS A PETITION ON SOME GENERAL OR SPECIFIC POINT MIGHT GAIN SOME SMALL SUCCESS — BUT ALSO THERE COULD BE ONE OR TWO UNVARYING OPINION SURVEY QUESTIONS. (BUT REMEMBER I FEEL THE POINT IS TO MEET PEOPLE AND HAVE THEM REGISTER THE CAMPAIGNER AS A HUMAN BEING — NOT TO TAKE A SURVEY.) IF ENOUGH N. STUDENTS WERE INTERESTED, I THINK LOCAL S. WORKERS WOULD BE WILLING TO MAKE ARRANGEMENTS AND HELP GO DOOR-TO-DOOR (THUS STRENGTHING PERHAPS NAT'L COORDINATION AS A WHOLE).

ARNE NAESS' BOOK ON GANDHIAN METHOD, GANDHI IN THE ATOMIC AGE, SHOULD BE COMING OUT IN THE U.S. SOON. I UNDERSTAND THAT IF IT IS SUCCESSFUL ENOUGH HE WILL POSSIBLY HAVE HIS EXTENSIVE 2-VOLUME STUDY OF GANDHI'S METHOD ALSO TRANSLATED FROM NORWEGIAN INTO ENGLISH AND PUBLISHED. SO HOPEFULLY CIRCULATION OF (FIRST) GANDHI IN THE ATOMIC AGE COULD BE BOOSTED BY ATTENTION FROM CIVIL RIGHTS BULLETINS, LIT. DISPLAYS, ETC.

JIM BRISTOL WROTE ME ABOUT AFSC-WPB POSSIBILITIES FOR A N. RHODESIAN NV TRAINING CENTER. IT SHARPLY REMINDED ME OF BILL SUTHERLAND'S PROPOSALS OF LAST YEAR FOR GETTING A CADRE OF ACTIVISTS FROM THE SOUTHERN SCENE TO GO TO AFRICA (N. RHODESIA PRESUMABLY PREFERABLY NOW) AND RAISE NV COMMITMENT

BY INITIATING FRESH PROJECTS. IF M.L. KING WERE INTERESTED IN SUCH AN UNDERTAKING, MIGHTN'T IT BE POSSIBLE TO WITHIN A MONTH OR TWO GENERATE ENOUGH MOMENTUM TO PLAN AND ANNOUNCE A NV DIRECT ACTION PROJECT AIMED AT S. AFRICA ITSELF THAT WOULD TURN THE TIDE? I MENTION MR. KING BECAUSE HIS PARTICIPATION COULD MOST EFFECTIVE MOBOLIZE WORLD PUBLIC OPINION, PLUS BEST ACTIVATE NV POTENTIAL WITHIN S. AFRICA.

IN THE N.Y. TIMES FULL-PAGE AD FOR THE NEW SCHOOL'S NEW ADULT EDUCATION COURSES, A NVR COURSE IS INCLUDED. WILL PROF. NELSON'S HOWARD UNIV. SYLLABUS ON NV, I WONDER, BE AVAILABLE AND RECOMMENDED TO THOSE WHO TAKE OR AUDIT THE COURSE. (I'M ASSUMING YOU'RE SOMEWHAT INVOLVED IN THE COURSE ANYWAY, NOT TRYING TO INVENT WAYS TO WASTE YOUR TIME.)

NEWS STORIES ON HARLEM RENT-STRIKING RECENTLY HAS COME AS A SURPRISE TO ME. I HOPE THE GROUPS INVOLVED DECIDE THAT RENT MONEY INVOLVED SHOULD NOT BE TURNED OVER TO THE CITY, BUT RATHER GO INTO SPECIAL COMMUNITY FUNDS THAT WOULD MAKE BUILDING REPAIRS, GARBAGE COLLECTION, ETC, AND PERHAPS EVEN STREET CLEANING, LOCAL CIVIC FUNCTIONS RATHER THAN FUNCTIONS CONTROLLED BY THE CITY BUREAUCRACY OR OTHER OUTSIDERS. IF RENT-STRIKING IS STILL ON THE UP AND UP, I HOPE YOURSELF OR JESSE GRAY OR SOMEONE WILL FIND TIME TO WRITE UP FOR LIB. A THEORETICAL ANALYSIS/MANIFESTO FOR RENT-STRIKING, JUST AS MILITANT SOCIALISM USED TO GRIND OUT THEORETICAL LIT. ON THE GENERAL STRIKE. IN VARIOUS CIRCUMSTANCES, IN FACT, RENT-STRIKING MIGHT BE A REVOLUTIONARY TOOL ABLE TO SUPPLEMENT, OR SUBSTITUTE FOR, THE GENERAL STRIKE.

HAVE YOU PONDERED WHAT MIGHT BE AVENUES TO PUBLICITY AND SUPPORT FOR THE QWG WALK AMONG NORTHERN NEGRO COMMUNITIES—SUCH AS HARLEM? HOPEFULLY VARIOUS KINDS OF HARLEM GROUPS AND CHURCHES WOULD BE INTERESTED IN HAVING A WALK SPEAKER FOLLOWING THE RETURN OF THE WALK FROM CUBA. THE GEORGIA QWG EXPERIENCES WOULD MAKE AN INTERESTING STORY COMING FROM WHITES BEFORE NEGRO AUDIENCES, AND MIGHT ALLAY SOME EXCLUSIVELY RACIAL DISTRUST OR EVEN HATRED. MEANWHILE, MIGHT NYC FREEDOM ORGS. BE INTERESTED IN SPONSORING A DEMO. OR TWO IN SYMPATHY WITH THE WALK (SUCH AS A DEMO. TO COINCIDE WITH GUANTANAMO ACTION)? — VERY DOUBTFUL I SUPPOSE. MIGHT THEY CO-SPONSOR OR ACTIVELY SUPPORT, AT LEAST, NATIONALLY COORDINATED DEMOS. (INCLUDING, SAY, ONE AT BROOKLYN NAVY YARDS [?]) AT U.S. NAVAL BASES IN THE U.S. AND ABROAD (e.g., Holy Loch) COINCIDING WITH GUANTANAMO ACTION?

IN THE THE OCT. 3 AFSC PNV MEMO, I TOOK NOTE OF YOUR SUGGESTION TO JIM BRISTOL THAT AFSC COULD PROVIDE TRAINING FOR NV ACTION FOR CIVIL RIGHTS. AND I SUPPOSE AFSC HAS BY NOW ALL BUT DECIDED TO HOLD SEVERAL NV TRAINING INSTITUTES (20-25 PARTICIPANTS EACH, AND 8-10 DAYS) THIS SUMMER. I THINK THE WPB N. AM. COUNCIL SHOULD CONSIDER HOLDING (AT VOLUNTOWN) TOWARD THE END OF THE SUMMER A POPULOUS (50-60) "ADVANCED NV TRAINING INSTITUTE," CALCULATED TO RESULT IN LOCAL OR REGIONAL "NV STUDY AND TRAINING" PROGRAMS, WPB-AFFILIATED, IN ALL PARTS OF THE U.S. MIGHT THE N. AM. COUNCIL BE INTERESTED?

38 Pembridge Villas,
London W.11.

30/1/64

Dear Bayard,

I hear from Peggy that it is pretty definite that you will be coming to England for Easter. At last we seem to be reaching some sort of agreement about the Ruislip demonstration, and although C.N.D. are not able to support it officially, many of the 'top people' and most of the rank and file are eager not to dissassociate the Campaign from it. An ad hoc committee, including Tony and Hugh Brock has been set up to sponsor the supporting march and London C.N.D. has overwhelmingly supported a resolution that they should liase with the ad hoc committee. I hope you will have time to come and watch our antics at Ruislip on Easter Saturday, and if it comes to the point, speak to us or help us sing. If it is a question of sitting for two hours while the police whittle the numbers down, there is nothing like singing for boosting the morale of those left, and for other useful purposes like not hearing police announcements, and encouraging others to follow suit. I am not asking you to come and sit with us, as this might make it difficult for you to attend the C.N.D. march on the Monday, but you would help us a great deal just by being there. I am sure that the Campaign would not object. After all, one of our main objectives, is to publicise the 'Washington style' march on Easter Monday. Don't worry, if you can't be there, I shall see that there is some singing, but I cannot be sure that I shall not be the first to be removed, or even that I shall be allowed to be present at the time of the demonstration, so I would be grateful if you could send me, (you did promise), the words and music of the freedom songs. Particularly useful would be: I woke up in the morning, and 'Two wings' the verses only, and any others that you think we should use at the conference. Enclosed is a rather [illegible] which you have probably read already.

See you at Easter. Yours [illegible]

[illegible]

TO: Homer Jack, Robert Gilmore
Bayard Rustin, A. J. Muste

DATE: January 31, 1964

FROM: Al Hassler
Box 271
Nyack, New York

In advance of meeting at Mertz's, 3:30 p.m., February 5, 1964.

LEADERSHIP EXCHANGE PROJECT BETWEEN THE

SOVIET PEACE COMMITTEE and AMERICAN PEACE ORGANIZATIONS

The present status:

From discussions with Mr. Bykov I gain the impression that the Soviet Peace Committee would now prefer that in this exchange the American group visit the Soviet Union first, partly because six of them will just have been here on the CNVA project. Moreover they are thinking in terms of this spring or summer. Discussions in the International Liaison Committee of TTP on December 20 agreed that the initial organization in this country would be in the hands of a committee representing the groups affiliated to the International Confederation for Disarmament and Peace plus Turn Toward Peace, with one person from each of these organizations constituting the host committee, and other organizations being invited to join at the discretion of this committee.

Purposes of the exchange:

We agreed in the same meeting that the purposes included the values to be gained from the type of cultural exchange between the two national communities involved (which would therefore involve some public meetings); clarification of our desire to achieve reconciliation and understanding while facing clearly the differences that divide us; and the creation of opportunities for private talks and visits between the Soviet peace people and American organizations.

COPY

SPC conditions:

As reported by Bob Gilmore through his conversations with Dimitri Muravyev, the Soviet Peace Committee is thinking of the exchange in the following terms, to which I have added some parenthetical proposals for our own perspective:

a. They do not think of their team as confined only to professional peace workers in the sense that most of us are, but would include also those of other professions who are part-time workers for peace. (On our side, the initial proposal as we discussed it a year or more ago was in terms of the involving only people whom we could define as professionals in this field, and I gather that we continue to be agreed on this. I would personally think that if we are not agreed on this then the whole project ought to be re-examined, since it would then lose its particularity and become just another general cultural exchange venture.)

b. They suggested that the first exchange be in the spring of this year and that either visit could come first, though as I indicated above apparently the desire now is that we make the first visit. (The meeting of the Council of the ICDP is scheduled for sometime between June 21 and 26 in Italy. This is likely to be a meeting dealing with issues of considerable significance for the future of the Confederation, and it may be important that the American members of the Council be present if at all possible. From my own point of view, it would clearly not be possible to make two trips to Europe in the coming spring or summer, and I therefore propose that we try to arrange the Soviet Union trip to coincide with the Council meetings, as nearly as possible. Another consideration here is that for some of us who will be making our first visit to the Soviet Union,

COPY

it would be desirable to have at least some time for unorganized sight-seeing apart from the organized meetings and tour that the Soviet Peace Committee set up. This probably would argue for trying to have the Soviet visit immediately after the Council meetings rather than before, but this is a point that we ought to discuss at the earliest opportunity.)

c. They propose that there be from 10 to 15 on each side. (I would suggest that we stipulate a team of not more than 10 from the United States, since I think this will be considerably more wieldy and the financial problem will not be as great.)

d. It is agreed that the responsibility for the selection of the group to go to the Soviet Union will be entirely ours. (There may still be problems to work out on this, but I assume that we are agreed on this position.)

e. Each team will pay its own travel costs, with hospitality being the responsibility of the host groups. (Homer's original estimate was the total cost for each organization, including travel to the Soviet Union and return and a proper share of the entertainment costs for the Soviet group, would be about $1,200. This probably should be re-examined, and we ought to make some kind of decisions about what we mean by entertainment in this country. If we include the cost of travel all over the country then $200 each will hardly be enough.)

f. They have in mind both public and private meetings. (I assume that we would agree to this, and that therefore we would want both public and private meetings in the Soviet Union. We ought to discuss whether or not after a few days of private meetings the visitors would then split up and go to different cities in the Soviet Union, or go en masse, or what.

Also, will they be disposed to put other speakers on the platform, a la the CNVA formula over here, or what do we anticipate?)

g. The duration of the trip was suggested by them as two to three weeks with two weeks being a minimum. (With the consideration referred to above, that some of us would certainly wish to have some unscheduled time in the Soviet Union, these suggestions would seem to be reasonable also.)

Other questions:

1. At the present time the only organizations in the United States affiliated with the Confederation are SANE, WRL, SPU, AND FOR. Both the AFSC and the WILPF appear to be favorably disposed to affiliation in the near future, and I would assume that we will want to include them in the initial list of organizations participating.

2. Our committee clearly has to take more time to discuss what it really hopes to achieve through its visit to the Soviet Union, since on this decision rests also the question of who should be asked to participate. It seemed to me that the discussion that we had on one occasion when several other organizations were represented produced a diversity of judgment about this so broad as to make the whole trip seem hardly worth while. We have different kinds of decisions to make on this, which do not necessarily have to be made before we conclude our discussions with Mr. Bykov, but I list them here as suggestions for further consideration:

a. Do we include organizations that are not clearly "peace" groups in the sense that we usually use that expression? E.g., the UWF, AAUN, Institute for International Order, etc.?

b. Do we include only groups with a clear constituency, or do we

COPY

add others that are engaged in research or educational activities? E.g., Institute for International Order, CWDWD, etc.

c. Do we invite such groups as WSP, etc. to participate?

d. Do we include the peace departments of larger groups? E.g., the Board of World Peace of the Methodist Church, the Department of International Affairs of the National Council of Churches?

It does not seem to me that there are simple answers to these questions, but that the answers both depend upon and will greatly affect the purposes that we have in mind in this exchange. Therefore the committee should move toward an early discussion and clear decision about these matters.

AH/hh

COPY

cooper station box 401 new york 3 new york gr 5-0850

NORTHWEST OFFICE
4235 ROOSEVELT WAY N.E.
SEATTLE, WASHINGTON 98105
TEL. ME 2-8282

URGENT

January 31, 1964

NORTHWEST COORDINATORS
ROBERT FREEMAN
ANNE STADLER

Bayard Rustin

Dear Bayard:

Please can we have any kind of planning or report which comes out of this meeting you talked about the PN article between civil rights leaders and others on the question of employment?? We need this badly because we are trying to get CORE and the labor unions to work together with the peace groups on employment in the broader context of new priorities for public spending, away from defense, and increased opportunities for employment for whites as well as negroes. They are not interested in anything but negro employment, and the push this spring for negro employment here in Seattle may well be doomed to frustration and failure because it is taking place in the context of a layoff of 12,000 men from Boeing due to lots of problems, among which is the loss of Dynasoar. The situation here is a very hopeful one for a strategy which dealt with more basic questions of allocation of public money away from military spending, and a push for programs which would create more socially useful jobs. As you can see from the way I am expressing myself, I have not much more than a feeling of the direction we should be working; but I have the strong feeling that if we dont manage to work out a campaign which is directed along these lines, we'll lose ground for both civil rights and peace.

Can you please help??? We need both stuff the civil rights people will understand; and stuff the unions would understand. Is there anything available????

All the best,

Anne

Anne M Stadler

NATIONAL OFFICERS

NORMAN THOMAS, Chairman ROBERT GILMORE, Executive Director ROBERT PICKUS and JACK BOLLENS, Co-ordinators

MEMO AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE, 160 N. 15 St., Philadelphia, Pa. 19102

To: Consultative Peace Council Members Date: January 31, 1964

From: Paul Lauter, Director of Studies

Subject: Conference on South Africa

We are planning a conference on South Africa within the next two months. I hope to be able to have as a resource man at the conference Mr. Willie LeRoux, the South African information officer in New York. He is, of course, an advocate of apartheid and a very articulate spokesman for their position.

I had a long interview with him in the course of which he expressed the usual reservations over the purpose of such a conference and also the usual reservations about whether any of our affiliates were front organizations. He also asked for a list of the affiliates of the Consultative Peace Council and the chief officers. Would you object to my supplying him with such a list?

All other questions aside, I think it is probably desirable to supply any person we approach for such a conference with a list of the affiliated organizations.

Could you also indicate to me which dates you think would absolutely be out between now and May 15.

PL/jp

January 31 , 1964

Dear Editors :

We strongly protest the one-sided reports on our Church participation in hectic activities for Monday's boycott of the schools . Majority of Siloam Church membersare positively not in favor of this furor and misuse of our Church facilities . Dishonesty and lies prevail .

Check directly with Church members next Sunday. You will find that the stooges previously interviewed are a decided minority . Of course they give out statements of approval . These Church officers are Galamison's rubber stamps. They have been brain-washed and repeat like parrots the words Galamison puts into their mouths . Galamison is a dictator .

Publish the true facts . We demand that our side of this story be put before the believing public along with the misleading information you have recently printed . Substantial, conservative Siloam Church members are revolted by Galamison's reckless, irresponsible rabble rousing . Expose the winos and bums who are paid to demonstrate. You won't find Siloam Church members among these fanatics who have nothing to lose .

Indignantly ,

Members of Siloam Presbyterian Church
260 Jefferson Avenue, Brooklyn 16 , New York

P.S.

In case you have a bad memory for names, I can tell you that I was the guy who accompanied you to the doctor's in that God forsaken village of Rorstrop.

P.S.

Lund, February 1st

Dear Bayard,

I hope you are well, in spite of the gastronomical orgies at Tyringe (not to mention your smallpox shot).
I heard from the girls in Stockholm that they took you out after your pow-wow with Dr Myrdal. They were very happy about it.
The conference was, of course, something extraordinary for me, never having before attended one. I don't like flattering people, but I must thank you for your part, which I found to be the purest inspiring one.
I am thinking of the night in the basement when we were singing our heads off under your guidance. I can now understand the spirit of the rallies, creating an atmosphere of dedication and a feeling of being invincible. We shall overcome.
I would be very, very grateful to you, if you would like to send me the texts to or the name of the record of the songs we sang that night.
Another thing, I have applied for a job as guide for a group of Swedish students going to the States this summer. The interesting thing is that they are going to stay at the Hampton Institute, Virginia, which, as you know, is a Negro college. As I like the idea and find it very promising, I very much want that job.
Could you please, if you have time, write me some kind of letter of recommendation to that effect.
I am aware that you are a very busy man, but your letter would help me a lot.
Read in the newspaper to-day that a bunch of Swedish Congressmen have recommended Martin Luther King Jr. to the Nobel Peace Committee.
If I ever get to New York, I hope to see you, Bayard.

Yours sincerely

PIERRE

PIERRE SCHORI
Ö. Vallgatan 51, 603
Lund, Sweden.

February 2, 1964

Mr. Bayard Rustin
170 West 130 Street
New York 27, New York

Dear Mr. Rustin:

From one American to another (without the usual racial qualifiers), these are my beliefs concerning the meaning of President Kennedy's assassination:

All religious or quasi-religious appeals to decency, to a lessening of hatred (which we know is fear), to a respect for law, can only be regarded as representing the end in naivete, pseudo-liberalism, cynicism, etc., if, at the same time, our country's more articulate spokesmen fail to indicate that we must have, in the United States, that which we have never really had---our formidable mythology notwithstanding---i.e., government more genuinely representative of the will and/or needs of all the people (requiring basic electoral and legislative reforms).

Assuming Lee Harvey Oswald killed the President---and I'm sure many of us still entertain some grave doubts about that---show me an undemocratic society (such as ours) constantly subjected to anti-democratic pressures (with barely a whisper from the left), and, as the saying goes, I'll show you the foremost, logical consequence of such a condition, i.e., the 'lowest' member of such an order taking his 'revenge' upon the 'highest'.

However, as a unique aspect of our social milieu, what factor in American life, American thinking, may especially predispose us to act violently towards others, towards ourselves (regardless of 'station')? Risking the wrath of everyone, at least, to the right of Adlai Stevenson, I affirm it to be the American Dream concept:

In our culture, historically (perhaps not quite so nakedly today), as a rationalization to justify the retention of immense, private power, the aggressively-insecure 'ruling classes' have taught, have propagated, the facile, beguiling belief which asserts that if a person behaves as a Good Christian should, works hard to 'perfect' himself, strives to be 'superior', he may accomplish, yes, may achieve, virtually anything he chooses in American life; one is persuaded, exhorted and obliged to "reach the top", and, at the same time, discouraged from thinking that political participation with ones fellow citizen might, perchance, more realistically secure the more meaningful, more harmonious ends of existence.

As night follows day, the logical, the philosophical, the statistical absurdity of this highly destructive (competitive) concept generally manifests itself in a futile life cycle of frustration-aggression-guilt-disillusionment-and escape (neurotic-psychotic behavior which fosters and creates pseudo-social or anti-social institutions and norms---which, in turn, reinforce the very dog-eat-dog, undemocratic values responsible for the meaninglessness and insecurity so ubiquitously a part of our "free" and "affluent" society).

To me, the highly publicized, material benefits notwithstanding, there is no better formula for the day-to-day physical ("poverty") and psychological destruction of human beings than the American Dream idea.

Sincerely,

Edward F. Nash
1483 Silver Lake Blvd.
Los Angeles 26, Calif.

P.S.

In our country, greater political equality--deriving from much needed political reforms--not the systematic furtherance of unreal levels of aspiration and want (the Dream), is the more valid, more realistic key to interpersonal, and, by example, global, harmony---a truer definition of freedom, by far.

If we are to survive the Bomb, and successfully exploit the constructive-cooperative potential of 20th Century science and technology, the Ideology of Private Power (rooted in the anachronisms which maintain man is "inherently evil", insatiably acquisitive, fit for distrust and exploitation, etc.), the foregoing ideology must be superceded by an Ideology of Democratic Reason (which scientifically speculates that man's differences and conflicts are more apparent (environmental) than real (inherent).

Automation and the Negro is forcing America to exchange the age-old, 'realistic' Conspiracy of Power for a Community of Reason.

Norman Cousins: "It may well be, as you say, that the psychological context in which the President's murder took place can be explained by reference to the pressures imposed on us by the American Dream idea. It's a valuable concept, and I appreciate your sharing it with me."

Thank you for the very comprehensive letter (Nov.1, '63), acknowledging my own, earlier. You may be curious as to my race; I am an American Caucasian.

MR. AND MRS. STEPHEN ZELUCK
43-05 215TH PLACE
BAYSIDE 61, N. Y.

Feb 3, 1964

Dear Mr. Rustin:

I am writing to you as chairman of the TEACHERS FORUM. We are a group of about 40 teachers, all socialists to one degree or another, and all activists in the union. Our job, as we see it is to bring the union to face up to its real responsibilities today, that is, to help it transcend the run-of-the-mill business unionism that is so characteristi of contemporary unionism.

That we are serious will, I hope, be evident from the enclosed. First, it is we of the Forum who were responsible for the convening of the emergency Delegate Assembly of the UFT, hoping to bring the union to a more positive vigorous role in the boycott.

Secondly, as you will see in my article, "A Proposal for an Alliance....", we are pressing the same fundamental policy you did at the teachers rally last Friday.

The immediate purpose of my letter is to invite you to be a speaker at a public meeting we are planning for Friday Feb 21 on the subject "After the boycott, What Next-- The UFT and Integration". I am confident that given more than the 5 minutes of last Friday, you have much to tell teachers that they badly need to hear.

If the date I propose is inconvenient, perhaps you can suggest another -- the sooner the better.

Fraternally,

Steve Zeluck

DUBOIS MEMORIAL COMMITTEE

248 West 139th Street • New York, N. Y. 10030

You committed yourself to an engagement 3:00 pm. What about this? see attached consent telegram

February 3, 1964

Initiating Sponsors

James Baldwin
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Bishop Stephen G. Spottswood
Rev. Gardner C. Taylor
Rabbi Jacob J. Weinstein
Dr. Charles H. Wesley
Roy Wilkins

Mr. Bayard Rustin
170 West 130th St.
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Rustin:

We most respectfully invite you to be present as a guest of honor at the Memorial to Dr. W. E. B. DuBois which will be held on Sunday evening, February 23, 1964 at 8:30 P.M. at Carnegie Hall in New York City.

Every effort is being made to assure a fitting and memorable occasion in keeping with the prominence of Dr. DuBois in the intellectual and cultural life of our times and in keeping with the position accorded him by leaders of many nations, now enjoying independence, "as the Father of Pan-Africanism".

The program will include the dramatic presentation of the life and writings of Dr. DuBois featuring Ossie Davis, Ruby Dee, Beah Richards and other artists.

We most hopefully await an early reply from you so that all necessary arrangements may be made.

Yours truly,
Ossie Davis
Ossie Davis

DUBOIS MEMORIAL COMMITTEE

248 West 139th Street • New York, N. Y. 10030

February 7, 1964

Send Telegram?

Yes

Initiating Sponsors

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Dr. John A. Mackay
Dr. Linus Pauling
Clarence Pickett
Sidney Poitier
Percival L. Prattis
Bishop Stephen G. Spottswood
Rev. Gardner C. Taylor
Rabbi Jacob J. Weinstein
Dr. Charles H. Wesley
Roy Wilkins

Mr. Bayard Rustin
170 W. 130th St.
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Rustin:

We are pleased to announce that the Memorial Tribute to Dr. W.E.B. DuBois, to be held at Carnegie Hall on February 23, is progressing very well.

A significant part of the program will be the tributes received from cultural and civic leaders at home and abroad.

We would welcome, and take this opportunity to invite you to send, a message from you to this Tribute./

Your early response will greatly facilitate the work of the Program Committee.

Sincerely yours,

Ossie Davis

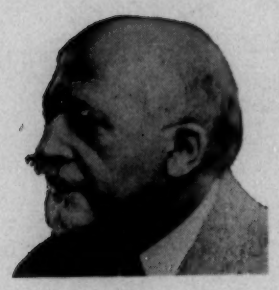
Ossie Davis
For the Program Committee

OD/lj

33

A TRIBUTE IN HONOR OF

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois



Featuring a dramatic presentation of the life and writing of Dr. DuBois with:

OSSIE DAVIS **BEAH RICHARDS** **CLEBERT FORD**
RUBY DEE **GODFREY CAMBRIDGE** **and other artists**

Sunday evening, February 23, 1964 at 8:30 p. m.
Carnegie Hall, 154 West 57th Street, New York City

Tickets may be obtained from:

DuBois Memorial Committee
248 West 139th St.
New York, N. Y.
TO 2-4200

Mrs. Alice Crawford
230 McDonough St.
Brooklyn, N. Y.
IN 7-7356

Waltann School
884 Lincoln Pl.
Brooklyn, N. Y.
SL 6-3522

Sponsors *(partial listing)*

James Baldwin	Dr. Kenneth B. Clark	Lorraine Hansberry	Dr. Benjamin E. Mays	Arthur B. Spingarn
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Dr. Marguerite Cartwright	Dr. Charles G. Gomillion	Bishop Edgar A. Love	Percival L. Prattis	Roy Wilkins

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TICKETS

Balcony	$ .99
Dress Circle	2.50
Orchestra	3.50
Lower Tier Boxes (seating 8)	80.00
Upper Tier Boxes (seating 8)	50.00

33

ORDER FORM

Enclosed please find check for $..... to cover tickets for the Dr. W.E.B. DuBois Tribute as listed below.

Number of tickets	Price	Amount
.....	.....	.....
.....	.....	.....
.....	.....	.....

Total .....

Name .....

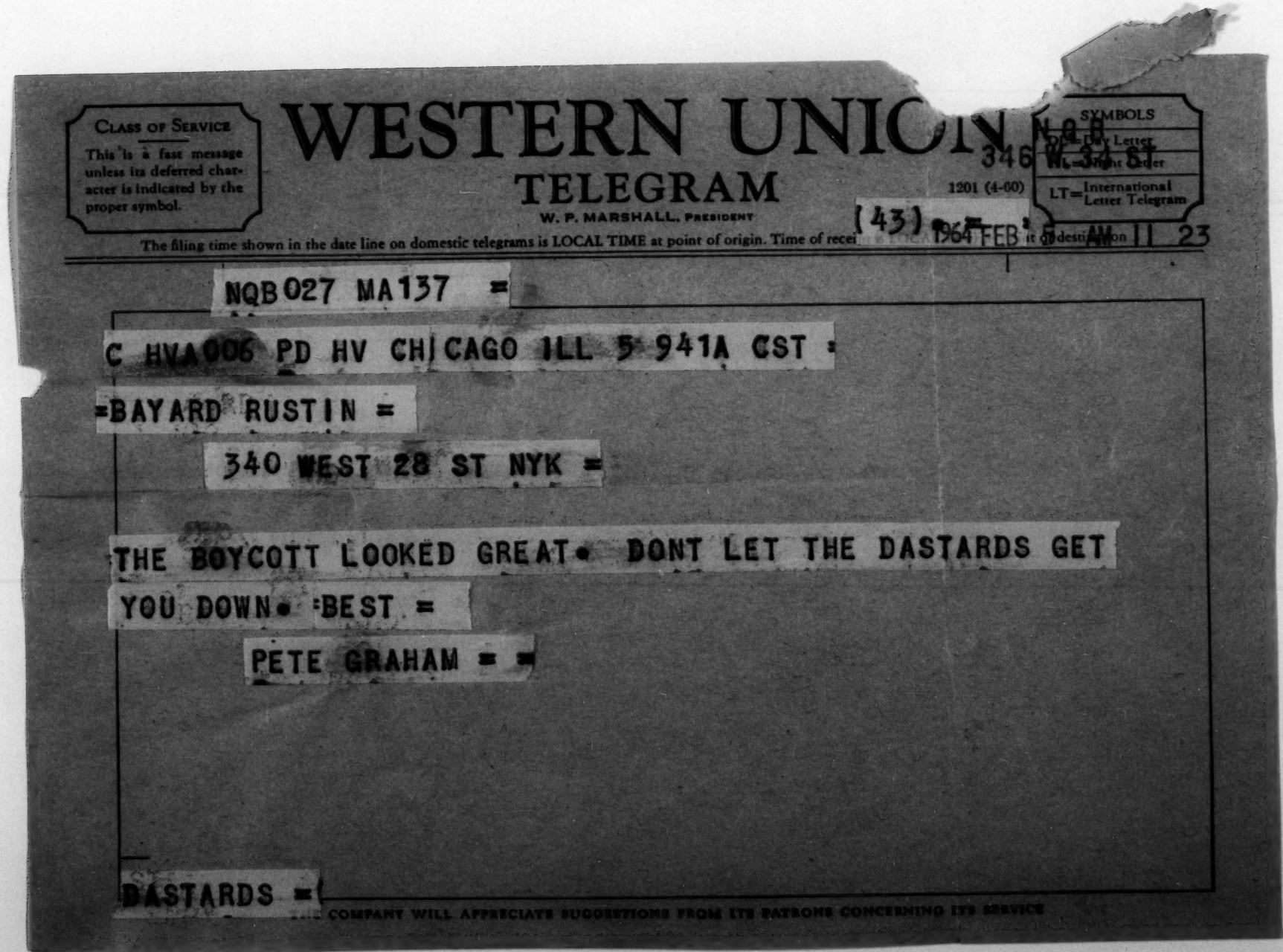
Address .....

.....

(Please make checks payable to the DuBois Memorial Committee)

2/3/64

Bayard –
You looked so tired on T.V.
Jessie was just glad to stay
home. Lucia had numb toes from
picketing. Impossible aspirations
get one higher than 'reasonable'
acceptances. It was a fine job –
by blacks and grays alike.
Thanks, Leatrice



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WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM
W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1201 (4-60)

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346 NQB W 34 84 (43) 1964 FEB 5 AM 11 23

NQB027 MA137 =

C HVA006 PD HV CHICAGO ILL 5 941A CST =

=BAYARD RUSTIN =

340 WEST 28 ST NYK =

THE BOYCOTT LOOKED GREAT. DONT LET THE DASTARDS GET
YOU DOWN. BEST =

PETE GRAHAM = =

DASTARDS =

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

4 Feb 1964

Dear Mr Rustin,

I've been following since summer thru the papers and just finished reading the article on you in this mornings times.

I've heard about you for quite some time, and it all goes back to your Grandmother Rustin, as I was a frequent visitor to her home. She and one of your cousins (Earl Johns) spoke about you quite frequently.

I am also from West Chester, and you possibly know or remember my mother Bertha Jones, if not then some of her sisters + brothers.

I would like very much to meet you, I know that you are a very busy person, but if time permits I would like to shake your hand.

We know the battle is far from being one but Congratulations for what's been done thus far, and my Warmest Regards to you.

Yours sincerly
Clarence H Jones
59 E. 3rd St
N.Yc. 3 Apt. 6B
OR 7-6013

Mort Heineman
Purchase Street
Purchase, New York

February 4, 1964

Mr. Bayard Rustin
War Resisters League
5 Beekman
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Rustin:

First, let me congratulate you upon the success of the boycott. Despite the fuzzy Mr. Donovan, it was not a fizzle.

I am conducting a forum on the "Quaker Position on Race Relations" at the Purchase Meeting House, Society of Friends, Purchase, New York (5 miles from Rye). The date is Sunday, Feb. 16th, at 10 A.M. I wonder if you would be good enough to join us. Also, if you can arrange to be there and stay for the Meeting for Worship, I would be pleased to have you join me for Sunday dinner at my home.

If your schedule does not permit this, will you be good enough to give me your thoughts on the subject under discussion so that I can read them and pass them on to others in attendance.

I'll be happy to discuss this with you by phone at any time.

With friendly greetings,

Sincerely,

Mort Heineman

Mort Heineman

MH:md

Office phone: TEmpleton 8-8700
Home phone: WHite Plains 6-8686

HUNTER COLLEGE
OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK
695 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 21, N. Y.

Good idea
so tired of
arguments
impossible
to do -
copy for
Kay -
Bruce

Office of Teacher Placement

Feb. 5, 1964

Dear Bayard:

First of all, congratulations on the smoothly running "fizzle" of Monday. It was a terrific job.

It occurs to me that in follow-up you might want to think about calling a conference - or some such get together - of people formally associated with some of the colleges of education in the city. The purpose, as I see it, would be to come up with the best kinds of proposals to accomplish both integration and good education. I don't think any of us at the moment know how best these goals can be accomplished. Transferring children from one poor school to another poor school only compounds problems, and yet there is much that can be done that isnt being done.

There are many of us in the Departments of Education in the various colleges here who have given much thought to the problems. We are not "beholden" to the Board of Education of New York, and out of a conference or other meeting might come a kind of technical advisory committee or something of the sort.

Perhaps you've already gone beyond this in your thinking, but anyway if a dozen or so professors of education endorsed some concrete proposals, it might be helpful.

Best personal regards and again

CONGRATULATIONS.

Bess Cameron

Professor of Education
Hunter College

you can reach me:
TR 9-2100 Ex 243
or at home
TR 4-7052

A. MATHEW
18-50-211th ST.
BAYSIDE 60, N.Y.
FEB. 5th, 1964

MR. BAYARD RUSTIN
War Resisters League

Dear Mr. Rustin,

As one of the many teachers who supported the school boycott by not only staying out of school but also joining the picket lines outside my own school, Bayside High School, may I compliment you on another job well done!

The Civil Rights Club at Bayside High of which I am a co-faculty advisor took the initiative in setting up the picket lines and consequently at our predominantly white and middle-class school, hundreds of students were absent and about a dozen teachers boycotted.

The struggle for integration I well know must go on and because it is in the nature of a revolution we are all in a sense participants not "makers". I don't regret having lost a day's pay but in view of the threat by Pres. Donovan "to consider the teachers' actions in making promotions", would it not be possible for you as Executive Director to issue a statement supporting the stand taken by the boycotting teachers and warning the Board against reprisals?

In view of the risk taken by teachers, do you not think that if further boycotts are called some plan should be worked out so that teachers can show their support (e.g. by picketing up to 9:00 o'clock or so) and not be placed in jeopardy. Most of us who stayed out did so as a matter of conscience and would be ready to serve the cause again but I question whether our giving up another day's pay and being subject to reprisals would be beneficial in the

long run for the Civil Rights Movement. I believe that additional boycotts must call on the parents to play a more active role and to man the picket lines, alongside their children. In any event, before further action is taken, I would strongly urge you to take the teachers into your confidence by calling a meeting of interested (committed) teachers, similar to the meeting sponsored by T I Q E on Jan. 31, 1964.

In my capacity as faculty advisor of the Bayside H. S. Civil Rights Club, I would like to ask you to consider visiting the school and addressing the student body. Realizing that you have a busy schedule, I make this proposition at your convenience. If you could advise me whether a visit would be feasible in the coming

weeks or months, we would take care of all arrangements. It might even be possible to have you address a regular morning assembly but I think that you would prefer an informal gathering of interested students after school.

Please be kind enough to advise me as to your reaction to my comments on the teacher-boycott problem and also as to this preliminary, hopeful invitation to Bayside H. S.

Respectfully yours,

Al Walter Jr.

P.S. You knew me 10 years ago as a young man of draft age who was concerned about conscientious objection. I helped out at the office occasionally but was unable to win classification as a C.O. because I lacked religious connections.

Al

AREA CODE: 212
TELEPHONE: LW 4-0020

Proudfoot Hosiery Corp.

350 FIFTH AVENUE • NEW YORK 1, N. Y.

February 5, 1964

Bayard Rustin
340 West 28th St.
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Rustin:

I certainly wish to thank you for your willingness to have taken the job of directing the school boycott here in New York City, Monday, February 3, 1964.

Your influence certainly made itself felt in this particular case, and I trust in all future endeavors by the Negroes to obtain their just place on the American scene.

Yours very sincerely,

PROUDFOOT HOSIERY CORP.

Morris Basuk

Morris Basuk

MB:ds

P.S. Today's Daily News headline was right from the bottom of the barrel. Negro people know of your past history and honor you for it, as you make todays history. We Whites also, dedicated to peace on the domestic and the international fronts, are proud to follow your lead - knowing that with your guidance we will at least have done something in our lifetime to counter such spewers of hate and confusion.

Area Code 212
GRamercy 7-5970

Norman Thomas
112 EAST 19th STREET
NEW YORK 3, N.Y.

February 6, 1964

Bayard Rustin
340 W. 28th Street
New York, N.Y.

Dear Bayard:

I am enclosing a copy of a column which I send to the Denver Post and the Purdue University Exponent. You won't agree with it but I think it is fair to let you know my own thinking. I should like to add that I am inclined to believe you performed a public service by doing what you did because you and Phil Randolph were in a position to do much to see that the boycott was nonviolent. I haven't been at all well impressed by Galamison. I hope you won't regard me as a traitor to your cause because I feel as I do about the boycott.

As ever, yours,

Norman

Norman Thomas

NT:S

426

For release

February 8/9, 1964

NEW YORK, N.Y. - New York's one-day school boycott was hailed by its leaders as a success, "the greatest civil rights demonstration" in American history. To the credit of all concerned, including the police and, in particular, Bayard Rustin and his excellent management, it passed without violence in the widely dispersed districts where it was held. Its leaders - some of them suspected of being pressured into it - argue that it was a necessary form of action to keep their nonviolent struggle alive, and to gain what all men of good will want: de facto as well as legal integration. It also, they believe, promoted good relations between Negroes and Puerto Ricans.

With due respect to the responsible and devoted leaders, I think the boycott was a tactical mistake in New York and a similar boycott in most - not necessarily all - other cities, or a repetition of it in New York, would be a tactical error, more likely to hurt than help the good cause of fraternal integration.

Why? Not because of belief in the infallibility of ~~our~~ New York's hard-working Board of Education. Its president has, at the best estimate, proved very inept in stating his own case. But if I were to recommend from my personal acquaintance good friends of integration, I could not name better persons than four of those in the present Board whom I personally know. The Negro member fully concurred with the program the Board offered.

That program, to a non-expert in the difficult business of de facto integration on terms consistent with a steady improvement of schools, seemed a good beginning. Its critics certainly offered no carefully reasoned alternative and have not ~~organized~~ examined the detailed studies the Board has made. Every board of

education in every city is obligated to do what it can within its power and the general context of its task to do what it can for integration. But no school board - certainly not New York's - by itself can change the housing situation which accounts for de facto segregation. Nor can it impose its own taxes to support its plans. It is faced, in New York at least, the fact that ~~by such facts as these:~~ a mechanical quota system in all schools, given rates of population growth and shifts of population, is neither possible nor, indeed, truly desirable in presenting a fraternal integration.

The American public has been conditioned for generations to the principle of neighborhood schools for elementary school age pupils. Something can and should be done - and the Board is doing it - to modify de facto segregation by bussing children around and allowing voluntary transfers, where possible. New school districts are being consciously formed to minimize de facto segregation. But the financial costs of huge scale bussing would be at the expense of absolutely necessary expenditures to improve schools, especially in the slum areas which disgrace us but are not the fault of educational authorities. Moreover, thousands of white parents not ~~xxxxxxxxx~~ racially biased would object to sending young children on bus rides over half an hour long into districts from which some of them think they have escaped.

Personal experiences in this field lead me to fear two things as a consequence of this drive for a mechanical integration: (1) Alienation of much white support from the basic drive for civil rights; and (2) flight from districts affected or a great effort to send children into parochial or private schools, not mechanically integrated. This, whatever one's judgment of its ethical

quality, would actually and automatically increase de facto segregation in public schools. There is still time in New York for more constructive cooperation on this great problem.

To this let me add that, so far as I know the facts, I would heartily support the Negro demonstrations in Cleveland which provoked some disgraceful white violence but also got results from the school authorities.

- Norman Thomas

# # # # # #

LONDON COMMITTEE OF 100

13 GOODWIN STREET
LONDON, N.4
ARCHWAY 1239/5524

6th February, 1964

Bayard Rustin
340 West 28th Street
Apartment 9 J.
New York City 1
USA

Dear Mr Rustin,

Last night there was an excellent programme on television here ~~last night~~, dealing with the struggle of the Negroes for racial equality. It featured many of the songs which have been used in this campaign.

We would like to obtain the words and music of some of the songs for use here at Easter. Can you please let us know where we could obtain them, especially "Now is the Time" (to an Israeli folk tune), and "What did you learn at School to-day?"

We have heard you are likely to be in London for the CND march on Easter Monday. We enclose a leaflet about a complementary action being organised by the London Committee, and we are hoping we may be able to welcome you at this demonstration also.

Yours sincerely,

Brian McGee

Brian McGee,
Secretary

Hazel McGee

Hazel McGee

THE JOINT COMMITTEE TO STOP THE LOWER MANHATTAN EXPRESSWAY

378 Broome Street, New York 13, N.Y.

February 6, 1964

Please reply to:
391 West Street
New York 14, N.Y.

Dear Bayard Rustin:

If I may presume upon our slight aquaintance of many years ago, I would like to express to you my great admiration and respect for the extraordinary leadership you are giving us in the civil rights' struggle; and I would like to discuss with you a matter that, I believe, has a direct connection with the work you are doing.

As a member of the committee named above, I have been involved for more than two years in the fight to prevent the construction of a crosstown expressway across lower Manhattan. We believe such an expressway would be harmful in every conceivable way to the people of New York and in particular to the 10,000 men and women who are employed in 800 businesses that would be destroyed if the expressway was built. An estimated half or 5,000 of these jobs are held by Negroes and Puerto Ricans. Every indication is that these businesses would not relocate and simply would cease to exist.

We brought our fight to a successful conclusion in December 1962 when the Board of Estimate voted against the expressway proposal. At that time Mayor Wagner said it was a dead issue. We believed him. However, it recently has been announced that the Board of Estimate will reconsider its decision, and the reason given is that the building and construction unions are bringing pressure because of the 2,000 jobs for their members that would become available for the five year construction period. Nothing at all is said about the 10,000 jobs that would be imperiled and probably destroyed. Mr. Van Arsdale, who appears to be the main labor proponent, along with Peter Brennan, of the reconsidered action by the Board of Estimate, has personally and vehemently expressed to the chairman of our committee his complete indifference to the fate of the men and women holding these 10,000 jobs. Presumably, few if any of them belong to his unions. However, it seems to me safe to predict that sooner or later a hint will be dropped to the effect that if the expressway is built and 2,000 jobs are created by it, more Negroes will gain admittance to the building and construction unions. Fine. But will anything at all be said about the far greater number of permanent jobs for Negroes and Puerto Ricans that almost certainly would be lost? To say nothing about the many other members of minority groups who would lose their homes.

I'm sure you must feel as I do about the terrible failures of urban renewal and that whoever it was who first equated it with Negro removal was not just making a bad joke. Now, to my mind at least, it is all too clear that those who think in terms of land grabs and manipulation of minorities are attempting to pervert to their own ends the idea of a war on poverty before that war has even started. It seems to me that the building trades unions by selfishly exerting power in their own interest are working not for but against the proposition that building in this city should be undertaken to help the citizens and not to deprive them of homes and livlihoods.

I sincerely hope that this particular issue is of concern to you and that you can make the time to meet with us about it, if that would be of value to you.

With all good wishes,

sincerely,

Victor Chapin

Victor Chapin

THE JEWISH CENTER
435 NASSAU STREET
PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

Rabbi
Everett E. Gendler

Bayard - Follow up

February 6, 1964

Mr. Bayard Rustin
c/o War Resisters League
5 Beekman Street
New York 38, N.Y.

Dear Bayard:

First of all, warmest congratulations on your accomplishments with the school boycott. I am sure both its power and its peacefulness owed a great deal to your last minute efforts. May I also add a word of deep personal appreciation for your continued participation in the CNVA project. The issues are clearly inseparable and we are exceedingly fortunate to have someone with your outlook so central to the integration movement.

With respect to our SNCC benefit at McCarter Theatre, McCarter had to withdraw its facilities for Sunday evening, March 8th. The kids were heartbroken that they could not hold the theatre for that evening when you could be available, but the Shakespearians were adamant, and so we must reluctlantly remove the 8th of March from consideration. Would you be available on Sunday evening, March 15th? That date, they tell me, is fixed, firm and final, and your presence would add immeasurably to the occasion. With your new position I could readily understand that a commitment for this date might not be possible. However, if the 15th is open, could you list our McCarter Theatre benefit at least tentatively, and if you could manage it, do so. Incidentally, I'd be delighted to house you for the night. So if you'd like to relax afterwards, instead of scurrying back, please plan accordingly.

If you are able to let me know anything about the 15th, I'd appreciate hearing from you.

With all good wishes, I remain

As Ever,

Everett

EEG:hs

DOROTHY KENYON
COUNSELLOR AT LAW
FIFTY BROADWAY
NEW YORK 4

TELEPHONE WHITEHALL 3-1991

February 6, 1964

Mr. Bayard Rustin
c/o Mr. Isidore Aronin
345 Eighth Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Dear Bayard:

You are magnificent.

Yours,

Dorothy Kenyon

DK:es

Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament

2 Carthusian Street London EC1 *Clerkenwell 5146/7*

February 7, 1964

Dear Bayard,

The bells are ringing all over Britain since we heard that you would be here for Easter. There are one or two points.

About your ticket: shall we get one in Britain and send it, or will you get it in America and let us know how much we owe?

When you get here, we would probably like to start off by taking you around the country a bit. We are proposing to hold briefing meetings for marshals and mar chers and would like you to talk about the non violent aspects of the Washington March, and about the March generally.

If you could get here by Thursday or Friday, March 19th or 20th, we could probably spend that week end in the north of England and Scotland and then move south to London. Could you let me know if this would be possible.

Also could you let me have details of the pledges which you used at the end of the Washington March and also how you used them. Did the marchers repeat them after you? The Committee running the Rally were a bit scared of this as they felt British marchers might be a bit inhibited about this. So we thought of possibly having a refrain like "stayed on Freedom"!

So far as the March generally is concerned we are still battling with the police. We have asked for the whole of the road on the later stages of the March and for Trafalgar Square. We know that the Square is available as no-one else has applied.

The Police don't like the idea at all and have tried to make us march back to Hyde Park - a horrible idea. We are standing firm and now it is high up, with the Home Office.

Executive Committee
The Rev. Canon L. John Collins (*Chairman*)
Professor Ritchie Calder, C.B.E. (*Vice-Chairman*)
Laurie Kershaw (*Hon. Treasurer*)
James Cameron
John Cox
Michael Foot, M.P.
Olive Gibbs
Arthur Goss
Judith Hart, M.P.
Jacquetta Hawkes
Michael Hennings
John Horner
Michael Mitchel Howard
J. R. Lawther
Kingsley Martin
Dr. Antoinette Pirie
Dick Robinson
Sidney Silverman, M.P.

Organising Secretary:
Peggy Duff

Sponsors:
Sir Richard Acland
John Arlott
Dame Peggy Ashcroft
Dr. Charlotte Auerbach, F.R.S.
The Bishop of Birmingham
Lord Boyd Orr, F.R.S.
John Braine
Benjamin Britten, C.H.
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Professor C. A. Coulson, F.R.S.
Cecil Day Lewis
Count Michael de la Bedoyere
George Devine, C.B.E.
Maurice Edelman, M.P.
Bob Edwards, M.P.
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Patrick Heron
Christopher Hollis
Sir Julian Huxley, F.R.S.
Edward Hyams
Professor H. D. Kay, F.R.S.
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Benn Levy
The Bishop of Llandaff
Lt. Col. Patrick Lort-Phillips
Sir Compton Mackenzie
The Rt. Rev. George F. MacLeod
Miles Malleson
The Bishop of Masasi
Denis Matthews
Sir Francis Meynell
Ian Mikardo
Henry Moore, C.H
John Napper
John Neville
Ben Nicholson
J. B. Priestley
Sir Herbert Read
The Rev. Harold Roberts
Archbishop T. D. Roberts
Dame Flora Robson
Professor J. Rotblat
Charles Royle, M.P.
Dr. Frederick Sanger, F.R.S.
The Rev. Dr. Donald Soper
The Bishop of Southwark
Michael Tippett
Vicky
Professor C. H. Waddington Sc.D., F.R.S.
Lord Wilmot
Professor Barbara Wootton

What is nice about this is that it's heads we win, tails you lose. If they say No we continue to stand firm and get a lot of publicity. If they say Yes we have won a major victory and get a lot of publicity. Ain't life grand.

I am hectically busy but managing to do quite a lot for the Confederation

Don't forget to reply,

Looking forward to seeing you,

Your hat is in fine form.

Yours

Peggy Duff

Bayard Rustin
War Resisters' League
Room 1025
5, Beekman Street
New York, 38
N.Y.

P.S. I went to Paris and saw Claude. He is OK now and will stay on the Executive. I think the real trouble is that he feels the Europeans are outnumbered.

2633 E. 21st Pl.
Gary, Indiana
Feb. 8, 1964

Dear Bayard:

How are you, old friend? Fine I hope. I take this opportunity to commend you on the two fine marches that I'm aware that you have organized and carried thru. I'm sorry I was unable to collaborate with you on either. I heard from George Houser some years ago while I lived in

in Mich. but I misplaced his address; at that time he informed ~~you~~ that you were engaged in the Gfrum movement. To refreshen your memory of me: I attended the C.O.R.E. meeting at the U. of Chicago in the early 40's. I was a member of the Socialist Labor Party and you, Homer Jack, George Hauser & I had quite an enjoyable eve. I would like to renew old comradeship with you & keep informed of your activities. Please write me.

Sincerely Yours
Ralph W. Bailey

E. Ruth Marler 330 East 54th Street New York, N. Y. 10022

2/10

Mr Bayard Rustin
340 W. 28th Street
New York, NY

Dear Mr Rustin:

Your talk at the Community Church on the 2nd was a shot in the arm. It is rare to hear forthrightness, truth, honesty and all such things — even from the champions of the oppressed and the oppressed themselves. The trouble is truth is not always comfortable or pleasant — and conformity is easier anyway because, mainly, so many are with us.

I also heard some of your remarks on the panel (Channel 5) last

might but regrettably fell
astray midway.

While the Negro stereotype is
probably the most obvious and
widespread and damaging one —
our society is simply loaded
with other stereotypes involving
human beings. The situation
of women in this country —
superficially "free" and certainly
sexually unfettered & guess —
resembles the Negro's plight.
I would hate to estimate how
much female intelligence
is wasted in this country —
because of prejudice as well as
conformity. And this is more
true of the Negro — because he is
often deprived physically as

E. Ruth Marler 330 East 54th Street New York, N. Y. 10022

well as in the other sense.

Stereotypes somehow have to be slashed thru — and it takes social leaders, writers + artists of all kinds. James Baldwin in the "Saturday Review" for 2/8 (I believe) says better than I can what is operating and why within & between ~~the~~ Society and the aware individual or artist — & this applies also to any group which challenges the comfortable status quo of

the cocoon which means security to many.

Baldwin's article, in fact, would seem to be more psychologically "savvy" than the psychologists' & the books on the subject. Of course, psychology existed long before it became a discipline (rigid sometimes) in the writings of great essayists, novelists, playwights, etc. of all times & countries.

Sincerely,

(Keep going — and stay well!) Bill Marler

February 10, 1964

Mr. Richard Heffner
Metropolitan Broadcasting Television
Chanel 5
New York City

Dear Mr. Heffner:

I listened with interest to the panel on poverty on February 9th. But it would have been with much more interest if all your speakers had been forced to say in an hour what they didn't say very well in two hours. I think eight speakers on a panel results in a panel doomed to failure. Why two of a kind? Of course I think any panel should always have at least one woman and at least one Negro, but not merely as a Negro or a woman.

Bayard Rustin was not and never is merely a Negro, and he made an important point and am sure he knew lots that he thought would be wasted on his audience.

Can't we just start all programs either with a salute to the flag, a curtsey to McCarthy, or I hate communism played on a bugle. Must we hear again and again that planning is naughty because communists plan, and we have the highest standard of living without planning,(and 7½ million unemployed as a result of not planning)?

Sincerely yours,

Eunice B. Armstrong

WILSON 1-1069

MRS. DONALD BUDD ARMSTRONG
SCARBOROUGH-ON-HUDSON
NEW YORK

February 10, 1964

Mr. Bayard Rustin
War Resisters League
5 Beekman Street
New York City

Dear Bayard Rustin:

I enclose my letter to Ken MacLaren because your headquarters at 299 Jefferson Avenue may not longer be the right address.

Also, a copy of my letter to Chamel 5. It was good to have you say who really are the leaders in our country today, and I think some of your fellow panelists jumped.

It must be, though unimportant, very satisfactory always to be the handsomest man on any panel.

I enclose, also, a copy of comments from a friend, Kathleen Gough Aberle, who wrote "The Decline of the State," on three facets of the current Negro situation. And also a copy of an article by Theobald. If you don't know Theobald and his ideas please stop and get acquainted. He is not a great writer and better books will be written than his first three, but he has a new and important idea which makes nonsense about all the anguish about full employment in the USA today.

Have you any use for a white woman, a journalist, an excellent photographer, a good speaker, who wants to talk about SCEF and SNICK and SLICK, and raise funds for them in the North? She has wide contacts.

I enclose also a report from New Orleans where she has been working for Jim Dombrowski. Her name is Marjorie Collins.

With respect and admiration

Eunice B Armstrong

Eunice B. Armstrong

ROGER HARRIS
162 GROVE ST., RUTLAND, VERMONT

Sent

February 10, 1964

Mr. Bayard Rustin
New York City

My dear Mr. Rustin:

I should like to compile a collection of autographs of prominent persons.

I hope you do not mind my imposing upon you and will permit me to include you in my collection as I sincerely believe that you, through your impressive efforts and outstanding contributions, are endearing yourself to many people.

If you would be so kind as to autograph the enclosed card, I shall be very grateful. A stamped, return envelope is included for your convenience.

If you have a photograph available that you could autograph, it would please me immensely.

I would be interested in knowing, Mr. Rustin, what you consider your greatest satisfaction thus far during your career.

With cordial best wishes, Sir, for continued success and much happiness,

Respectfully yours,

Roger Harris

61 Coleswood Road,
Harpenden,
Herts,
England.

11th Feb 1964.

Dear Bayard,

You will remember at Tyringe that I promised to get a Fur Hat made for you. The delay is because we do not know the size. Peggy said she would measure the hat you gave her and let me know the size. However Peggy is on tour now and I would have difficulty in contacting her beside the fact that she might not have the hat with her(we are having a very mild winter).

Under the circumstances I wonder if you could send me the size and I will make sure you get the hat sometime during your Easter visit here.

My offer about glasses holds good if you want to take advantage of it.

I Look forward to seeing you at Easter,

Very best wishes,

Keith Robins.

(Keith Robins.)

American size 7 1/2 -

not coming for Aldermaston
Glasses done here.

March 23, 1964

Mr. Keith Robins
61 Coleswood Road
Harpenden
Herts
England

Dear Keith,

I must be brief - am terribly busy. Sorry I took so long to answer your letter. A.J.'s latest letter to Peggy explains all.

My hat size is 7⅛ (American figure), but alas, will have to have the glasses done here.

Please tell Peggy for me how sorry I am not to come, but we are really in a crisis situation here.

Best regards,

Bayard Rustin

BR/jp

THE JEWISH CENTER
435 NASSAU STREET
PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

Rabbi
Everett E. Gendler

February 11, 1964

Mr. Bayard Rustin
c/o War Resisters League
5 Beekman Street
New York 38, N.Y.

Dear Bayard:

I see that another school boycott is in the offing. Far be it from me, friend, to sit at this distance and judge events in that far off island of Manhattan. Yet some very good people I know somehow find themselves unconvinced that there has been genuine dialogue between boycotters and school board, on both sides, and that the immediate demands simply cannot be met while preserving even a semblance of an effective educational system.

The thing that worries me, Bayard, is that unlike the successful and obviously valid demonstrations in Birmingham, etc., the March on Washington, or Jesse Gray's rent strike, the goal and means do not seem so plainly to coincide. I have read some of Joseph Lyford's material from the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, and his points make some sense. The interest of slum parents, he found to be primarily interest and desire for good education for their children, oriented to the problems their children face at this point. He was not entirely convinced that transporting kids was such a good idea and seemed to argue that a real improvement of schools was much more needed. He does, of course, favor schools with genuinely diverse student groups, but the wisdom of time-consuming cross town transportation he found dubious.

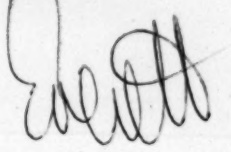
I know you are aware of these arguments, but I am worried by the large number of people I know, genuinely devoted to a free and integrated society, who really are uncomfortable by present strategies.

THE JEWISH CENTER
435 NASSAU STREET
PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

I hope we will have a chance to talk for a few minutes at the WRL Executive meeting next week if you will be there---and if I can make it. Also if you see any possibility of Princeton for Sunday evening, the 15th, do let me know.

With all good wishes.

As ever,



EEG:hs

HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR.
NEW JERSEY

H

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D.C.

February 11, 1964

File
9/1

Dear Bayard:

Congratulations on your fine contribution to discussion on poverty the other evening. The entire program was most interesting and I hope that it will make other Americans more aware of the "invisible poor".

One point you made most effectively was that the same Congressional coalition which held up for so long an adequate civil rights bill has always crushed any effort by the government to help our low-income families.

The Civil Rights Bill is only a beginning. We must continue the fight to knock down the economic barriers which have so oppressed the spirit and the soul of our poor citizens.

I know that you were as heartened as I was by House passage of the Civil Rights bill. The large majority at passage will, I hope, be a spur to prompt and effective action in the Senate.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

Harrison A. Williams, Jr.

HAW/frbs

Mr. Bayard Rustin
325 Lafayette Street
New York 12, New York

NAME: Christopher Ward

ADDRESS: 7036 Greene Street, Philadelphia 19, Pennsylvania

AGE: 27

EDUCATION: Germantown Friends School ('56)
Philadelphia
Pennsylvania

Kenyon College (B.A., '60)
Gambier
Ohio
(Major in English Literature, Kenyon Prize Scholarship in English Writing)

WORK EXPERIENCE IN USA:

November '60--January '62----Assistant Editor
Delaware Valley Announcer Magazine
Philadelphia
Pennsylvania

OVERSEAS WORK EXPERIENCE:

February '62--July '64---Staff Member in Community Development
American Friends Service Committee's
Algerian Refugee Program

I joined the AFSC staff in Oujda, Morocco as director of a program of vocational training and basic education for 150 Algerian refugee boys ranging in ages from 10 to 16. With the ending of the Algerian Revolution we moved our work into the region of Tlemcen in Western Algeria. Here, in a village that had been a "regroupment camp" under the French military, we undertook a program of health education, vocational and literacy training for young people and adults. Working in close cooperation with the new Algerian government's program of Centers of Popular Education, I was especially concerned with the training of teachers to teach in rural villages. Throughout my time in Algeria I also wrote numerous articles dealing with our work for Quaker journals in England and the United States. My contract with AFSC ended in February 1964 and, at their request, I extended until the end of July 1964.

LANGUAGES:

I speak, read, and write French.

Political Action

The Socialist Party-SDF shall pursue an experimental and empirical approach to political action. Although it is the right of each member to refrain from participation in politics in a formal sense, it is proper for the Party to urge its members and locals to be active politically. At the present time there is a wide divergence of opinion in the organization on the nature ofthis political activity and the most effective way to carry it out.

This divergence has existed for some time and will continue until one approach proves to be an overwhelming success or until one viewpoint has been eagerly accepted by great numbers of the American people. Thus we propose that the SP-SDF membership as indivduals and groups ,be urged to take any of the following electoral actions:

1. Support Socialist Party candidates.
2. Support candidates of other socialist groups.
3. Support independent or liberal-labor candidates outside of the two major parties.
4. Support independent liberal candidtes within the two major parties.

Resolution submitted by Hannah and
Francis Carner
Central Phila. Branch

An Item on Civil Rights

In order to achieve great advances in Civil Rights in the next year it will probably be necessary for the Executive of the Federal government to intervene directly,particularly in the Deep South, to implement the provisions of any Civil Rights legislation passed by Congress. It is important therefor that the Election Platforms of both major parties shall contain a commitment for such action. The SP shall carry out an educational campaign to secure these commitments(or more properly a campaign in an effort to secure these commitments).

Submitted by Francis Carner
Central Phila.Branch

Educational and Vocational Security

Note: This proposal could be considered either as an amendment to the Notes Toward a Master Plan- a proposal on unemployment by Arlon R. Tussing or to the Family Security proposal by other members of the Central Phila. Branch.

Preface Any complete plan for the fulfillment of Civil Rights for all citizens and also any comprehensive attack on poverty should include some radical proposals on public education. More than voting rights and more than massive public works are needed to get at the roots of the inferior economic and social status of many Negroes and to blunt the edges of poverty in the big city slums and the isolated rural communities. That is why we are proposing this plan

for paying people to attend school- a Federal Educational and Vocational Security program for all beyond the age of 16.

Such a program would:
1. Make it economicly possible for the illiterate and unemployable to bring himself into the mainstream of American labor. A important job-going to school-would be found for almost all of the unemployed.
2. Need more school buildings- a massive public works project.
3. Re-emphasize the important role of universal free public education.
4. Aid to prevent high school dropouts. It will stop the hypocricy of telling the empty pocketed 16 year old that the greatest contribution he can make to his country is to finish his education and then leaving him empty pocketed.
5. It will relieve the burden on the parents of the college youth.
6. It will give a substantial income to the displaced skilled worker while he is learning new skills.
7. It will enable all to return to the classroom to have technical training updated without suffering severe financial losses. Our society is changing so rapidly that no one at age 16 or 18 or 22 or even at 30 or 50 can be sure that he is adequately equipped in formal learning to hold a wage earning job for the rest of his life.

The wage scale for attending school should be between the level of relief and unemployment benefits and that of full time employment wages. Part of it could be paid during the school term and the remainder at the successful completion of the course.

The most important natural resource of our country is the people and their technical skills. It is fortunate that the Civil Rights Revolution and the War on Poverty are pressing for a rational use of that natural resource. The depletion of that resource must be ended at all edonomic and social levels. This can be America's greatest contribution to world advancement.

submitted by Francis E. Carner
Central Phila. Branch

RESOLUTION UNEMPLOYMENT & AUTOMATION

Unemployment and poverty level existence as we know it today is serious, but only a harbinger of much more to come as automation reaches maturity and additional "defense" spending loses its "utility".

We support the token gestures toward the solution of the current problem. Among these are extended and increased unemployment compensation; extensive retraining program for the technologically displaced persons; public works program in needed projects and services; updated vocational training which bears a relationship to the present needs of industry; a "G-I Bill" for all college age students, male and female, who qualify for post high school training; and a domestic"peace corps" with skilled concerned workers.

In addition to the above measures, we support a minimum wage of $2.00 per hour; a work week of 25 hours; a law out lawing"moonlighting"; compulsory retirement at age 55; and compulsory registration of all jobs with state employment agencies.

All the above measures are token steps called for within the the framework of our profit motivated, private property oriented economy. None of these measures will reach the person who has never become a member or an associate of our affluent society. The cry is made for jobs because we accept the old standard that the poor must work in order to eat. With all our intricate legal devices to protect the innocent, there is only one crime for which punishment is meted out with consistency, that is the crime of being poor.

If we are to solve the problem of poverty, we must address it directly. A subsidy to the large farm, the mill operator, an air-line or a suburban railway, a tax cut, a defense contract, reduction of the rate of interest in the Federal Reserve System, all of these may filter down to some of the poor, but this kind of economics, if the elimination of poverty is our goal, is like flying to Hong Kong to save money on a new suit.

We must underwrite the family as our most valuable natural resource. If we can subsidize every other facet of our economy and many foreign countries dedicated to the destruction of democracy, the time has come when we must subsidize our citizens who are always good enough to die for their country, why not good enough to live for it?

Therefore be it resolved that:
The head of every family of four should receive a subsidy sufficient to bring his or her income up to $5,000 per year and $1,000 for each additional child until such child becomes self supporting.

Resolved that, All single workers, male or female,should receive a subsidy sufficient to bring their income up to $3,000 per year.

Resolved that, Unwed mothers with one child should receive $3,000 per year with $1,000 for each additional child until he or she becomes self supporting.

Resolved that, Anyone whose condition of unemployment or underemployment could benefit by increased training or relocation should be given the opportunity for either or both at government expense.

Resolved that, Retired workers should recieve a minimum of $2,500 per year per person, with all medical, hospital, surgical and nursing home care defrayed by the government.

Resolved that, All orphans, handicapped, or disabled persons shall become wards of the state who will see to their care, welfare, education and if possible, rehabilitation through foster homes or whatever method best meets the need.

Resolved that, None of the aforementioned benefits shall be contingent upon the liquidation or surrender of any personal assets such as the deed to ones personal residence, a motor vehicle, the tools of ones trade, books or any other personal possession with the exception of investment capital.

Resolved that, Anyone falling within the framework of the aforementioned minimums for decent existence shall pay no income tax on the minimum income or on any additional benefits such as education or medical care.

Resolved that, Through the income tax proceedure, an absolute maximum on personal income should be established at $50,000 per year with provisions for spreading this income over a number of years in those professions where peak earning power is limited to a few years or subject to great fluctuation.

Finally, be it resolved that, None of the aforementioned benefits shall be limited or denied on the basis of color, creed, national origin or moral standards.

- Carl Dahlgren
John McBride

Local Philadelphia
Center City Branch
Socialist Party of America

1320 W.Hunting Park Avenue
Philadelphia,Pa. 19140

Fraternally
Carl Dahlgren

Confidential

A MEMORANDUM REGARDING
THE CAMPAIGN FOR INTEGRATION OF
NEW YORK CITY PUBLIC SCHOOLS

To:

Rev. Milton A. Galamison
Siloam Presbyterian Church
260 Jefferson Ave
Brooklyn, N.Y.

Mr. Bayard Rustin

Respectfully Submitted By

Clarence B. Jones
165 Broadway
Suite 800
New York, N.Y. BE.3-3690

February 12, 1964

Set forth herein is a suggested outline for a second, and possibly a third, mass action - one following immediately on the heels of the other, in the fight for an integrated schools system in New York City. This plan, still in an embryonic stage, is offered as a suggested substitute for the announced second boycott, tentatively set for sometime between March 9 and April 17.

It is respectfully submitted, and strongly, that a second boycott, a repeat of the highly successful action taken on Monday, February 3, will have little chance, by its mere repetition, of creating the same dramatic appeal or attaining the same success. Even with variations, should the theme be the same, the play cast the same, the audience the same, it is dubious whether or not the result can be the same.

The announced secondary aim of the second school boycott was reported in the newspapers as "being designed to penalize the Board of Education economically", i.e., to cut state aid dollars for the city's schools. It has been estimated that a second boycott with as many absences as the first could cost the city school system $1,000,000.00 in State aid. The writer must contend that such an aim is unwholesome and minimizes the possibility for building allies with persons who might otherwise support the boycott.

Accordingly, what is needed is a new mode of mass action, non-violent, more daring and more dramatic. Negro and white. For want of better titles, or names, ACTION #2 may be described as a mass sit-in, or Folded Arms or Joined Hands sit-in, in the schools by students supported and surrounded by a large array of "educational" activities from without and within the schools, which are described hereafter; and ACTION #3, to take place on the day immediately following ACTION #2, may be described as a mass STAND-OUR FOR INTEGRATION DEMONSTRATION around City Hall until such hour as the Mayor comes forward with a public, forthright commitment on true integration of the schools and, secondaril

Contd....2

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Contd....2

a public request by the Mayor for Mr. Donovan's resignation.

ACTION #2

Set forth hereunder is a conceptual visualization of ACTION #2 as reported the day after:

"New York's school children did attend school yesterday. Attendance was higher than normal. The school day, however, was far from normal. It was devoted, dramatically and with great feelings, to a marathon 7-hour session and seminar on the broad subject of: LESSONS IN EQUALITY, CIVIL RIGHTS AND CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE. Playing leading roles in the unusual and highly charged educational program were the world's great philosophers from Thoreau to Gandhi; the nation's great presidents from Washington and Lincoln to Roosevelt and Kennedy; America's most honored women from Susan B. Anthony, Harriet Tubman to Eleanor Roosevelt; America's renowned patriots, like Patrick Henry,and its poets who clamored for civil liberties and civil rights. These were heard by voice over radios blaring in almost every school room and some, like Presidents Roosevelt and Kennedy, seen as well in old film clips flashed over TV screens set up wherever the student sit-ins could manage it.

The school day started as do most in our city. Students arrived on time and went directly to their respective home rooms or to the lines which brought them to home rooms. The opening few minutes were as they always are. There was the starting gong and classes rose in unison to sing the national anthem or give the pledge of allegiance to the flag, or both. That ended the normal school day, however.

Throughout the city in _____ thousand schools, in _____thousand class rooms as students sat down after

Contd.....3

the their patriotic recitations, they folded their arms across their chests; some stretched hands across aisles to clasp hands of buddies and leave them remain clasped. In each home room, one student, elected as spokesman by the class the day or week before, rose and read to the teacher the following statement:

> "We students believe in the Constitution of the United States including its guarantees of equal rights and equal opportunities for all. These guarantees have been interpreted by the Supreme Court of the United States to mean that there shall be no discrimination, no segregation in our schools because of a student's race, religion or color. We believe in that and would welcome the opportunity to live by it. But this has not happened in our schools. We want it to happen but the Board of Education has not kept faith with us. In protest of the failures of the Board of Education and as a demonstration of our sincere beliefs we shall this day remain in this classroom and devote our full time here to a study and discussion of civil rights particularly as they relate to the integration of this school and all schools in the City of New York. We believe that as a good American and a good teacher you share our conviction. We invite and welcome your participation in this special day of study of civil rights."

The readings of the statement, declarations of non-compliance with school discipline, did not, however result in pandemonium. What took place in each school was expected. The plan of student protest sit-ins had been announced weeks ago and publicly organized by the City Wide Committee for Integrated Schoolds. It is the same committee which conducted the highly successful school boycott

Contd.....4

last February 3rd. The sit-in tactic for this second city-wide demonstration for integrated schools was adopted, according to a Committee statement, for two primary reasons:

1. To provide for the students, and for the members of the Board of Education, a real lesson in democracy and civil rights, including the right to demonstrate through peaceful means disagreement with laws or rules that infringe upon the inalienable rights of American people, or any segment of the American people.
2. So as not in this instance deprive the City' of State aid funds based on school attendance.

Teachers in almost every classroom responded to the students' statemenstatement of defiance by reading to the assembled class the following warning issued by the Board of Education:

> "I am obliged by direction of the Board of Education to tell you that you are inviolation of school rules and discipline. If you persist in your intentions a disobedience mark will be entered on your school records and your future education may be affected by this action."

This about ended the school day's opening confrontation by the two "opposing forces." Some teachers made additional efforts to get the regular school routine under way but few succeeded. Teachers who started to read the day's regular lesson book, found pupils clasping hands to their ears, so they would not hear. Markings on blackboards by teachers were ignored by tightly shut eyes. Most teachers were content to read the Board of Education statement, ask students if they wished to change their position, and thereafter follow the suggestion of the United Federation of

Contd.....5

Teachers which was "not to coerce students nor in any manner employ physical force."

The preliminaries having been completed as foreseen and now out of the way, the students proceeded to their day of devotion to civil rights. Some hauled out pocket-size transistor radios and others receivers of larger size which they had brought with them to school. Some went to principals' or janitors' offices to retrieve radios or TV sets taken from them as they entered their schools in the morning. Some succeeded in this, others did not. Some managed to get just outside the school building to pick up radios and TV sets being held by parents' committee on picket duty there.

From 8 A.M. to 3 P.M., without any let-up, radios and television sets carried an array of "historical and educational" programs on civil rights and integration, broadcast over WNEW radio and TV, under sponsorship of the City Wide Committee for Integrated Schools. It was a day-long program worthy of the broadcast industry's best producers and directors. Where TV or radio sets could not be brought into classrooms, students listened through open windows to the broadcasts from strong transistor radios played by parents just outside. Where the latter also was not possible, students applied themselves to readings and discussions of mimeographed tracts on integration supplied by the Committee. "We're bringing our Freedom Schools right into the buildings where they rightfully belong," is the way one of the demonstration organizers described the radio-TV programs and the discussion tracts.

****

NOTE: The above, of course, is not a complete or comprehensive report of the day's full events. As written it is limited to project the concept of the plan and indicate its organization. Many more events will occur, many far more dramatic and effective than has been described above.

Contd.....6

REGARDING THE ALL-DAY EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM

The 7-hour radio-television will in itself be a powerful weapon in the fight for civil rights and school integration. It will be watched, not alone by students, but by many millions of New York citizens - and perhaps outside of New York. It will be listened to on radios in business offices and factories; at parked automobiles in the streets; it will be viewed on TV throughout the day by housewives at home and by working people during their lunch periods in TV-equipped restaurants, in bars, in hotel lobbies, in store windows.

The 7-hour "show" will include radio and TV news reports on the progress and many interesting sidelights of the student sit-in demonstration It will serve as an effective organizer for the larger-in-number STAND-OUT FOR INTEGRATION demonstration at City Hall the following day.

The 7-hour "show" can be briefed down to a one-hour summary for re-runs as news features on most TV and radio stations in the evening.

While WNEW is used above merely as illustration, it is possible that this station or some other one, or two: one radio and one TV; will recognize that promotional value to the station itself and provide the 7-hour time at "nominal" and exceptionally low cost. Though this low cost may in fact be a "high" cost for the Committee, the writer believes the cost funds can be obtained. There should be the possibility for such support from the special fund for educational purposes raised from foundations in 1963 prior to the August 28 March on Washington. Or new foundation sources for large grants for this special educational program might be found. Or the excitement of its public projection might be a basis on which to raise such funds.

<u>The Radio-Telethon Program</u>

The 7-hour program basically should be an historical document on the many and various struggles for civil rights in the United

Contd....7

States from the time of the American Revolution up to and including today.

It can be put together with recordings, tapes, old and current film clips and live radio and TV xepresentations. Quotations from great Americans, long or recently passed, can be done in voice or voice and film by actors and acresses.

It is the writer's opinion that there exists within the radio-TV, newspaper and other communication media a sufficient host of producers, directors, writers, editors, cameramen, actors, etc., who are sincerely committed to the civil rights cause and who would welcome the opportunity to participate in this momentous effort without compensation.

As regards the education content of the 7-hour program what is visualized is a series of 5, 10 and 15-minute segments edited and presented in an appropriate order, which can cover and include the following:

<u>The Early Civil Rights (and Civil Liberties) Struggles:</u>

a. The American Revolution itself.
b. The declarations of George Washington.
c. The declarations of the signers of the U.S, Constitution.
d. Tom Paine's "Rights of Man", etc.
e. Patrick Henry's "Liberty or Death."
f. The fight of Zenger and others for Freedom of The Press, et
g. The fight for public education - for all.

etc., etc.

<u>The Struggles for the Rights of Organized Labor</u>

a. The early history of the Guilds, the Journeymen groups, etc
b. The era of Samuel Gompers and Eugene V. Debs and the birth of the A.F. of L.
c. The birth of the CIO and the struggles in this era including:
   1. The bloody struggles for the organization of the miners - with a commentary, live or recorded, or use of sound film clips - by John L. Lewis.

Contd.....8

2. The first sit-ins in the United States - the U.A.W. members in the Ford plant - with a commentary, live or recorded, by Walter Reuther.
3. The sit-ins in the New York subway powerhouses (1936-37) with commentary -live, recorded or film clips - by Mike Quill.
4. The struggles against the Steel barons - commentary by David MeDonald
5. The struggles against the sweatshops in New York - commentaries by Dubinsky and Jack Potofsky.

NOTE: The reason stress is laid on the struggles of organized labor for its rights is that there are similarities with the mass civil rights movement and the involvement of today's labor leadership will greatly enhance the effectiveness of this particular ACTION #2 and other civil rights actions which may follow this and next year.

<u>The Struggle for Women's Rights</u>

a. The suffragite movement and the story of Susan B. Anthony - with commentary by her)alive) grand-daughter, named Anthony.
b. The equal pay for Women - legislative battle.

etc., etc.

<u>The Philosophic Background of ACTION #2 Sit-in</u>

a. The philosophies of Thoreay on Civil Disobedience - voice and possibly film form by actor.
b. The philosophies of Gandhi on Non-Violent mass movements for the rights of man - possibly film clips - voice.

<u>The Struggle for the Civil Rights of the Negro People</u>

a. The time of Lincoln.
b. The reconstruction period.
c. The early struggles for education - Carver, Booker T. Washington, Howard, Dubois.

Contd.....9

d. The early beginnings of today's mass movement:
   1. The NAACP and Walter White
   2. The Urban League
   3. Negroes in the Labor Movement - A. Philip Randolph
   4. The Bus Boycott Movement - Dr. Martin Luther King

e. Today's struggles in the Integration Fight
   1. The Freedom Riders - birth of CORE -mJames Farmer
   2. The Lunch-Counter Sit-ins - birth of SNCC - John Lewis
   3. The Struggle for Jobs - Urban League - Young and others including the sit-ins on construction and other jobs
   4. The struggle for theBote -SCLC and SNCC - King
   5. The struggle for Equality in Public Office and Politics - Thurgood Marshall and the NAACP, etc. etc.
   6. The struggle for Equality in the Performing Arts - Belafonte, Poitier, Rube Dee, Lena Horne, etc.
   7. The struggle for the Integration of the U.S. Armed Forces.
   8. The struggle for the Integration of the Police Forces in New York and elsewhere.
   9. The struggle for Equality in Housein - (the present rent strike)
   10. The March on Washington - film and sound clips - the legislative battle then (1963) and now for civil rights - film-sound clips Kennedy, L.B. Johnson
   11 The struggle for integrated education and schools. The Supreme Court decision of 1954 - Eisenhower - quotes and action in Little Rock - Kennedy - quotes and action at the U. of Alabama. The fight for school integration - film clips - in Birmingham, Chicago, Cleveland, California, etc. The fight for school integration in New York - the

Contd.....10

As a Sponsor of the World Peace Study Mission, I would like my name on the letterhead to appear as follows:

_____
(Please type or print)

_____
(Signed)

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WORLD PEACE STUDY MISSION

廣島長崎世界平和巡禮

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NEW YORK, N. Y. 10012
WAlker 5-1386

WORLD PEACE 世界平和 STUDY MISSION

P. O. Box 100
Central Post Office
Hiroshima Japan
Tel. 28-3466

February 12, 1964

Bayard Rustin
340 West 28th St. Apt 9 JB
New York, N.Y.

Dear Bayard Rustin,

I gather from the headlines that you are just about the busiest man in the world these days, so I will make this brief.

Will you be a Sponsor?

Will you ask A. Phillip Randolph if he could be a Sponsor? (I am sending him material and a request for Sponsorship by this same mail).

Will you ask Norman Thomas if he would be a Sponsor? (Barbara Reynolds and Marj are approaching him, and David McReynolds may put in a word).

Card enclosed. Let me know.

Love,

Frances

Frances Witlin

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
160 North Fifteenth Street,
Philadelphia 2, Pennsylvania

2/17/64

Dear Bayard,

Attached is a copy of a letter which I typed myself to Al Hassler in response to his of February 10. As I was working at home and did not have enough tissue paper for all the copies indicated I am sending you a thermofax of a carbon copy.

Sincere regards,

Stewart

We had a good meeting on Feb 13. Made real progress - Good spirit etc. - S.

February 12, 1964

Alfred Hassler
Fellowship of Reconciliation
Box 271
Nyack, N. Y.

Dear Al:

Yours of February 10, which came addressed to "The Rev. Stewart Meacham" contained little else that would evoke a merry spirit or an antic mood. We just don't seem to understand the same things in the same way. For instance it is not at all our understanding that our meeting on February 13 is related to the obligation of the TTP Subcommittee to explore complaints registered by members of the TTP National Council. So far as we are concerned TTP could be represented at the February 13 meeting by an entirely different or a partially different group. If its representation involved the same individuals as the membership of the TTP Subcommittee that is all right with us but we do not think of the two as having the same function or responsibility. The fact that both AFSC and TTP were aware of the changed character of our discussions following December 17 is clearly expressed in Steve Cary's draft statement enclosed with his letter to you of December 27 where point 6 states that "each group is to be responsible for naming its representatives to the discussions in question". Every line of that draft statement deals with discussions of future relationships between AFSC and TTP, and the covering letter of December 27 calls attention to the fact that this discussion must now be carried on within the context of AFSC's formal termination of its structural relationship as a "Cooperating Organization" in TTP at the end of the present three month period of suspension.

We therefore feel that it would be quite unwise and inappropriate to renew the already prolonged and frustrating discussion of the items which would fall under your category I on page 2 of your February 10 letter. Indeed, considering the expressed concern of the AFSC Board "to seek those conditions in which unaffiliated collaboration might best be achieved" and its instructions to us to explore with "Turn Toward Peace other ways of cooperation" than its present relationship, we feel unable to go back to these past discussions but instead now wish to discuss future relationships in a context of unaffiliated collaboration.

I cannot help but believe that as you go back over our past correspondence and discussions your own recollections and your better judgement as to how we might best restore good and productive collaboration will argue for just such discussion of future relationships.

Today I was talking with Bayard on the phone about another matter and I told him that you had written saying that you wished to go back

and discuss further the reasons for our AFSC decision to withdraw from TTP. Bayard said that he was strongly opposed to this and that this is not consistent with his understanding of where we left off on December 17. He said that such discussion would only create further division and that he thought it was clear that further discussion should deal with future relationships. He said that he would share these views with you and that I could quote him to this effect.

In short, we hope that on February 13 we can discuss the questions which fall within your category II (unaffiliated collaboration), and we would be happy to discuss also the timing and the context of full discussion of the broad questions which A. J. Muste originally raised, to which you refer as category III. We feel that these questions should not be discussed in a context of discussion of collaboration but should be an early item of business after the present discussions of unaffiliated collaboration have been dealt with and concluded. But it would be appropriate to consider how these later discussions might be planned and prepared for.

I trust in your good judgement and your skill in dealing with difficult situations where a reconciling spirit is needed to carry old friends past a period of unhappiness and strife into a new period of working together for the objectives we hold dear. You shall have my full support in the development of discussion of this sort, and I believe that those other TTP stalwarts whose regard I highly cherish and to whom I am personally indebted in so many ways - Bob Gilmore, Norman Thomas, and Bob Pickus - will gladly do the same.

And now one final word. If the TTP Subcommittee strongly feels the need for yet another listing of the reasons which have lead AFSC to decide to bring an end to its TTP affiliation, Colin Bell and Steve Cary will be happy to go over this again with the Subcommittee if it would like to come to Philadelphia for an hour or so devoted to this subject. But this would be entirely ourside the context of our discussion of future relationships in a situation of unaffiliated collaboration.

Sincerely yours,

Stewart Meacham

cc: Bayard Rustin
A. J. Muste
Norman Thomas
Robert Gilmore
Charles Darlington
Thomas Harvey
Colin Bell
Stephen Cary
William Davidon
Robert Pickus

DON'T FORGET THE PIECE FOR THE CENTERFOLD OF NEXT WRL NEWS

This note is also aimed at counteracting the wave of ultra-rightist mail which, I understand, ~~[illegible]~~ has been coming in re Wechsler's column.

552 Riverside Dr.
New York 27, N.Y.
Feb. 12, 1964

Editor
New York Post
75 West Street
New York, N.Y.

Sir:

In his column February 11 (yesterday), James Wechsler characterizes Michael Harrington's "The Other America: Poverty in the U.S." and Philip Stern's "The Great Treasury Raid" as "Muckraking in our historic tradition." Wechsler, himself, has accomplished this in several of his recent columns and deserves credit for so doing. A specific example is his column exposing the Daily News's unconscionable attempt to discredit the recent school boycott by falsely smearing its coordinator, Bayard Rustin, as a Communist.

Sincerely,

James Peck

James Peck
(editor of CORElator
author of "Freedom Ride")

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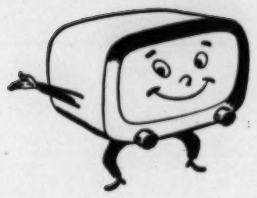

Mr. Bayard Rustin
Siloam Presbyterian Church
260 Jefferson Ave.
Brooklyn, N. Y.

Dear Sir:

We have just been informed of your scheduled appearance on UNDER DISCUSSION over WNEW-TV on Sunday, February 9th. This is one of the programs which we can record and kinescope at our new studios in White Plains.

Inasmuch as we are located in one of the prime signal areas in the country, we can produce a better quality recording and sound film than most similar operations in other cities. Our recordings are made over FM radio and TV lines and are completely noise free, crystal clear and razor sharp.

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We would be honored to have your name on our roster of noted satisfied clients.

Yours very truly,

Danny Sloan

Danny Sloan
TV-TIME RECORDINGS Inc.

Dear Bayard, just a few words. I have had an eye operation, and I should be careful.

But I feel strongly that I have to express Dwolf's and my admiration for your ever growing activities and their success. Wonderful!

And may I suggest that you organize a boycott of the Olympics, track etc. The practical

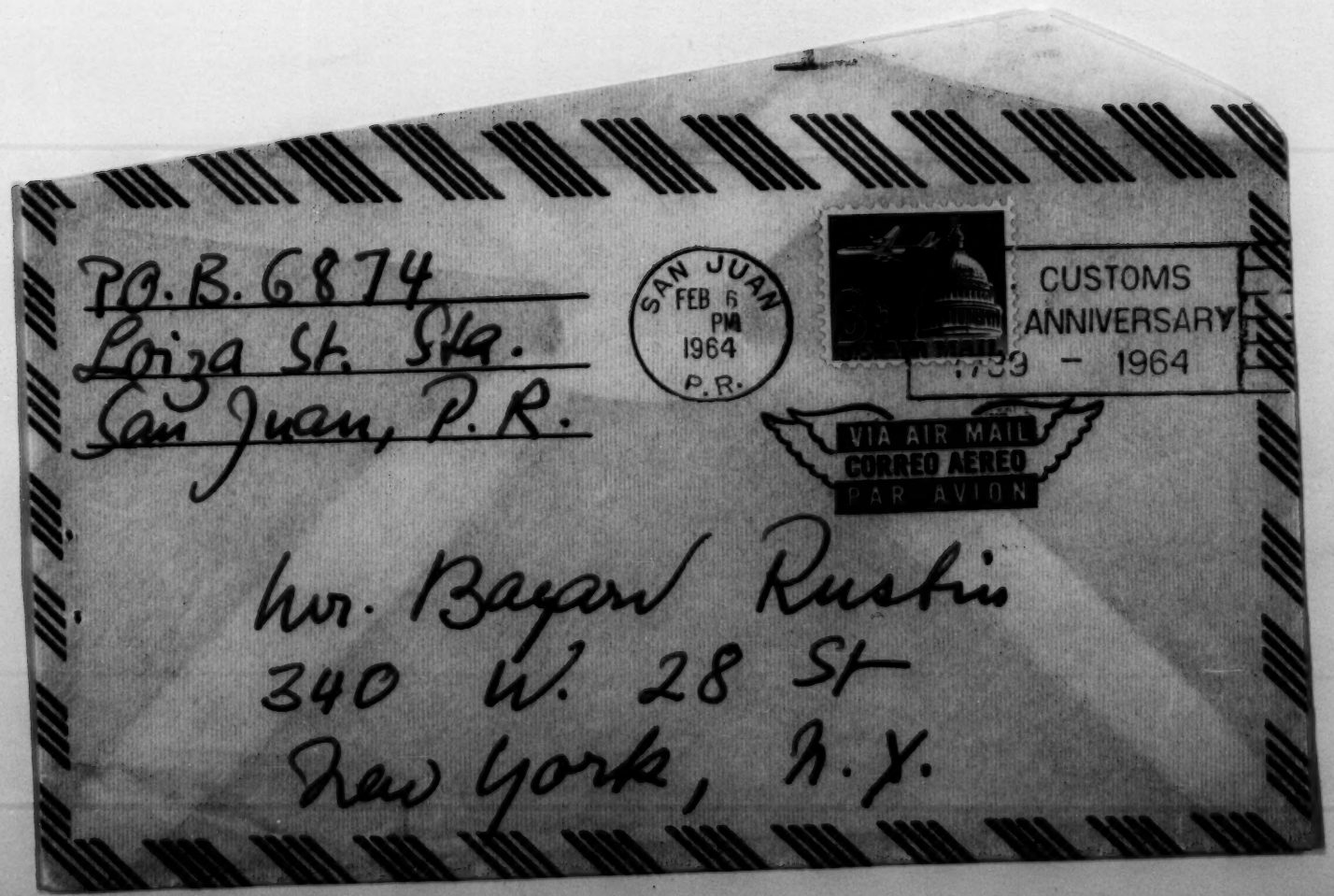
effect of that measure should be grandiose.

In deep gratitude for creating a world of which one may be less ashamed —

Your friend

Arnold Jacobi

2/6/64



WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL

TS/MW

88 Park Avenue
Enfield, Middlesex
ENGLAND.

Bayard Rustin
340 W.28th Street, Apt. 9 J
New York City 1,
N.Y., U.S.A.

13th February, 1964

Dear Bayard,

I heard a rumour that you will be coming over here for the Easter demonstrations and as we talked along these lines at Tyringe I am assuming the rumour is correct. If you do come could you make the most of it from the W.R.I's point of view. Let us know precisely what date you will be arriving and when you hope to depart. Try to save at least half a day for intensive discussion with Devi and I about the W.R.I. Come with some ideas about raising some money for the International in the States and find out before you come if the W.R.L. would be willing to pay higher annual subs. I think the most valuable thing we could talk about would be the position of the W.R.I. in the international peace movement now we have the Confederation. Basically it seems to me that the W.R.I. should attempt to group the majority of radical pacifist and non-violent organisations within the Confederation and that we should do more to make our influence felt as a group right from the beginning. At Tyringe the non-violent vorps back-peddled unnecessarily with the consequence that the Conference completely failed to produce any sort of relevant political statement. We must remember that Harold Wilson and De Gaulle can travel twice as fast as Homer Jack.

If C.N.D. are paying your fare I assume that they would like to collar your services for the whole of the Easter weekend. I suggest it would be politic and helpful if you could in some way associate yourself with the Committee of 100's Ruislip demonstration outside the U.S.Air Force Headquarters. With the new arrangements we have made this should be quite possible. A storm blew up between the Committee and the C.N.D., or rather between the Committee and the Canon, at the suggestion that the C.N.D. should support the march from Central London to Ruislip before the demonstration in any waywhatsoever. However, in the C.N.D. there was a majority opinion that such support could be given quite easily if the march were organised by an adhoc committee of fairly independent individuals. This is now happening and almost everyone is satisfied. Hugh and I are on the ad hoc committee. I would therefore put it to you that you could either (a) sponsor the Ruislip march by name only; (b) take part in it on either the Friday or Saturday; (c) take part on the Saturday and speak at the final rally if we decide to have one, or (d) - very unlikely I suppose - join the committee sit-down at the base. I am not seriously suggesting the last possibility though, although if you did not mind being deported immediately there would be no reason why not!

My own feeling about the Committee's demonstration is that whereas it is politically to a large extent irrelevant at the moment, it is tremendously useful to the C.N.D. and the movement generally because it completes a full range of activities throughout the Easter weekend and provides for frustrated radicals in such a way that they will be less tempted than they were last year to create a major diversion during the principal rally.

I don't suppose you will get to replying but I look forward to seeing you when you come.

With best wishes
Yours fraternally

Tony Smythe (Secretary)

P.S. Please bring the record "We shall overcome" if you remember and a copy of the War Resisters' League calendar. etc

Stynes Acres
Pomona, New York
February 13, 1964

Dear Bayard

when you spoke at the Community Church a couple of weeks ago you said no one who hadn't worked for the cause could give advice. I guess this would also go for asking you to do things. I was there in the 40's in New Orleans when you came there for the F.O.R. and now I am wondering if an

upstate group of social workers from 8 counties including Rockland who are interested in the interrelationship between the Civil Rights Struggle and the "War on Poverty" would be a group you could find time to speak to. We could probably provide transportation by car from New York City to the Bear Mountain Inn which is about 45 minutes from the George Washington

Boritz. The date is Monday April 6th at 6 P.M. for dinner and then speaking etc and it will be about 50 people probably more when the news gets out if you come as the Hudson County NAACP is very active and includes many of our social workers -

I will call you when I think this letter has reached you

I suspect that Trolley ride on both sides of the barricade up Canal Street was routine for you, but I have never forgotten the terror I felt.

I do hope you can come to Bear Mountain on April 6th. The transportation would be back to the city too unless you would like to say hello to people in Stuyvesant

Acres -

Sincerely

Jackie Evans Juhl

P.S. The organization is the National Association of Social Workers - Hudson Valley Chapter

412 East 83rd St.
New York 28, N.Y.
15 February 1964

Dear Mr. Rustin:

I am a graduate student from Stanford University in California and am writing a doctoral dissertation for the department of political science on certain aspects of civil rights leadership.

I have been active in the Bay Area civil rights organizations and peace groups since my moving to Stanford in 1959, and I initially entered the field of "political sociology" (for lack of a better term) because of these interests.

Ever since I undertook my current research, everyone I have spoken to - Roy Kepler, Michael Harrington, Irving Howe, Emile Capouya, officers of the NAACP andCCORE - all have said, "You must talk with Bayard Rustin" - and, indeed, I feel that I must.

I am in New York for a short time to do some research, particularly on the recent school boycott, and would be eternally grateful if you could see me sometime soon for an interview. I realize that you are very very busy at this time, but I feel that much of what I want to know would simply be incomplete, if not downright incorrect, if I do not have the chance to talk with you. I am free any time of the day or night and if you could manage to talk with me for an hour or two at your convenience, would you please call me. I can be reached here, LE5-8913.

Thank you so much - for anything you might be able to help me with.

Sincerely,

Sandra Levinson

Sandra Levinson

16th March file

Northrop House,
Smith College,
Northampton Mass
Feb. 19, 1964

SMITH COLLEGE

Dear Mr. Rustin,

I spoke to Danny Schechter some time ago about your coming here to Smith College to speak. He said that he spoke to you and you agreed to come if we could promise to have a four-college audience. He also said that he asked you if you would speak without payment if we paid your expenses and you agreed to since the profits would go to NSM and SNCC.

Danny went back to Cornell and left the matter in Sam Seiken's hands. Sam didn't know what Danny had already done or hadn't done, so I called Danny and he suggested that I write to you.

The original date we had planned for your speaking engagement was March 2.. I realize that this date is fairly close and that you might have other plans. Thus I would like to extend an invitation for you to come and speak either on March 2, March 9 or March 16.

We can promise an audience of 2300 consisting of Smith, Amherst, University of Mass., and Mount Holyoke students in addition to townspeople.

If these dates aren't convenient for you and if you would prefer to come on another night, please let us know and we'll be glad to arrange for it. Knowing how busy you are, we would appreciate any time you could spare for us.

Sincerely,
Merble Harrington

P.S. If you would like to call - you can call

me collect at JU-42881.

February 20, 1964

Mr. Bayard Rustin
340 West 28 Street
New York City, 1

Dear Mr. Rustin:

On behalf of the CHELSEA CIVIL RIGHTS COUNCIL and all the people present at the meeting held on Wednesday, February 19th, please accept our thanks for a very stirring and comprehensive talk on the economic conditions as they exist for all people and especially for the Puerto Rican and Negro people.

Our only regret is that there weren't many, many more neighbors to benefit from your talk. No doubt the weather was to blame.

We should like you to know that a resolution was made and passed that the CHELSEA CIVIL RIGHTS COUNCIL endorse and support and participate in the March 1st and March 10th activities.

Once again, thank you very much for giving of your time.

Sincerely yours,

Mel Johnson

Mel Johnson - chairman protem
CHELSEA CIVIL RIGHTS COUNCIL
Paula Brenner, Sec'y protem.

Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee

6 Raymond Street, N.W.
Atlanta 14, Georgia

688-0331

156 Fifth Avenue, Room 902
New York, New York 10010

YU 9-1313

February 20, 1964

Mr. Bayard Rustin
340 West 28th Street
New York, New York

Dear Bayard:

Enclosed is our check for $100.00 which is the honorarium from the Long Island Coordinating Committee rally held December 1st. They reimbursed us for the carfare we laid out, and included your speaker's fee in the same check.

Sorry for the slight delay (this seems to be a SNCC theme song except when it concerns action).

We were extremely pleased to see the MAN IN THE NEWS on February 4th was our good'ol Bayard. You deserve every ounce of praise, sir.

It might be of some interest to you to know that we have a fairly large high school group ready to assist action projects of N.Y. organizations. They participated in the boycott - mainly at the white highschools. There are about forty hard-core members and and additional eighty or so ambivalent members. They are really enthusiastic, bright, aware, etc.; ~~and~~ if the need arises, let me or Jim Monsonis know and we'll present the project to them.

Very best in freedom,

Julie

Julie Prettyman

JP/jj

P.S. I hope you can disregard my informal typing...

Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament

2 Carthusian Street London EC1 *Clerkenwell 5146/7*

21/2/64

Hey can't come to London - Won't free and answer letter till March

Dear Bryard,

I don't know why you dont write to me - you know I cant live without you. You're just callous + unfeeling. Maybe you have even forgotten me. However since our anniversary is soon I thought I would write.

Friends House Euston Road! April 1961!! ~~You~~ The meeting was designed to brief supporters about the Spring Fair. I was chairman of London Region + you came to speak about the CND March + the Ball we planned for June 4th. We saw that Ball as a real starting point after Scarborough + all. The girl I was to eventually marry, but had not yet met, spoke at the meeting. She sat on the left by the window - her name Ruth Alley. You liked your so-called chops. A few days later you sat next to her on a 73 Bus all the way from Oxford Circus to King Cross. You were both too shy to speak, particularly as you didnt even know her name. She asks to be remembered.

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The Bishop of Southwark
Michael Tippett
Vicky
Professor C. H. Waddington Sc.D., F.R.S.
Lord Wilmot
Professor Barbara Wootton

I do not know how many Conferences you have drunk at since Tegunge but things have been a bit chilly over here. (who the bloody hell winds all those stupid clocks whilst you are away?) We almost had a sell out over the Committee & 100's demo. at Rugby on Easter Saturday. Our right wing is so muscular I wonder sometimes how we ever get off the ground in a straight line. J. Collins is an international idiot of unbelievable proportions. The English have no natural leaders.

How do you like the idea of planting Nagasaki Cherry Trees on Falcon Field — you know opposite the gates of AWRE — with a little plaque saying they are symbolic of our noble purpose? Hands across the sea. Heads up high? or an Olympic type torch from Aldermaston to Trafalgar Square?

I saw our Prime Minister on the idiots lanteen tonight & he is a thin-lipped slimy dog. He was incredibly foolish. He can't win & this worries me. Wilson & the boys could kill CND. We will just

Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament

2 Carthusian Street London EC1 *Clerkenwell 5146/7*

2.

be too scared. This INDEC thing — putting up candidates (like me) is meant to brace us for the prospect but I fear its too weak.

About Easter. We havent heard a peep from your mate. Luther-King. Have we got him? We give you the beatles (hope there eh? — pop-culture & the bomb?) — at least send us that old hack to plough through another of your old speeches (~~made~~ written by Homer Jack 45 years ago) we want to talk about Civil Rights & non-violence at this Rally & I'm in charge of the arrangements. We just have to have Luther-King. Incidentally we thinking of abandoning Nelson this year (he was a bum anyway) & setting up an impressive platform on the National Gallery side of the Square. Its a much

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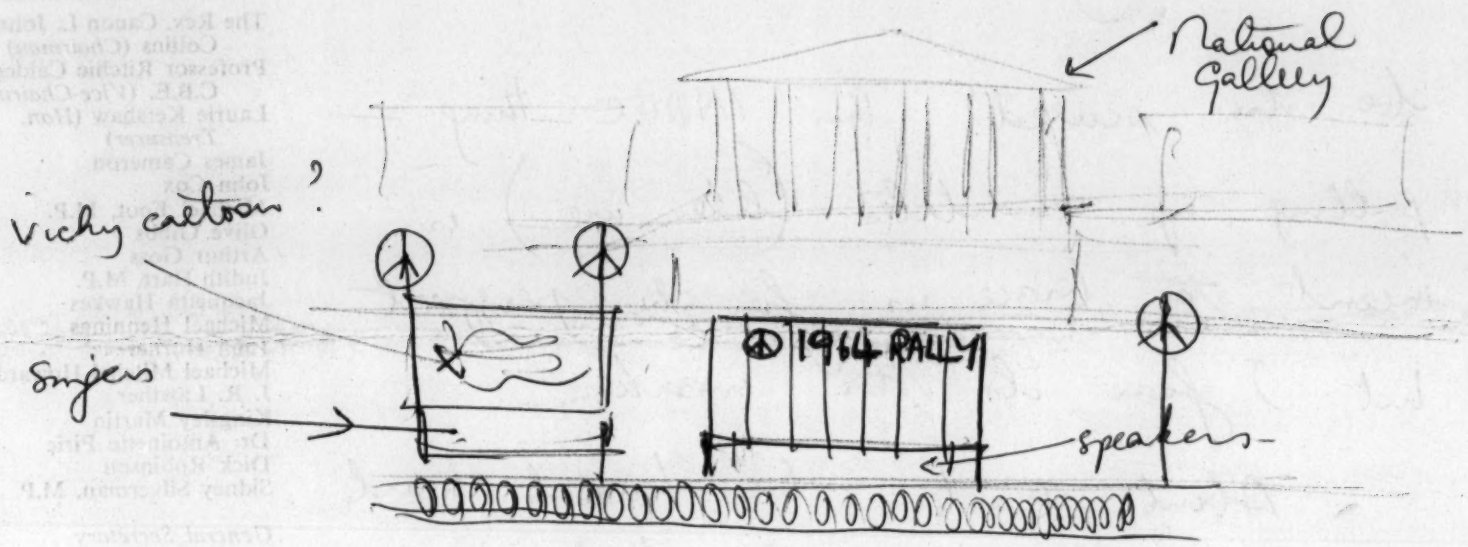
better site + full of dramatics.



Jim asked Cleo Laine to sing & do you think she's OK? She took part in a second rate programme of Freedom songs on Commercial telly the other day. She was OK.

Incidentally there are a lot of stories circulating that you are planning to run for Presidency. I know this is true but you might have the decency to deny it

Love
Mike Craft.

P.S. Enclosed is a cutting from "The Times", which I edit. Its a funny name for a paper but I like it.

Vera Dostelle Miles Lockes
R.D. #2
P.O. P.O.
Michigan

Mr. Bayard Rustin
340 West 28th Street.
New York, N.Y.

Dear Sir;

I read with great interest an article (Sent to me by Mr. Lockes) from the New York Times of Feb. 4th 1964. And also learned from Mr. Lockes that you are to speak at the Holy Trinity Church in West Chester. I wish I could be there to hear you. my Fellow Unitarians will be there I know. I'm rather proud of the fact that I could have gone to the Same High School as you did but even more I am happy that once in my life I heard you being at an assembly meeting about 1936 or 37

you came and Sang "Ana Furtina
Lagrima" and it was, to these ears
& this heart the most beautifully sexy
Piece of music I ever heard. I never hear
it - even now but what I can hear
your voice & recapture that moment.
Floyd Hart - our music teacher at the
time was quite moved, too. As you know
he was one of the few teachers with any
amount of vision or imagination in the
West Chester School systems. Now, after
twenty some years I get your address
and can write and thank you for your
lovely song & giving of yourself to us.
I do not know whether you know
it or not but my Brother, Tom Dostalle
has quite an interest in your Career
& Caunts accordingly. When he was only
14 or 15 years old he met Horace Pepper
in West Chester & Horace came to our
house on 354 E. Biddle Street & Spent

Many & Many an hour in our cellar, Which was Tom's Studio. It had hardly any light — let alone the desired north One and it had more soft coal gas fumes than it ever had warmth. Those two, Tom & Horace found tremendous Rapport & Tom Painted Mr. Pippin & gave the Picture as a gift to the Church which Mr. Pippin had attended Here on Cay St. after Horace Pippin died. I mention these things only because you will then know, somewhat, why I wanted to Place myself in your mind. It is Possible that you know of Tom Bostelles work & being a man of such Tremendous imagination would understand what he is trying to Say to the world as he So well understands what you are trying to say to it.

you might be interested to know too that my Husband (Now deceased) is the

writer who is responsible for having the West Chester Y.M.C.A. interpreted he fought hard & long for it & finally - after getting material from every Y.M.C.A. in the Country he Bombarded them with the overwhelming testimony contrary to their own belief & misconceptions and prejudices & he won. The first negro called us up to thank us after he had successfully been enrolled in the "Y."

You are not ever alone and do not forget it. and even when you feel unsupported you might remember what Henrik Ibsen says is the last lines of his Play Pillar of Society. "The Strongest man in the world is the man who stands the most alone."

I hope I get the chance someday to meet you and feel your hand in friendship

Chas Em Lockes
RD#2 Paw Paw, Michigan

THE ASSOCIATED HOSPITAL SERVICE OF PHILADELPHIA

February 22, 1964

D. Gordon Roehrs
401 N. Franklin St.
West Chester, Pa.

Mr. Bayard Rustin
340 West 28th St.
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Rustin,

Thank you for your brotherhood message on February 13. The packed house at Holy Trinity was testimonial to the respect which "your family" holds for you.

No doubt Alec Melton has sent you the clips from the Daily Local News, so I won't bother to duplicate his efforts. Did you notice how quick the W.C. State College moved to deny the threatened expulsion. Bill Johnson says the college is lying in their teeth, and I assume he is correct. The college is reknown for neither scholarship (music department excepted) nor integrity in its faculty-student, board-faculty, college-community relationships. Glad I never went there--nor ever took a course from them.

Sorry I did not get to talk with you more at the dinner table before your talk. Many things I would like to have brought up.

I had a letter the other day from my former wife--also a West Chester person (neé Vera Bostelle)--and she remembers in high school when you appeared on an assembly program and sang "Una Furtiva ~~Sagrema~~" Lagrima in the "mellowest baritone" she'd ever heard. She said further in her note: "whenever I hear it sung I can close my eyes and see him standing up there, and I will never lose that memory. Tell him thanks for me." So Alec was evidently right in his introductory remarks about your singing ability.

There's a chance I might go to N.Y.C. this coming Saturday or the following with Vera's brother, Tom, who wants to try to arrange another showing in one of the galleries (currently he's exhibiting in the Bader Galleries in Washington). Will you be in either of those Saturdays, and would you be available, say, early afternoon for a short talk? I did not join the Washington March, but I might join the next one. I might add that I did not picket the First National Bank in W.C. because, while endorsing the action, I had reservations about personal participation. In fact, the only march or picket I've ever been on has been on behalf of the Seneca Indians at Kinzua, Pa.--protesting the dam building. And the Seneca treaty violation is one of the things I would like to talk with you about: you might be able to help that cause immeasureably.

Here's $5.00 for your next march--whatever direction you take.

Cordially,

Work for better approach

Gordon Roehrs

February 25, 1964

Mr. William Albright
Program Director
New York University
School of Education
Graduate Students Organization
Washington Square New York 3, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Albright:

Mr. Rustin has asked me toforward to you his deepest apologies for not having answered your letter sooner.

Unfortunately, Mr. Rustin has been so busy on various projects that he not be able to accept any speaking engagements; except those he had committed himself to before the first of the year.

Please accept our deepest apologies.

Sincerely,

Tina Lawrence, Sec. to Mr. Rustin

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF EDUCATION
GRADUATE STUDENTS ORGANIZATION
WASHINGTON SQUARE, NEW YORK 3, N. Y.

ROOM 37A
80 WASHINGTON SQUARE EAST

TELEPHONE: SPRING 7-2000
EXTENSION 235, 8214

Sp 7-7003

Can you make it? Call-Mr [illegible]

January 17, 1964

No Sorry-

Mr. Bayard Rustin
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
217 West 125th Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Rustin:

Dean Anderson of the School of Education at New York University joins with the Graduate Students Organization in inviting you to participate as keynote speaker in the "Education and Civil Rights" session of the education fair to be held at 7:00 p.m. on Thursday, February 27, 1964.

The education fair is scheduled to run for three days, February 25, 26, and 27, 1964, and will be entitled "New Dimensions in Education." The objectives of the fair are:

> To display the frontiers of research and development in education.
>
> To stimulate communication between levels of education and between education and the community it serves.
>
> To discover the needs which education must satisfy.

The three days will be organized into the following sessions:

> Opening ceremonies
> Education and Industry
> Public Affairs and Education Lecture
> Education for Educators
> Your Future in Education
> Future Teachers of America Conference
> Education Career Day Conference
> Dr. Nelson Glueck's Lecture
> (President of Hebrew Union College; world-renowned archaeologist)
> Education and the Creative Arts
> Women in Education
> Education and Civil Rights

The structure of the sessions will be:

Attendance by interested parties by direct invitation.
Reception -- suitable for group and time of day.
Tour of exhibits -- special events may be specifically scheduled.
Keynote speech.
Seminars, workshops, panels, forum, social hour or entertainment (play, concert, etc.).

It is hoped that the results of the seminars, workshops, and forums interpreting the facets of education under discussion will produce sufficiently interesting materials for future publication.

We would appreciate a prompt reply to this invitation since our future plans will await your decision. If you are interested, however, and can suggest a more convenient time, we will consider readjusting our plans.

Sincerely yours,

William Albright

William Albright
Program Director

WA:lms

February 26, 1964

Mr. Bernard Katzen
State Commission for Human Rights
270 Broadway
New York 7, New York

Dear Mr. Katzen:

I must apoligize profoundly for not answering your letter sooner. Please believe it was not a matter of disinterest on my part that caused the delay. I left for Europe soon after your letter arrived and have been deeply involed in the movement since my return.

I should very much enjoy having lunch with you--sometime after March 10th would be best for me. I am very interested in your ideas about preferential treatment and the New York school situation and the civil rights movement more generally. I shall call you after the 10th for an appointment, but please feel free to call me if you want to suggest a specific time and date. I can be reached at YU 9-9890.

Sincerely,

BAYARD RUSTIN

BERNARD KATZEN
VICE CHAIRMAN

STATE OF NEW YORK
EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT
STATE COMMISSION FOR HUMAN RIGHTS
270 BROADWAY, NEW YORK 7, N. Y.

December 6, 1963

Mr. Bayard Rustin
217 West 125th Street
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Rustin:

I read with deep interest your comments as reported in the New York Times of December 2. Some of your observations strike a deep and responsive chord with me.

I would like to have the pleasure of meeting with you and exchanging thoughts on the matter in which you and I have a deep interest. I wonder whether you could visit with me at the Commission office. Perhaps we could have lunch and talk about these matters.

Cordially yours,

Bernard Katzen

BERNARD KATZEN
Vice Chairman

February 26, 1964

Rev. Edmund Mathews
Trinity Church
Fishkill New Yrok

Dear Rev. Mathews:

Please accept my apologies for not answering your letter sooner, but my activities in the civil rights movement and the delay caused by forwarding mail conspired against you. I had assumed that the matter of the organ taken care long ago.

Please dispose of it as you like and do not refund my $100.00. I am truly sorry for the inconvenience this may have caused you.

Sincerely,

BAYARD RUSTIN

TRINITY CHURCH
FISHKILL, NEW YORK

THE REV. EDMUND S. MATHEWS
RECTOR

896-9884 - OFFICE
896-9118 - RECTORY

January 17, 1964

Mr. Bayard Rustin
March On Washington
171 West 130th Street,
New York 27, New York.

Dear Mr. Rustin;

We asked Fr. Mallary to contact you several days ago with regard to the disposition of the pipe organ you purchased from us in the fall of 1958. The last time we talked about this was the occasion of your visit to dismantle and move the organ. A breakdown prevented completion of your plans (I believe the station wagon was involved in an accident in Conn.) and, despite several attempts to contact you since that fall, we have only recently learned of your whereabouts.

Our concern is the storage of the organ and we would like to know if you are still interested in coming for it. If you would rather, we will refund your check for $100. and sell the organ.

Sincerely yours,

E S Mathews

LONDON COMMITTEE OF 100

13 GOODWIN STREET
LONDON, N.4
ARCHWAY 1239/5524

26th February, 1964

Bayard Rustin,
c/o C.N.V.A.,
325 Lafayette Street,
New York 12,
U.S.A.

Dear Bayard Rustin,

May I first convey our congratulations to CNVA on the Albany action. I don't know if our cables or embassy delegations helped in any way, but we were certainly very inspired by the stand you took. We hope that the march meets with further success on the way to Cuba.

Further to our last letter giving details of our Ruislip project, we would be very grateful if you could let us know if it will be possible for you to join us at any stage of this demonstration. It will probably be the largest centre of activity on Good Friday and Easter Saturday, and should serve as a useful "curtain raiser" for the mass march on Monday, which I believe you will be attending.

I have been told that you will be coming over to Britain about ten days before Easter. If this is so, would you like to attend and speak at the Ruislip briefing meeting? This is to be held at Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, W.C.1. (near Holborn Tube station) on Friday 20th March at 7.30 p.m. We intend to use this meeting to ensure that all participants in the demonstration have a clear understanding of the details of the action, and to impress upon them the need for complete non-violence. It was on the second subject that we hoped you may be able to address the meeting. If you think this will be possible I would appreciate an early reply as we are now starting to advertise the meeting.

Best wishes,

Brian McGee

Brian McGee,
Secretary.

FEB. 26 1964

198 W 134th St., Apt 5B
New York City 30.
New York 10030

Dear Mr. Rustin,

I've been reading of your work in the school boycott here in New York. We Negroes are fortunate to have you available to us.

The question of availability disturbs me because of fear that the enemy may attempt to remove you from the scene by fair or foul means. If this happened the drive of Negroes towards full citizenship could be slowed considerably. (You may be too modest to admit this.)

I propose that you conduct a special training school for Negroes in the area of the logistics pertaining to mass demonstration techniques.

It is certain that some people will not agree as to the need for such an effort, but there is equal chance that many will see the need for such a project. It is better to have insurance and not need it than to need insurance and not have it, is it not so?

Financing this effort could be a joint undertaking of all of the Freedom groups in addition to contributions from any who are sympathetic to the cause. The question of secrecy may need to be discussed. I'm certain you will also want to discuss how practical this idea is. No matter where you start I think the central idea of this note should be discussed - by someone!!

Yours truly
Eddie.

Ed Hudson (Marietta Penna 1950)

28 th February,1964

Rev. A.J. MUSTE
Room 1029
5, Beekman Street
NEW YORK 38 N.Y.
U.S.A.

Dear Friend,

I read in " PEACE NEWS " that you, BAYARD RUSTIN and the Rev. LUTHER KING are likely to come to LONDON for the Easter March.

We are having our third anti-atomic youth march on the 15 th March in BRUSSELS and expect to gather some 25,000 people.

I am entrusted with the care to invite participants from abroad.

Though I fear it will be impossible or too early for them to come over at that date, I indulge in hoping that the Rev. LUTHER KING, BAYARD RUSTIN and/or your goodself would accept to appear in our March. I may assure you that they would be greatly welcome. Would you please, at any rate, extend them this invitation?

At such an opportunity discussions could take place to associate BELGIUM more closely to international anti-war planning.

Most sincerely yours

Maurice R. COHEN
Secretary General

too late to do anything

ASSOCIATED STUDENTS of STANFORD UNIVERSITY

Political Union Board

STANFORD, CALIFORNIA

Peace Caucus

February 29, 1964

Mr. Bayard Rustin
c/o War Resisters' League
5 Beekman Street (room 1025)
New York 38, New York

Dear Mr. Rustin:

We are seniors at Stanford and are writing on behalf of our fellow members of the Peace Caucus, an affiliate of Stanford's Political Union.

To our sympathy for the people of South Viet-Nam and to our shame for the responsibility that our government shares for their suffering has been added the fear that the Administration may soon support an expansion and intensification of the war in that country. Yet Senator Mansfield's speech of February 19, in which he urged consideration of French efforts to bring about a Vietnamese armistice, indicates to us that a peaceful alternative has entered into the process of determining American policy.

At any rate, it is clear that a major policy decision will be made soon, and opinions from the "grass roots" may be quite significant at this time. We are interested in doing whatever we can to contribute toward a change in U.S. policy such that steps toward an early end to the conflict may be taken.

This week the Peace Caucus has been circulating at Stanford a petition to President Johnson, which reads as follows:

> PRESIDENT JOHNSON:
>
> We, the undersigned members of the Stanford University community, urgently and resolutely oppose an intensification of the war in South Viet-Nam and repudiate an extension of that war into the North.
>
> We call for a reconvening of the Geneva Conference of 1954 in order to bring about an internationally guaranteed pacification, neutralization, and democratization of South Viet-Nam and to prepare the way for the reunification of North and South.
>
> In order to halt the increasing number of casualties on each side and to establish a favorable climate

for negotiations, we further urge that the United States take steps toward bringing about an immediate armistice between the South Vietnamese government and the revolutionary combatants.

Alongside the main petition table in a central location on campus, we have had a display of articles, pictures, and the latest newspaper reports on Viet-Nam. In addition, we have mimeographed and distributed an analysis of the issue (see enclosure). This statement, as well as news about the petition, and a letter from 12 faculty members supporting the action, have appeared in The Stanford Daily. Thursday we held an all-night vigil outside the International Center, in sympathy for the people of North and South Viet-Nam.

At the same time, we have encouraged people to express their opinions individually in letters to government officials. However, since we cannot reasonably expect that many will do so, and since we have been advised that one letter is more significant than many petition signatures in the consideration of public officials, we plan to continue our campaign next week with this new emphasis. Although we have not made final arrangements, we very likely will use the same central location for a table with several typewriters and supplies for writing letters. Specifically, we will suggest that people write to President Johnson and send carbon copies to Senator Mansfield, Secretary of State Rusk, Secretary of Defense McNamara, and to their own representatives in Congress and local newspapers. Or, as another possibility, people could write to Senator Mansfield in reference to his Senate speech, and send copies to the others mentioned.

In this connection, if you are in favor of the work we are doing, we would like to suggest something you might do which would add to its effectiveness. If you have any comments on the value of letters to public officials or on other activities or on Viet-Nam, a short statement addressed to The Stanford Daily would, we are certain, receive wide and serious reading from the Stanford community. Unfortunately, the Daily publishes, for this academic quarter, only through next Friday, March 6 - a further pressure on time. If you would prefer to send a telegram to the Daily, we would be happy to reimburse you for the expense.

Thank you very much.

Very sincerely yours,

Cheryl Arnold

Cheryl Arnold

Richard Such

Richard Such

for the Peace Caucus

MARCH 2 , 1964

MR ALFRED POULIN, JR.
SAINT FRANCIS COLLEGE
605 POOL ROAD
BIDDEFORD MAINE

DEAR MR. PUOLIN:

MR. RUSTIN HAS ASKED ME TO INFORM THAT HE IS VERY MUCH INTERESTED IN APPEARING AS A PANELIST. HOWEVER, DUE TO AN EXTREMELY HEAVY SCHEDULE COULD YOU PLEASE FORWARD ALL SPECIFICS, INCLUDING AN HONORIUM IF ANY@

HOPEFULLY, HE WILL BE ABLE TO PARTICIPATE IN YOUR SYMPOSIUM.

SINCERELY,

TINA LAWRENCE SEC. TO MR RUSTIN

SAINT FRANCIS COLLEGE
605 POOL ROAD
BIDDEFORD, MAINE

January 10, 1964

Mr. Bayard Rustin
#5 Beekman Street
Suite 1025
New York, N. Y.

Honorium ?

Dear Mr. Bayard:

Enclosed is a copy of the proposed program for the college's second annual Symposium. We conceive of the two day Symposium as climaxing a sustained exploration at St. Francis College of the subject signified by the title and theme. The major events leading up to the Symposium will be four lectures (to be presented in the months of January, February, March and April) approaching the subject from the points of view of the four academic divisions here at the college, i.e., Philosophy and Theology, Humanities, Social Sciences and the Natural Sciences. Needless to say, we expect to have outstanding representatives of these disciplines to deliver the lectures.

As the enclosed program indicates, the Symposium will approach the subject thematically rather than from the points of view of the academic divisions. Although it is necessary for the sake of coherence that each session should be organized around a particular topic, such organization is not intended to hinder the participants from expressing their deepest concerns and interests. This Symposium should offer the participants a unique opportunity to speak to the academic community, to the nation, and to each other.

We have consulted with several people during the process of organizing this program and your name has been mentioned very often. Miss Dorothy Day (who has accepted our invitation) especially recommended you. As the enclosed program indicates you would be scheduled to appear as a panelist in the session on States Rights. However, since there may very well be openings in the other sessions perhaps you might prefer one of the other topics.

We are sure that your participation in the Symposium would help greatly to make it an important event in a critical period of the American experience. If you are interested in participating, please let us know as soon as possible if these dates are convenient to you. And if for some reason you do not think you can participate, we would nevertheless appreciate any suggestions you might have to make about the Symposium.

Sincerely,

Alfred Poulin, Jr.

Alfred Poulin, Jr.
Symposium Committee

AP:m
Enc.

MEMO FROM **THE FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION**

BOX 271, Nyack, New York

4/7

Bayard

You mentioned not being able to put your hands on a copy of Al's letter about your talk Thurs. night and I'm not sure I sent you a copy.

Lee

March 3, 1964

Mr. James Farmer
Mr. Bayard Rustin
New York, N. Y.

Dear Jim and Bayard:

I am very grateful to both of you for agreeing to participate in our National Council meetings next month. As you know, you are booked to talk on civil rights, nonviolence and peace the evening of April 9 (Thursday). I have scheduled this meeting for 8 o'clock following an a very short business session. (We do have to get the business of the Council in somewhere).

This will be the entire evening session. Because it is the National Council, I hope you both will consider that you ought to be talking in fairly sophisticated terms about the real issues as you see them for the future, and not be the regulation sort of pep talk for the conventional audience. The basic relationship of the civil rights movement to the question of unemployment and the reordering of society, the problems of personal relationships and organizational tensions in the matter of nonviolence and civil rights, the inadequacies of conventional white participation in the movement, weaknesses of nonviolence as actually practiced [illegible] these and others that you have written about. I [illegible] the kind of talk that you would give in your particular [illegible]. I don't [illegible] that you should have your [illegible] also. I would like if each of you could [illegible] within [illegible] of the [illegible] and [illegible] questions and [illegible]. Perhaps you can be [illegible] there [illegible] to see the [illegible] in which [illegible] made [illegible].

I [illegible] will be [illegible] to [illegible]

March 3, 1964

Mrs. Peggy Duff
Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament
2 Carthusian Street
London, E.C. I, England

Dear Peggy:

I will try to follow up on Martin Luther King for you, although he is difficult to reach these days. Let me say, however, that I think the possibility that he would come over to England to help with the Easter March is an extremely remote one, and that you probably ought to not count on it at all. The whole civil rights thing is heaving up again, and with the prospect of a long filibuster in the Senate I cannot imagine that King of all people would be likely to plan to leave the country even for a brief time.

I have meant to write to you also about Bayard, on the chance that he may not himself have written to you. He is not going to be able to come over for the Easter March at all. As you probably know he is completely tied up in the whole business of school boycotts and working himself to a frazzle. Perhaps he has already let you know about this, but I did want to be sure that you had the information without further delay.

Cordially,

AH/hh

Alfred Hassler

MAR 2 1964

CAMPAIGN FOR NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT,
2, Carthusian Street,
LONDON. E.C.I.

27th February, 1964.

Dear Al,

We are still awaiting a reply from Martin Luther King as to whether or not he will be able to come over for Easter.

Is there any possibility that you could chase this up for us and see whether or not he can come?

Best wishes,

Yours sincerely,

Peggy.

Alfred Hassler,
FoR.,
Box 271,
Nyack,
NEW YORK,
USA.

RCA COMMUNICATIONS, INC.
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UWS1119 LPH302

LONDON LB 42 10 1233

LT

BAYARD RUSTIN ROOM 1025 NO 5 BEEKMANST NEWYORK38

MAR 11 1964

Call AJ
@ 10 AM

THE WHOLE OF LONDON REGION CND IS WAITING TO WELCOME YOU TO THE EASTER MARCH AND OUR PRESS PUBLICITY IS GEARED TO THIS STOP PLEASE DONT DISAPPOINT US STOP SINCERELY

JOHN THORPE CHAIRMAN

COL 1025 5

MRS. ROBERT WARREN STEVENS
90 SUMMIT DRIVE
PLANDOME HEIGHTS, NEW YORK

Mar. 3, 1964

Dear Bayard, As a former CPS wife now teaching English in Queens I decided to stay out on the Feb. boycott when I heard you were connected with it. Now I don't feel like losing another day's pay and I'll tell you why — A boycott of school for one day is OK as a unifier and morale-builder of minority groups. Beyond that it becomes self-defeating. Let us instead declare a day on which everyone in school comes to class with their homework done.

Elizabeth (Betty) Stevens

MRS. ISRAEL C. HELLER
660 FORT WASHINGTON AVENUE
NEW YORK 40, N. Y.

March 3, 1964

Mr. Bayard Rustin
War Resisters' League
New York City.

Dear Sir:

I have just spent an instructive hour listening to you and Mr. Louis Fischer discuss the teachings of Ghandi, for which I thank you.

On one point made by you, I am inclined to be doubtful. Is it not possible that the great increase in the "x" schools (I believe you called them) is due to the tremendous increase in New York's Negro and Puerto Rican population in the years since the Supreme Court decision, rather than as a result of it, as you implied?

Further, as one greatly desiring to see complete integration become a fact, I am decidedly opposed to the idea of "bussing" young school children, be they Negro or white. I believe this problem will not be solved until the real estate interests are forced to accept integration. Then, and then only, will there be effective and natural acceptance of each other by both Negroes and whites, with the mingling of children of the same social, economic and intellectual levels. Why do you not direct your energy to this means, rather than using small children to force an issue of which they have small understanding?

Yours sincerely,

Helen G. Heller

Private Post Card

Mr. Bayard Rustin
War Resisters League
5 Beekman St.
New York, N.Y.

Are ill-advised
due to lack of
funds at
present

Mrs. Israel G. Heller
60 Fort Washington Avenue
New York 40, N. Y.

March 3, 1964

Mr. Bayard Rustin
War Resisters' League
New York City.

Dear Sir:

I have just spent an instructive hour listening to you and Mr. Muste discuss the school boycott. Image of Ghandi, I suppose I think you.

On one point made by you I indined to be doubtful. Is it not possible that the increase in the "x" schools (I believe you called them) is due to the tremendous increase in New York's Negro and Puerto Rican population in the years since the Supreme Court decision, rather than as a result of it, as you implied.

Further, as one greatly desiring to see complete integration become a fact, I am decidedly opposed to the idea of "busing" young school children, be they Negro or white. I believe this problem will not be solved until the real estate interests are forced to accept integration. Then, and then only, will there be effective and natural acceptance of each other by both Negroes and whites, with the mingling of children of the same social, economic and intellectual levels. Why do you not direct your energy to this issue, rather than using small children to force an issue or which they have small understanding?

Yours sincerely,

Mrs. I. G. Heller

Of course
propellant
due to
lack of
funds
for further

20 Staverton Road
London, N.W. 2
ENGLAND

4th March, 1964

Bayard Rustin, Esq.
Deputy Director,
MARCH ON WASHINGTON FOR JOBS AND FREEDOM
170 West 130 Street
New York 27, New York
U.S.A.

Dear Mr. Rustin,

On December 5th, 1963 you acknowledged my letter informing you of a meeting held in London in support of the movement for Jobs and Freedom in the United States. At that meeting a committee was formed, Friends of the American Civil Rights Movement, which plans to help this movement in whatever way is suitable here in Britain.

We have learned that you will be visiting England to speak for the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament on Easter Monday, 30th March, 1964. We hereby invite you to speak at a meeting which we will arrange on Friday evening, 27th March, or Saturday afternoon, 28th March. All that we require is your consent sent to us, preferably by cable, and we will make all arrangements necessary for the meeting.

There is a widespread interest in the activities and success of the March on Washington Committee in the United States. Britain on the whole, however, suffers terribly from lack of precise information. Our Committee can offer you an audience consisting of British people who are very much interested in the success of the Negro movement, and also many members of former colonial countries. The London audience we can promise you would look upon any meeting which you will address as a important stage in their efforts to win adherents and gain support for what they consider a cause for liberty and freedom on an international scale.

Yours very sincerely,

(Mrs.) Selma James

Acting Secretary,
Friends of the American
Civil Rights Movement.

March 6

CND, 2 Carthusian Street
London, E.C. 1.

Bayard Rustin
War Resisters League
Room 1025
5, Beekman Street
New York, 38
New York, USA

Peller. 1

Dear Bayard,

I have just received a letter from Al with the devastating news that you may not be able to come after all and am now sending you (and Al) a desperate appeal.

I know - I know - I know that when Al wrote to say you could come he did say subject to the situation in the Civil Rights Movement, but naturally we hoped and prayed and hoped again that it would be all right.

The March is terribly important this year. Because of the General Election mainly, CND is in a difficult situation where it is not easy to maintain morale and keep things going until after the election when there will be a big part for CND to play.

As always morale is dodgy because the leadership is poor and, so far as the canon is concerned at the moment I think he would be quite happy to see CND disappear, leaving him free to attempt to set up some new and more docile movement.

The March is therefore crucial. We have got out of the Police

(short pause for talking to Miss Paradise on her way home)

after prolonged and very tough negotiations all we want in terms of route, rally etc. All that is needed now is a final whip up fot the Movement and on press and TV and for this we must ~~nevtoyra~~. have you.

We have fixed five meetings in Glasgow, Leeds, Manchester, ~~Birmingham~~ Birmingham and Bristol over the three days Friday March 20th to 22nd plus press and we hope TV there. A press conference in London on March 23 plus further whip up meetings during the rest of that week. Everyone is frightfully excited about the tour and laying on halls, press etc. All is ready to go. All that looks like being missing is the King Pin, the Chef d'Oeuvre the masterpiece, the heart of the matter, the hub,

the BAYARD RUSTIN

This letter is continued . . . . cr Letter - 2

From CND, 2 Carthusian St. EC1 6. 3. 64.

Continued from Letter 1

Do you know that nice piece of free verse which runs . . . " for want of a nail, the shoe was lost, for want of a nailshoe, the horse was lost, for want of a horse, the rider was lost, for want of a rider, the troop was lost, for want of the troop, the battle was lost, for want of the battle, the country was lost . . . . etc etc" (not very pacifist, I am afraid) Well the current version goes like this. . .

For want of BAYARD RUSTIN, the March was a failure; for want of the March, CND closed up; for want of CND, the Confederation folded up, for want of a Confederation, the peace movement . . . . .
Well maybe it's not quite so bad as that but pretty nearly.
We have built up the March to a considerable extent ~~on the~~ as a Washington Style March and on the fact that you were coming.
A disappointment at this stage would be disastrous. A disastrous March really would be the last straw (The Canon is only too anxious to close CND down and start some nice docile new organisation ~~like~~which will do what he tells it)* It might really become impossible to hold it over this cruoial year - once the election is over it will be easier for the Labour People who are dormant at the moment because of the Election will start to get active again. So far as they are concerned now in any case, because of the link with the Civil Rights Movement they will come out.

This isn't exaggerating. Things are really pretty tough so please, please do try and get away. If you could fly direct to Prestwick, which is near Glasgow to get there by the evening of March 20th, or to London by March 19 you could fly back on the evening of Easter Monday, March 30.

So please, Bayard, think again. Please note that I have Michael Randle who is on our March Committee all lined up to come on the tour with you.

There is nt really any point in saying any more. It really is serious.

Yours, with love and hope,

Peggy Duff

* This ~~is a~~ seems to have become a refrain. Sorry. Just arrived from Florence with middle of the letter.

ITT/AC&R SYSTEM — ITT/AC&R SYSTEM — ITT/AC&R SYSTEM
Via All America · Via Commercial · Via Globe · Via Mackay Radio

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LONDON LB 27 9 2236

BAYARD RUSTIN ROOM 1025 5 BEEKMANSTREET NYK38

VITAL YOU AND KING FOR LONDON EASTER PRESS AND TV WANT DETAILS

WILL PHONE 2.00 PM WEDNESDAY WRL

MICHAEL CRAFT

1964 MAR 9 PM 7 00

1025 5 NYK38 2.00 PM WRL

12

TO CALL A MESSENGER: PHONE 797-7522
MESSAGE INFORMATION: PHONE 797-3300 - OTHER MATTERS: PHONE 797-3300
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MESSAGE INFORMATION: PHONE 797-7550 - OTHER MATTERS: PHONE 797-3300

112 East 19th St., N. Y. 3,

March 10, 1964

MEMO TO Civil Rights Leaders:

I am suggesting what you probably have thought of and may be doing in better form than I am suggesting but to make sure I want to urge what I have urged orally upon some of you; namely, that you collect a great many sworn statements of particular acts of discrimination, injustice and brutality, and give them to friendly senators to use in the long debate.

What happens to Negroes when they want to hold even a mock election was shown in Mississippi and plain affidavits describing what happened would be very effective, more effective than general denunciation. Men like Humphrey and others would certainly be glad to have this material on hand. I write because in talking to people I find it so much more effective to cite particular instances than to make mere generalizations.

Sincerely yours,

Norman Thomas

Norman Thomas

NT:S

WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM
UNITED STATES SECTION
JANE ADDAMS HOUSE
LOCUST 3-7110
LONG DISTANCE CODE: 215
2006 WALNUT STREET
PHILADELPHIA 3, PA.
CABLE ADDRESS: WILUS

March 10, 1964

Mr. Bayard Rustin
c/o War Resisters League
5 Beekman St.
New York 10038

Dear Mr. Rustin,

The National Board of the United States Section of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom sends you hearty congratulations on the splendid job you did in organizing the New York School Boycott. We are deeply thankful that it was carried out without violence - no easy task in dealing with such large numbers of people. We sincerely hope it will do much toward ending inferior equipment in predominantly Negro schools, and toward ending segregation in both schools and housing. May the day soon come when there will be better schools for all children.

What a wonderful "fizzle" that was.

In the struggle for righteousness God is always with us. Do you remember those great lines in "A Sleep of Prisoners"?

"Dark and cold we may be, but this
Is no winter now. The frozen misery
Of centuries breaks, cracks, begins to move,
The thunder is the thunder of the floes,
The thaw, the flood, the upstart Spring.
Thank God our time is now when wrong
Comes up to face us everywhere,
Never to leave us till we take
The longest stride of soul men ever took."

Congratulations and all good wishes.

Sincerely yours,
Adelaide N. Noyes

Adelaide N. Noyes
(Corresponding Secretary)

March 12, 1964

Day Letter

to: Peggy Duff
2 Carthusian Street
London E.C.2

Dear Peggy

Contrary impression Hassler may have given Rustin has up to last minute tried devise way come to England stop Situation in Civil Rights struggle especially decision Malcolm X involve himself ~~[illegible]~~ and other advocates of "violence" in local struggles now makes it completely out of question for Rustin leave country stop Would be regarded as utterly irresponsible by other civil rights leaders and tend demoralise rank and file stop I do not exaggerate all of us deeply regret situation letter follows

A.J.Muste

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BAYARD RUSTIN ROOM 1025 5 BEEKMAN STREET

NEWYORK38

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PLEASE COME

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BAYARD RUSTIN ROOM 1025 5 BEEKMAN STREET NEWYORK38

RELYING ON YOU FOR EASTER SUNDAY YOUTH RALLY HAVE INFORMED PRESS PLEASE CONFIRM YOU ARRIVAL

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COL NEWYORK38 1025 5

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March 16, 1965

Donald S. Frey, Esq.
Executive Secretary
The Foundation for Freedom &
Democracy in Community Life
1514 Elmwood Avenue
Evanston, Illinois, 60201

Dear Mr. Frey:

I am very sorry, but because of the crisis in Selma, Mr. Rustin has not had a chance to draft a statement.

I know he would have liked to send a statement, but I'm sure you understand how busy he has been these last few days.

Sincerely,

Rachelle Horowitz

RH/rjp

The Foundation for Freedom & Democracy in Community Life

ADVANCING a program of Education in responsible individual voluntary action for deepening the channels of expanding individual freedom and democracy in a pluralistic society in each local community, and of strengthening the chances for world peace and order in the atomic age.

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Evanston, Illinois, 60201
GReenleaf 5-8866
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Donald S. Frey, Esq.

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Evanston, Illinois
REV. WESLEY WHARTON
East St. Louis, Illinois
MRS. MILDRED BURNS
Lincoln, Nebraska

March 6, 1965

Mr. Bayard Rustin
Apt 9J
340 West 28th Street
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Rustin:

We tried to reach you and talk with you personally in New York City last Thursday. We wanted to tell you of the significance of two great assemblages of local, state, federal, governmental officials, and religious, civic, and business and labor leaders from all over the country in Lincolnland, March 18-20, 1965, to exchange views on the subject of housing discrimination and to deepen their commitment to erase these practices which they see as undermining all American freedoms and constituting the major economic, social, moral and political cost to all American communities.

We would welcome a message from you with reference to both of these conferences. We would like to have you send this message to us in advance of the conference if possible, and we will have it duplicated and eagerly studied in the discussion groups to be held.

The writer remembers with great admiration a seminar which you conducted in the Chicago area some months ago on the whole subject of non-violent methods to achieve the freedom and the unity of all mankind.

Looking forward to hearing from you, and with kindest regards,

Sincerely yours,

Donald S. Frey

dsf j

cc: Mr. Rustin
112 East 19th Street, New York

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STEVE WILHIDE, Frostburg, Md.
JOHN YOLTON, Detroit, Mich.
DR. GORDON ZAHN, London, England

Bayard

March 16, 1964 (dictated Mar.13 am)

Peggy Duff
CND
2 Carthusian St.
London E.C. 1, England

Dear Peggy,

There is not anything of real substance I can add to the telegram I sent you about Bayard not being able to come to England this month. I write, nevertheless, because I understand how disappointed you all must be and I get some comfort out of saying it again. Perhaps you will too.

I don't know how much detail you are getting over there about the civil rights situation here and Bayard's part in it. Things continue to boil pretty furiously. Yesterday when I called Bayard at ten in the morning he could hardly speak, not having gotten to bed until 6 a.m. after leading a big demonstration the day before at the capitol in Albany, N.Y. With the slow pace at which the civil rights argument in the Senate is proceeding and alot of other factors, this is a period of very considerable frustration among the various civil rights organizations and the Negro people generally. I can testify from my own recent two to three weeks in the south how many Negroes xx there are who begin to despair of nonviolence.

Into this situation, Malcolm X has now injected himself. He openly advocates that Negroes "defend themselves with weapons". He also proclaims that the present civil rights movement is not a revolution and cannot be because "revolutions mean bloodshed". He belonged, as you know, to the Islam sect and hence intervened only indirectly in politics. Now he has broken with the Islam leader and is organizing a political organization. Furthermore, he will no longer keep out of current civil rights struggles in local situations but says that he will "take part in them". This is certain to complicate matters tremendously and may mean a kind of hell.

You are aware of the fact that Bayard has come to be a very central figure in the civil rights movement. He is the one person who, on the one hand, can get all the important organizations or most of them, working together,

and at the same time can contribute a drive and militancy to the nonviolent movement as no one else can.

I meant it when, in my telegram, I said I was not exaggerating when I wrote that for Bayard to be out of the country for ten days or more, or at all, under these conditions, would be regarded as utterly irresponsible by all the civil rights leaders. It might mean a tragedy that could hardly be undone in the future if Bayard were away at the same point when Malcolm X injected himself publicly into one of the big struggles and tried to take it over.

Ideally, it would have been better if Bayard had given no encouragement whatever to the idea that he might be able to get away. However, he is attached to you and ~~xxxxxxxx~~ other friends over there and wanted to do it if at all possible. Events and Malcolm X have simply taken the decision out of his hands.

I am, myself, swamped these days, expecting to spend a great deal of my time in the next four to six weeks in Georgia and Florida in connection with the QWG Peace Walk.

My best to you and other friends.

Faithfully yours,

AJM:b

A.J. Muste

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE 160 NORTH 15TH ST., PHILADELPHIA 2, PA.

YES NO

___ ___ I will be able to attend a conference on South Africa in the Philadelphia area May 8 and 9.

___ ___ I would be able to attend such a conference May 15 and 16.

_____
Signature

_____
Organization

MEMO AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE, 160 North 15 Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

To: Consultative Peace Council Members Date: March 17, 1964

From: Paul Lauter

Subject: Conference on South Africa

After many ups and downs, and some initially negative responses, there seems to be a sufficiently intense desire to hold this conference among the members of the CPC. Most of April seems to be out for a number of you. We are therefore going to aim at May 8-9 or, possibly, May 15-16. We would hope to have a session Friday evening, sessions Saturday morning and Saturday afternoon, all with resource people, and free discussion Saturday evening.

For those of you who do wish to participate in this conference, please indicate on the enclosed post card whether the dates of May 8-9 are agreeable and, if these are absolutely out, whether the 15th and 16th of May are possible.

PL:jp

Enclosure

March 19, 1964

Mr. Hal Witt, Esq.
Scupi and Witt
600 F Street, N.W.
Washington 4, D.C.

Dear Mr. Witt:

I agree with you. F.E.P.C. is one of the most important sections of the bill.

I hope to be talking to Jim Forman very soon.

Thank you for your note.

Sincerely,

Bayard Rustin

BR/jp

LAW OFFICES
SCUPI AND WITT
600 F STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON 4, D.C.

RICHARD J. SCUPI
HAL WITT

STERLING 3-3663

February 8, 1964

Bayard Rustin
c/o Liberation Magazine
5 Beekman St.
New York 38, New York

Dear Bayard Rustin:

I have been getting the strong impression here that the most likely casualty in the Civil Rights Bill is F.E.P.C.

Birmingham led the White House to introduce a bill in the first place.

Perhaps we need something big on employment at this time to put some real heat on for F.E.P.C.? Unemployment of Negro teen-agers in Harlem exceeds 50% !

Sincerely,

Hal Witt

HAL WITT

HW:lw
cc: James Forman
SNCC
6 Raymond Street, N.W.
Atlanta 14, Georgia

Thanks — as
consider —
pers —
well talk
to Jim

March 19, 1964

Mr. Charles Zeiders
Westchester Sr. High School
Lincoln & Montgomery Ave.
Westchester, Pa. 19380

Dear Mr. Zeiders:

Enclosed are the school integration plans you asked Mr. Rustin to send. They were unfortunately misplaced during the last days of the March on Albany.

Mr. Rustin would have written himself, but he is very busy planning anti-filibuster activities, evaluating the Malcolm X development and with speaking at many meetings.

Please excuse the delay.

Sincerely,

Rachelle Horowitz

RH/jp

March 19, 1964

Mr. Harry Fleischman
The American Jewish Committee
165 East 56th St.
New York, N.Y. 10022

Dear Harry,

Just got a chance to read your note to Dave and want you to know I appreciate your honesty.

Someday soon - when things calm down - we shall have to sit down and talk. Our area of agreement is really much larger than ever indicated at public meetings or "discussions".

Best,

Bayard Rustin

BR/jp

COPY

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

Institute of Human Relations • 165 East 56 Street, New York 22, N. Y.

March 6, 1964

Mr. David Livingston, President
District 65, RWDSU
13 Astor Place
New York, New York

Dear Dave:

I'm annoyed with myself. After carefully pointing out the divisive effect of the emotion-packed charges of "phony liberal" and "uninterested in the education of their children" which Negroes and whites who are firmly agreed on the need for integration but who hold different tactical views have hurled at each other, I feel into the same trap myself.

My remark on "Jim Crow in reverse" was uncalled for and I want to apologize. I still think that the tactical approach I suggested was probably wiser, but that was no excuse for such language, which succeeded in conveying the opposite of what I really want -- namely closer cooperation between primarily Negro and primarily white groups in the struggle for civil rights.

With all best wishes,

Harry Fleischman

cc: Rev. Donald Harrington
Mr. Bayard Rustin

eak

March 19, 1964

Miss Anne Stadler - Turn Toward Peace
4235 Roosevelt Way, N.E.
Seattle, Washington 98105

Dear Anne,

I am really sorry that I did not call you last month. I am interested in the Seattle situation, but New York (specifically the disunity and problem of the 2nd school boycott and the March on Albany) conspired against you.

Please call me at TU 9-9890 and we can talk over the situation.

Sincerely,

Bayard Rustin

BR/jp

February 13, 1964

Anne Stadler
4235 Roosevelt Way N.E.
Seattle, Washington 98105

Anne,

Bayard is in New Orleans and will not be back until Monday. I am forwarding your letter to him at his home address where he will get it Monday or Tuesday.

But I thought I better get this off to you, since you are counting on hearing from him by Saturday night and you won't be.

Hope all is goingx well. I would like to have your ideas on linking jobs, civil rights, defense cutbacks, etc., when developed.

Best,

David McReynolds

cooper station box 401 new york 3 new york gr 5-0850

NORTHWEST OFFICE
4235 ROOSEVELT WAY N.E.
SEATTLE, WASHINGTON 98105
TEL. ME 2-8282

NORTHWEST COORDINATORS
ROBERT FREEMAN
ANNE STADLER

Feb. 11, 1964

Bayard Rustin

Dear Bayard:

I have been trying to no avail to call you. Can you PLEASE call me, after 9 o'clock, on Friday night Feb. 14, or Saturday night, Feb. 15, at EM 4-3317, Seattle.

I am not going to try to explain what I want, but it relates to the letter I sent you about ten days ago outlining the situation re. jobs, civil rights demands, defense cutbacks, in Seattle. Several of us believe that now would be a good time for a campaign on these issues here, and we need help organizing such a thing. That's what I want to talk to you about.

I HOPE you can call me.

Anne

Anne Stadler

— Sorry didn't come

Not — to Peacemaker panel date

NATIONAL OFFICERS

NORMAN THOMAS, Chairman ROBERT GILMORE, Executive Director ROBERT PICKUS and JACK BOLLENS, Co-ordinators

March 19, 1964

Mrs. Rose W. Lewis
330 West 28th St.
Apt. 9-J
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mrs. Lewis:

I do try to emphasize that "340" is on the right side of the building, but ever since the New York Times printed my home address I have been receiving all sorts of messages and requests at the strangest hours. In case you should need it, my home phone number is YU 9-9890 - I would appreciate your not giving it to anyone else, though.

Thank you for your patience and good wishes and welcome to the struggle.

Best wishes,

Bayard Rustin

BR/jp

P.S. Who is "Jim?"

330 West 28 Street
Apt. 9J
March 4, 1964

Dear Mr. Rustin:

Early one Sunday morning the postman rang my bell. He had a special delivery letter for you. On Saturday night, February 15, about 12 midnight, my bell rang and a young man asked for "Jim." I was alone and, of course, did not open the door but inquired first who it was. On another occasion a messenger came with a letter for you from CORE. Today Western Union left a message about a telegram.
I do appreciate the fine work you are doing and am wholly sympathetic. But I would also appreciate it if you would make sure to emphasize that 340 West 28 is the right-hand side of the building and 330 is on the left-hand side.

With best wishes for continued success in your endeavors.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Rose W. Lewis

Very sorry - will try
to do anything possible

449-5890

March 23, 1964

Miss Pamela St. Clair
Assistant Editor
Views
79/81 Gracechurch St.
London, E.C. 3
England

Dear Miss St. Clair:

I am very sorry to report that the political situation in America keeps me from coming to London, and that I cannot at this moment (what with Senate filibuster on the proposed civil rights legislation, the segregated school problem in the North, and the development of a new movement around Malcolm X) commit myself to any other activities.

Hoping we shall meet sometime soon.

Sincerely

Bayard Rustin

BR/jp

VIEWS
A QUARTERLY REVIEW

EDITOR:
SABBY SAGALL,
79/81, GRACECHURCH STREET,
LONDON, E.C.3.
TELEPHONE: MINCING LANE 9221

EDITOR, NEW YORK:
JUDAH HELLER,
1440, BROADWAY,
NEW YORK, 18, U.S.A.
TELEPHONE: OXFORD 50450

YOUR REF:

OUR REF: V/PS/PP.

21st February, 1964.

Bayard Rustin, Esq.,
C/o Liberation
Room 1029,
5, Beekman Street,
New York 38,
New York,
U.S.A.

Dear Mr. Rustin,

First and foremost may I extend a most excited invitation to wit: If you have a minute during your proposed London visit we at "Views" would be delighted to have you to lunch, coffee, tea, anything! If you are too busy perhaps we shall see you on the Easter March.

I hope by now you have received a copy of the Autumn/Winter edition of "Views". Would you be interested in contributing a piece about 5,000 words, on the American Peace Movement, its aims and reception? In our Spring issue of "Views" we are beginning a rather involved section on British class and culture, covering a wide range of subjects at somewhat greater length than is usual. For the Summer issue we plan to follow up this idea with a contrasting section on America, as we are an Anglo-American publication. All contributions to this issue must reach our London office by the end of May, and we would be most honoured and grateful for any help or suggestions you might care to give.

Thanking you in anticipation, and very much looking forward to the possibility of meeting you.

Yours sincerely,

Pamela St.Clair.
Assistant (London) Editor.

March 24, 1964

Mr. Theodore Bikel
3 Washington Square Village
New York, N.Y. Apt. 3M

Dear Theo,

Thank you for your note. We missed you at the meeting. I always know I can count on you.

Best,

Bayard

BR/jp

THEODORE BIKEL
3 Washington Square Village
New York Apt 13 M

March 4, 1964

Mr. Bayard Rustin, Editor
Liberation
5 Beekman Street
Room 1025
New York 38, New York

Dear Bayard:

When your telegram regarding the February 20th meeting arrived, I was in California (where, incidentally, I spent some time with Martin Luther King), and I was, therefore, sorry not to be able to attend.

My failure to respond to your telegram, however, was unfortunately due to the fact that I was without a secretary at the time, and nobody in the bosom of my family knew how to contact you. Please forgive.

Let me know if I can help in the future.

Fraternally,

Theo

Thank you

File Rachelle

COUNCIL OF FEDERATED ORGANIZATIONS
1017 LYNCH ST. - P. O. BOX 2896
JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI - 39205

March 24, 1964

Mr. Bayard Rustin
203 W. 107th St., Apt. 8-C
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Rustin:

Thank you so much for participating in the curriculum conference. I hope you thought it a worthwhile experience for yourself as well as for the Freedom Schools. I was generally very impressed with the ideas and materials whihh came out of the conference, and I think your efforts contributed greatly to the results of the conference. Thank you espcially for coming when your were so pressed for time.

Yours truly,

Lois Chaffee

Lois Chaffee

Helsjön 28 March, 1964.

Mr. Bayard Rustin,
New York.

The Scandinavian Youth Conference of the IFoR at Helsjöns folkhögskola in western Sweden sends you its warmest greetings in the fellowship and hopes that this year will bring substantial success to you in the struggle for peace and civil rights. Bo brought "We shall overcome" with him to the conference from Tyringe, and we have been with you closely with our minds during these days.

Yours,

Bo Wetmark
Hanna Wikström
Nisse Narén
Bengt Sundström
Hamer de Graaf
Bengt Jansson
Eli de Graaf
Glas-Göran Nilsson
Ann. Nordin
Brigitta Lindgren
Ingebjörg Aarek Ofrutsen
Hans-Eirik Aarek
Folke Palmén
Elisabeth Rasmussen
Margareta Wennmark
Maren-Lise Edvardsen
Anna Schjander
Kerstin Wennark
Roger Ofdahl & Co.
Richard Edvardsen
Birgitte Hansen
Hardy Christensen.

having to request your cooperation and rushing you at the same time. For this I apologize.

Sincerely,

Alice Mary Hilton

Alice Mary Hilton

AMH/bd
Enclosures: (1) SOS, Section "D" Outline
(2) Problems of Transition (including Appendix "B")

cc: Dr. J. T. Schwartz

April 14, 1964

Mr. Alfred Hassler
Fellowship of Reconciliation
Nyack, New York

Dear Al,

I have made arrangements for the summer fund-raising mailing of the W.R.L. to be an appeal for the Confederation.

It should bring in about $800 to $1,000 and will go out in June or July.

Sincerely,

Bayard Rustin

BR/jp

International Confederation for Disarmament and Peace
Confédération Internationale pour le Désarmement et la Paix
Internationale Konföderation für Abrüstung und Frieden

The Grange, 3 Hendon Avenue, London N.3, United Kingdom

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Dimitrios Roussopoulos (*Canada*)
Bayard Rustin (*U.S.A.*)
Tony Smythe (*U.K.*)
Bertil Svahnstrom (*Sweden*)

March 20, 1964

Bayard Rustin
5 Beekman Street
New York, N. Y.

Dear Bayard:

I am reminded by our friends of the Confederation that they are in need of money pretty badly, and hope that the people who made pledges to the current budget will be able to fulfill them before too long. This is just a note by way of reminder, since I know you are terribly busy these days and might overlook it.

Cordially,

Alfred Hassler

AH:vg

F.O.R. March mtg.

I have made arrangements for the summer mailing of the WRI newsletter to be an appeal for the confed. $500 or $1000 in Feb.

(ok)

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THE FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION

Box 271, Nyack, New York • Elmwood 8-4601 • *Direct New York City wire:* LOrraine 8-8200

April 14, 1964

Mr. Bayard Rustin
War Resisters League
5 Beekman Street
New York, New York

Dear Bayard:

The presentation you made Thursday night was brilliant, and very much appreciated by everyone there. I do thank you for your willingness to give the time necessary. I hope you felt as I did a kind of consciousness of a renewal of old ties that went very deep.

The Council made it clear in no uncertain terms in succeeding sessions that I was to do everything possible to get out the kind of manual on nonviolence that you were talking about. I explained defensively that I had to have a session with you--or several of them--in order to do it, and that you were not as easy to get hold of for such things as it might seem. (I also acknowledged that my own schedule is fairly heavy too.) I don't know exactly how and when we ought to get at this, but clearly we should talk about it soon.

Cordially,

Alfred Hassler

AH/hh

THE UNIVERSITY OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK
THE STATE EDUCATION DEPARTMENT
ALBANY, NEW YORK 12224

ELBERT K. FRETWELL JR.
ASSISTANT COMMISSIONER FOR
HIGHER EDUCATION

NORMAN D. KURLAND
LAWRENCE C. HOWARD
CONSULTANTS
COLLEGE PROFICIENCY EXAMINATIONS
GR 4-3703

April 14, 1964

Mr. Bayard Rustin
Executive Secretary
War Resisters' League
5 Beekman Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Rustin:

I was deeply impressed by your presentation in Boston. I feel the perspective you offered, the catalytic role of the Negro revolution, is a point of view which should receive a much broader hearing.

We have just established a Center for Integration and Innovation in Education here in Albany looking towards the accelerating the integration process. We hope to do our bit towards the achievement of this objective for which you have so long and so effectively struggled.

I think it would help us in the furtherance of our philosophy if we could receive a copy of the paper you delivered in Boston and any other materials you have developed which would help us better understand the nature of integration and what it can mean for American life.

If you think our Center could be of some service, particularly in the research direction, please let us know.

Sincerely yours,

Lawrence Howard
Lawrence C. Howard

LCH:nd

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MCD
Modern Community Developers Inc.

Suite 111, 7750 Roosevelt Boulevard
Philadelphia 15, Pennsylvania
DE 8-7333 Code 215

April 14, 1964

Mr. Bayard Rustin
WRL
5 Beekman Street
New York, N. Y.

Dear Bayard:

My good friend, Lee Middleton, has invited you, I understand, to speak at the Bucks County NAACP on May 17, Freedom Sunday. I do hope you can make it, not only because I want to encourage my good friend Lee, but also because the Bucks County area needs the kind of keen thinking for which you are rightfully noted.

I am not sure if you noted the reference to you in my Christmas letter. In case it escaped you while you were traveling, I enclose a marked copy.

Best ever,

Morris Milgram

MM:tvg

Greenbelt Knoll
5 Longford Street
Philadelphia, Pa. 19136
Holiday Season, 1963

Dear Friends,

This year of the civil rights revolution, of sudden death in Dallas and Birmingham, has also been one of progress and challenge.

Betty and Gene, both high school seniors, are young adults who will be leaving for college in September. Betty's first choice is Brandeis, which she visited November 12th when I gave the Helmsley lecture on civil rights there.

Gene, to be 18 in February, has gotten his driver's license -- first try. He's been taking courses at U of P -- sociology and computers -- in spare time from care of his dog Champ, studies at Lincoln, ball games, and chores at the Greenbelt Knoll pool and at home.

Betty, 16 this month, helped at the Dept. of Health this summer. She's on the school paper and debating team, and writes erudite papers on labor in politics, peace, etc.

Grace continues as research associate at the Institute for Urban Studies, U of P. She's directing an Institute study, "Land Utilization and Costs." Two books that she edited are off press: Tom Reiner's The Place of the Ideal Community in Urban Planning and Bill Grigsby's Housing Markets and Public Policy.

She did some painting during our Vermont vacation, which Betty and I interrupted to join the historic March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom, August 28th. Gene and Grace couldn't go.

I've become membership chairman of the Greenbelt

Knoll swimming pool, which, with wading pool, is in the community's two acre park. Membership is open to non-resident families; if you are interested, call some evening or weekend before 10 p.m., DE 2-7669.

To relax, I continue to collect world stamps, but especially plate number singles, old and new. More and more I find pleasure in the garden, for which Grace this year bought scores of bulbs.

*****

As the year began, the Deerfield battle got a lift from distribution of Ethel Untermyer's Deerfield Coloring Book, illustrated by her daughter Alice, and by Avon's issuance of 100,000 paperbacks of Harry and David Rosen's But Not Next Door.

But we lost, after four years in the courts: the U. S. Supreme Court on June 10th declined to hear our appeal from the Illinois Supreme Court decision upholding the condemnation for parks of our two separate sites and two model houses in that all-white Chicago suburb.

High point of the fight was the support of all the key Negro leaders, who with a hundred others wired the Attorney General urging an amicus curiae brief. "A decisive stand by the Department of Justice in this case will serve as a deterrent to other towns," they said, to what "Time called 'segregation by condemnation.'" Even after a conference with civil rights leaders at which Jim Farmer, B. J. Anderson, Pauli Murray and others eloquently stated the issues, Robert Kennedy declined to act. Burke Marshall did have a brief prepared, after being impressed by cases of this type cited in the Freedom of Residence Foundation pamphlet, The Negro in White Suburbia, by Ian McMahan.

An ADA delegation had raised the issue with Pres-

ident Kennedy, who promised to discuss the case with Marshall.

Words can't do justice to the warmth I feel for all the wonderful people who helped in the Deerfield battle -- the American Freedom of Residence Fund, so ably led by Charles Benton, and especially those in Deerfield, led by Deerfield Citizens for Human Rights, who risked their jobs, plus the able lawyers, headed by volunteer Joe Rauh.

The Deerfield battle, it seems to me, secured major public discussion of the problem of all-white suburbia. Modern Community Developers, Inc. learned the importance of working with the local leadership and power structure, not merely the regional leadership. The work for equal housing goes on. . .

Friends won during the Deerfield struggle have made new gains possible:

This summer one of them, an MCD-PC board member, established a second revolving fund to buy apartment houses. With the $250,000 fund set up last year, (by another board member), this $350,000 made possible an agreement of sale on a second building twice as large as the first. Our first building, which now houses 5 non-whites in its over 3 score apartments, has begun a cash flow of 8%, now tax free due to depreciation. A portion of this goes to Planned Communities, of which MCD is a major stockholder.

During the year PC profitably sold two sites in the Washington, D. C. suburbs and concluded negotiations for control of three other sites there. On two of these, construction of single family houses is underway; homes are available for early occupancy. After a third subdivision was OK'd for recording, the local board of education decided to take over half of our hundred lots for a school.

We're still working in Wilmington, Delaware suburbs, in Waterbury, Conn., in New York City, and Provi-

dence, R. I., where, under Irving Fain's leadership, construction starts in 1964 on 480 garden apartments.

In '63 the MCD-PC office moved from Princeton to 7750 Roosevelt Blvd., Philadelphia, two miles from Greenbelt. Tom Garth, the able office manager, lives at Concord Park.

In January in Urbana at the quadrennial national student assembly of the YMCA-YWCA, I was urging students to live their beliefs and to consider careers in open housing. The speech, "Developing Open Communities," is available (50¢) from Association Press, 291 Broadway, N. Y. In November I urged planners at Cornell to consider becoming developers of integrated communities. There I visited with U. of Newark friend, Milton R. Konvitz, whose First Amendment Freedoms has just been issued by Cornell U Press.

Norman Thomas, whose biography by Harry Fleischman is being published in January by Norton, says "Utopia is not a republic of fraternity to be taken by violence." The Birmingham bombings and the Dallas shootings must be considered in the context of a society which gets distraught at the economic disaster of apparent disarmament (actually shifts in types of arms.) Our society spends billions devising weapons to kill, virtually nothing to study how people can live together in peace. We glorify wholesale killing and are shocked when the lesson is applied retail.

The key man of 1963, it seems to me, was Bayard Rustin, executive secretary of the War Resisters League, who with A. Philip Randolph organized the dramatic March on Washington. The 200,000 participants are a force for change stronger than they know; if all their lives would demonstrate their beliefs, the March's aims could be achieved in our time....

Happy holiday! As ever,

Morris Milgram

Morris Milgram

NEW ENGLAND COMMITTEE for NONVIOLENT ACTION

RFD 1, Box 197 B
Voluntown
Connecticut

203-376-9970

Bayard
thought this might interest you
Bob S

April 16, 1964

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Henry Bailey Stephens

Brooklyn CORE
319 Nostrand Ave.
Brooklyn, N.Y.

Dear Friends,

As one active in the nonviolent movement (co-ordinator of New England CNVA) and often criticized by fellow members of the movement for sponsoring demonstrations which are somewhat unconventional, may I say that I sympathize with your efforts to try to bring imaginative new ideas into the nonviolent civil rights movement in spite of criticisms from fellow members.

I would, however, like to raise a couple questions for your consideration, in case they have not already been raised. For instance, in spite of the criticisms being leveled at it, such a demonstration (stall-in at World's Fair) appeals, perhaps subconsciously, to many people because it shows the power of human beings to stop, even momentarily, the vast impersonal, inhuman "machine" which is in some way or other dimly felt to be destroying us, if not directly in nuclear war, then by so desensitizing us that we no longer feel the sufferings of our fellow human beings, especially if their skin is black, or if we can call him "communist," and thus dehumanize him so we can justify either our insensitivity or our outright cruelty. Nevertheless, it would be good if such subconscious feelings were expressed and even better if the demonstration could be aimed at specific injustices which are created by the "machine" (the automobile itself).

For instance, have you considered making the proposed traffic tie-up of the World's Fair a protest against the vast sums of money spent, not only for the Fair itself, but for the network of urban expressways and roads, which are built more often than not over the ruins of Negro "slum" homes in order to rpovide the suburban drivers with the "best" transportation, and at the expense of public transportation upon which the poor slum dweller, white and

Negro alike, must depend (see enclosed paper for analysis)? Such a protest would relate the demonstration directly to a specific injustice, but one not generally understood or recognized as part of the civil rights area of concern. Furthermore, by calling for the vast sums now being spent for highways and freeways (and World's Fairs), not to mention the waste of the armaments business, to be spent on integrated schoold and integrated housing, as well as vastly improved public transportation, you could probably help enlist a large body of sympathetic public interest. At any rate, it would seem to me to more directly relate what you are prpposing to do with what you are protesting.

To be even more specific, the demonstration could be considered the first, and only the first, of a series of short, controlled traffic tie-ups to demonstrate the need to consider the sufferings of the in-city dweller who must constantly squeeze himself into ever smaller ghetto quarters as more and more automobiles are attracted to the city by such policies as those of Mr. Robert Moses (the builder of expressways which destroy communities), Mr. Barnes, Traffic Commissioner, (the stepped-up traffic system, which many people, including taxi drivers, say is not only not improving traffic, but helping destroy downtown New York), and the New York City Planning Commissioner, who says he "likes" automobiles in New York. Such policies have been, and are, destroying the homes and the communities of vast numbers of Negroes in New York, Brooklyn, and all the surrounding boroughs. If the demonstration and/or a series of demonstrations were aimed at a reversal of these policies (this would mean a decision at the top level to put priority on improvement of Public Transportation and a reversal of present policy to encourage automobile transportation in the city centers), an immediate feasible step could be taken which could do more to ease the immediate suffering of the Negro (and all in-city dwellers) than any other single policy change. Moreover, it would open the way for other policy changes in housing, education, and employment, which are now being choked by the glut of automobiles. For instance, a specific way in which low income Negroes are discriminated against in employment is a result of the lack of adequate public transportation, at low cost, to transport them to jobs in various distant parts of the city with ease and speed, and secondly, the movement of many businesses to the suburbs or outskirts because of traffic conditions.

Secondly, I must raise a question of strong concern about the danger which may be involved to innocent people inherent in a possible uncontrolled traffic jam. I would prefer, I think, a sit-down at strategic places designed to tie-up traffic for a limited period (one or two hours), because this would mitigate

the possibility of physical harm resulting from the tie-up and create a more sympathetic reponse. An alternative suggestion to avoid an uncontrolled jam would be to have each car in the demonstration equipped with a can of reserve gas and actually limit the time of stoppage to fifteen or twenty minutes. This would probably result in a one to two hour traffic tie-up anyway, would reduce the danger of physical harms from accidents to both innocent persons and also to the demonstrators (rocks, not garbage, may be involved from argered motorists).

Finally, if you were to change to a sit-down, I would join with you, hoping I could persuade you to also change the emphasis as I have suggested in the above. I would be glad to discuss this with you or any other matter. I will be in New York on Friday after 3:00 p.m. until Saturday noon, and can be reached at the CNVA office, phone: WA5-9415.

Sincerely,

Robert Swann

Bayard Article for New England CNVA Bulletin. Any comments?

and/or a GUARANTEED ANNUAL INCOME

NON-DEFENSE JOBS -- A CAMPAIGN Bob Swann

Now that many rumors are being spread in the Groton-New London area about Electric Boat leaving the area (as a result of the Polaris program phasing out) or reducing its force to a minimum number (the number 3000 has been mentioned), perhaps the time has come for a campaign to demonstrate our support for the workers and their families, who will be dropped like worn-out tools, (as automation is dropping them at the rate of 40,000 per week nationally), now that management has no further use for them.

What alternatives can we suggest? One possibility which has come to our attention lies in the direction of reviving the now-dying fishing industry, which at one time provided one of the major resources in employment and food for the entire New England area. Recent information has come to our attention, on which we are seeking further information. Major problems in fishing (and related shipbuilding) industries seem to be:

a) Technological Obsolescence: Japanese, Dutch, Russian, and West German fishing industries are way ahead of American industries. Partly, apparently, due to Marshall Plan subsidizing after World War II, these countries were able to make rapid advances (especially Japan) in developing large scale operations far from home base, using the "mother" ship concept with up-to-date processing and freezing done at sea and avoiding expensive, time-consuming trips back and forth to shore on the part of the trawlers. Japan, apparently, sells these "mother" ships well under American shipbuilding prices but still over a million dollars each.

b) Monopoly Control: A few large fishing interests set prices and keep consumer prices high, inhibiting development of larger, wider markets. We have heard of only one cooperative among small fishermen. There may be others.

c) Pure Food and Drug Laws: Laws prohibit sale of processed (by a new process to reduce whole fish to non-perishable powder fish) "trash" fish on the market, because supposedly "the public would not accept the entrails, heads, etc." (although sardines already contain them). This ruling has the effect of inhibiting the potential growth of this revolutionary new product, not only in the U.S., but on the world market, where it offers to become one of the best sources of cheap (2¢-3¢ per pound) protein to feed the world's hungry millions. Other countries, mainly West Germany and Japan, however, are moving ahead with this process and the new rapidly developing world market.

Readers who have any information, either confirming or denying this situation, are asked to write to us about it. We are proposing, as a beginning, that readers write to the Pure Food and Drug Dept., Washington, D.C., to substantiate for themselves whether or not this is an accurate report on that department's position.

Secondly, we are raising the question about whether or not we should become involved in a campaign to demand WHETHER alternative employment to defense industry or a guaranteed annual income to all workers as a minimum plan for transition from the war-defense-oriented economy to a peace economy. This "right to an income" is being advocated as a basis for the permanent economy as the only possible solu-

over

tion to the cybernated economy of abundance, into which we are moving with unemployment jumping at rapid steps to depression levels. (See New York Times, March 23rd front page article on the Ad Hoc Committee for the Triple Revolution: signers include CNVAers A.J.Muste and Bayard Rustin. ALSO SEE APRIL LIBERATION FOR FULL STATEMENT OF THE COMMITTEE AND EDITORIAL COMMENT. COPIES AVAILABLE FROM NECNVA)

LET US HEAR WHAT YOU THINK!!

Pechue & his mgr

CHRISTIAN STREET BRANCH
1724 CHRISTIAN STREET
PHILADELPHIA, PENNA. 19146
PENNYPACKER 5-5887

THE YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION

of Philadelphia and Vicinity

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CHARLES WRIGHT, Esq.

April 20, 1964

H.S. - 26 May 28 Detroit

Mr. Bayard Rustin
340 West 28th Street
New York 1, N. Y.

art.

Dear Mr. Rustin:

I want to sincerely thank you for agreeing to accept the Man of the Year Award presented annually by the Y's Men's Club of Christian Street Branch Y.M.C.A.

The Award will be presented at a Banquet on Wednesday evening, May 27, 1964 at the Walnut Park Plaza, 63rd and Walnut Streets, Philadelphia, Pa. 19139.

6:30

The Y's Men's Club is a service unit of the YMCA and is composed of a number of outstanding young men in the Philadelphia community. Your presence will certainly do honor to the club and the Philadelphia YMCA.

Would you kindly send a biographical sketch and the glossy print we mentioned on the phone. The club is prepared to take care of your transportation and lodging should you plan to remain overnight.

After the presentation is made to you we would appreciate an address from you that would take from 20 to 30 minutes on any subject that is close to your heart.

I will be in touch with you again regarding the time of your arrival in Philadelphia so that we can be on hand to greet you. We are looking forward to your visit with us.

Sincerely yours,

Milton H Washington

Milton H. Washington
Executive Secretary

MHW:imm

May 22nd

SAINT FRANCIS COLLEGE
BIDDEFORD, MAINE

April 20, 1964

Mr. Bayard Rustin
#5 Beekman Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Rustin:

Enclosed is the leaflet announcing the program for the college's second annual symposium on The Negro and the American Quest for Identity. We hope that you will be as satisfied with it as we are.

Also enclosed is the schedule for the proposed social activities that are to complement the discussions. These will be relatively simple, designed primarily to give the students and faculty an opportunity to meet with the speakers, panelists and moderators on an informal basis.

If you wish to be here for all four sessions or simply overnight, we would be happy to prepare lodging accommodations for you. Since we are on the Maine coast, and if weather permits, we thought you might enjoy staying in one of the cottages on the beach. However, since this will demand a certain amount of time due to the rather large number of participants, we would appreciate it if you informed us of your plans as soon as possible so that we may make the necessary arrangements.

Moreover, we would like to inform you that during your stay in Maine we will provide you with a car and a driver in order to facilitate your travel to and from your lodgings. If you need anything, please do not hesitate to ask the young man who will be driving the car. He will accommodate you. And finally, we would also like to know your place and time of arrival and departure so that someone may meet you at the airport, or train, or bus station.

We are looking forward to having you with us, and hoping to hear from you soon, I am,

Sincerely,

Alfred Poulin

Alfred Poulin
Symposium Committee

AP:m
Encs.

I Have A Dream . . . .

THE NEGRO AND THE AMERICAN QUEST FOR IDENTITY

A SYMPOSIUM ST. FRANCIS COLLEGE MAY 6 - 7, 1964

SOCIAL JUSTICE

WEDNESDAY, MAY 6, 2:00 p. m.

Speakers: ROY WILKINS, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.
CHARLES MATHIAS, Jr., United States House of Representatives.

Panelists: ROGER L. SHINN, Union Theological Seminary
BAYARD RUSTIN, March on Washington

FREEDOM IN THE NORTH

WEDNESDAY, MAY 6, 8:00 p. m.

Speakers: PAUL CHAPMAN, Packard Manse
LOUIS SCOLNIK, Maine Advisory Committee to U. S. Commission on Civil Rights

Panelists: RABBI HARRY SKY, Temple Beth El
WALDEMAR ROEBUCK, New York Regional Director, Action for Interracial Understanding.

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

THURSDAY, MAY 7, 2:00 p. m.

Speakers: MARTIN LUTHER KING, Jr., Southern Christian Leadership Conf.
DOROTHY DAY, The Catholic Worker

Panelists: JOHN DOAR, U. S. Justice Department, Civil Rights Division
JAMES FORMAN, Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee

FREEDOM AND IDENTITY

THURSDAY, MAY 7, 8:00 p. m.

Speakers: LESLIE FIEDLER, Montana State University
ALLAN KNIGHT CHALMERS, NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund.

Panelists: Participants in previous sessions who are free to remain.

There will be a one dollar ($1.00) registration fee for each session.

Due to limited facilities, we urge individuals interested in attending to register in advance, indicating which session(s) they wish to attend.

For advance registration please write:

ALFRED POULIN
SYMPOSIUM COMMITTEE
St. Francis College
Biddeford, Maine

I HAVE A DREAM . . .

THE NEGRO AND THE AMERICAN QUEST FOR IDENTITY

A SYMPOSIUM

ST. FRANCIS COLLEGE

MAY 6 & 7, 1964

PROPOSED SCHEDULE

TIME	EVENT	PLACE
Wednesday, May 6		
Noon	Opening luncheon for participants, faculty, guests, committee.	Dining Room.
2:00 p.m.	First Session: Social Justice.	Auditorium.
4:00	Coffee hour for participants, students, faculty, guests.	Cafeteria.
5:00	Cocktail party for participants, guests, faculty.	Student Lounge.
6:00	Dinner for participants, students, faculty, guests.	Cafeteria.
8:00	Second Session: Freedom in the North.	Auditorium.
10:00	Coffee hour for participants, students, faculty, guests.	Cafeteria.
Thursday, May 7		
10:00 a.m.	Coffee for participants, students, faculty.	Student Lounge.
Noon	Luncheon for participants, students, faculty, guests.	Cafeteria.
2:00 p.m.	Third Session: Civil Disobedience.	Auditorium.
4:00	Coffee hour for participants, students, faculty, guests.	Cafeteria.
5:00	Cocktail party for participants, guests, faculty.	Student Lounge.
6:00	Dinner for participants, faculty, guests.	Dining Room.
8:00	Fourth Session: Freedom and Identity.	Auditorium.
10:00	Coffee hour for participants, students, faculty, guests.	Cafeteria.

4-9-64
Hackensack: "The Record"

PEOPLE

Year Of Decision

Editor, The Record:

. . . [Bayard] Rustin is an advocate of nonviolent methods for the attainment of desirable social objectives. Should the American Negro place major attention on demonstrations and sit-ins, or should he give primary effort toward legislation and court decisions? Further, should the Negro remain consistently and benevolently nonviolent, or should he strike back physically when force is used on him?

To these questions Rustin has developed a balanced action program involving the maximum number of peaceful demonstrators. He was deputy director of the successful Washington civil rights march last summer. Acting on the soul-force principles of Mahatma Gandhi, no retaliation is made when the group is subjected to physical attack and injury.

Civil rights struggles inconvenience many persons and are costly. A correction of imbalance in public schools, for example, leads to abandonment of the neighborhood concept and the busing of children throughout the community. Northern whites who approve Negro voting rights and equality in the South draw back on eliminating the Northern Negro school by absorption into white schools.

The proposed, controversial H. R.-7152 Civil Rights Act defines desegregation as not including assignment of students to overcome racial imbalance. Since it is unlikely this will be changed during the present debate in the Senate, the final 1964 civil rights act will not touch on public school imbalance.

Accordingly, racial demonstrations will probably continue. There is hence a continuing need to help Bayard Rustin in the correction of school imbalance and racial inequality.

HENRY KOCH

52 Old Tappan Road
Old Tappan, April 4, 1964.

File

52 Old Tappan Rd
Old Tappan N.J.
April 20, 1964.

Dear Ralph:

Thanks you for the enclosures mailed to me on Bayard Rustin. I wrote a letter to the Hackensack Record. A copy is enclosed. They omitted my opening sentence in which I refuted the charge Bayard ~~is~~ is a Communist. Perhaps it is for the better they did so, since two other friends had letters printed denying communist affiliation.

Please pass the enclosed note onto Ed Gottlieb.

Sincerely
Henry Koch

R.F.D.3
Putney
Vt. 05346

21 April, 64

Mr. Bayard Rustin
War Resisters League
5 Beekman St.
New York, 38, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Rustin:

As one who was very impressed by participation in the March on Washington last August, I have been wondering whether some further action can be taken in the event of a prolonged filibuster against the Civil Rights Bill. The enclosed letter in The Peacemaker, together with the present "stall-in" activities of Brooklyn CORE, seem to indicate a possible method.

The existence of Washington, D.C. was originally based on a need for a seat of government. If the government is failing to carry out its function, and produce much needed legislation, then perhaps the seat of government should be tied up until it becomes ready to carry on its work properly.

Such a scheme of "sabotage" may not actually be as sensible as it is logical, but I hope that some mass action will be organized if no progress is made in providing adequate legislation in the area of Civil Rights.

Sincerely,

Roger Franklin

Roger Franklin

1 Enclosure

AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS

STEPHEN WISE CONGRESS HOUSE · 15 EAST 84TH STREET · NEW YORK 28, N.Y. · TRAFALGAR 9-4500

OFFICE OF THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

April 21, 1964

Mr. Bayard Rustin
340 West 28th St.
New York, N.Y.

Dear Bayard:

I do not know whether you have come across the recent talk by William L. Taylor on civil disobedience but here is a copy of his remarks which sound very plausible to me. Perhaps the next time we meet we can talk about it.

I enjoyed and agreed with your letter to the NYTimes today.

Sincerely,

Will

Will Maslow

Encl.

Purpose of the Stall-In

Rights Leader Says It Stems From Negroes' Desperation

TO THE EDITOR:

For the record I want to make it quite clear that I oppose the World's Fair stall-in. Such a tie-up of traffic, I am convinced, will not prove to be an effective protest. However, I equally oppose the tendency of many New Yorkers to center their entire attention (and a considerable degree of abuse) on the leaders of the stall-in as if it is the purpose of these leaders simply to inconvenience the people of New York or to embarrass the organizers of the fair.

The stall-in is a project of desperation born of a desperate situation in our town.

While there are numerous reasons over and above segregation and discrimination for the frustration, disillusionment and anger in the minority communities, the fact remains that there are more Negroes and Puerto Ricans in segregated schools, more Negroes and Puerto Ricans unemployed and far worse housing conditions for hundreds of thousands of them in the ghettos of our city than existed when the United States Supreme Court handed down the now famous school desegregation decision in 1954.

These conditions have led some elements in the Negro community sincerely to conclude that nothing short of major inconveniences to the white community can arouse a genuine response from the power structure.

To appeal to these forces to "behave themselves" or to "come to their senses" is useless. Their behavior is an understandable response to conditions in the ghettos.

Program Proposed

Rather it is the responsibility of men of goodwill to see that those in power act vigorously to remove the conditions that give rise to what they consider extremist projects. To begin with they can support the following action program:

The Mayor should call representatives of all groups concerned with the desegregation of public schools to City Hall, and require that they remain in continuous session until a realistic plan for quality and integrated education is worked out. The Mayor frequently takes such a course in labor disputes which have far less explosive possibilities for the city.

The Mayor and the City Council should face the fact that the private sector of the economy is not now able to put the unemployed back to work. As a first step they should, therefore, come forward with a real plan to find work for the young people of New York, black and white.

The city, as a first step toward relieving the shocking housing conditions of minority groups, should see that rent strikes are made legal.

Until such steps are taken there can be no social peace. Rather conditions will stimulate even more drastic action than stall-ins on the part of the most harassed elements

112 East 19th St., N. Y. 3,

April 20, 1964

A. Philip Randolph
217 W. 125th Street
New York, N.Y.

COPY

Dear Phil:

I don't think I am presuming on my long and cherished friendship for you when I write you how much harm is being done by Brooklyn CORE and its allies in proposing the blockade of roads to the World's Fair, the use of emergency cords to stop subway trains and so forth.

I had time to be home on Long Island over last night and on my way in this morning I talked with three men, all of them friendly to our cause, one from New York, one from Detroit, and one from Chicago, who agreed that the great harm that this sabotage will do not only to the integration cause but to orderly society. We live in so complex a society that any sizeable and determined group can pretty well tie things up by sabotage. If Negroes successfully begin it, they will have plenty of white imitators in the New York area. Think how our society will suffer.

I can understand the feeling of hate and vengeance that prompts this proposed action but it is no way to get integration. If anybody gains anything, outside of the satisfaction of raising hell, it is likely to be our old friends, the Communists, who like to create chaos in the hope of mastering it.

Much good would be done, I am inclined to think, if you, with your high reputation and your record of achievement, could get a group of leaders to issue a positive and constructive statement against the sabotage of the Fair and release it to the press.

As you well know, in principle and practice, I have supported demonstrations. It is one thing to demonstrate for a specific purpose against a specific individual or group with power to change the conditions against which the demonstration is directed. It is another thing to throw society into confusion for no specific reason except an expression of general hate. The kind of statement that you, Bayard Rustin, Jim Farmer, and others could make would, I think, have a positive effect upon our community, white and Negro, and would counteract to a very

A. Philip Randolph April 20, 1964

considerable extent the damage that surely will be done if these various threats are really carried out on the opening day of the Fair. I notice that Adam Clayton Powell, who certainly was doing very little in the difficult days for the integration cause, now finds it advisable to hop on the bandwagon with some very curious comrades in this ride to vengeance.

As ever, yours,

Norman Thomas

NT:S

cc Allan Knight Chalmers
James Farmer
Bayard Rustin

NSM

THE NORTHERN STUDENT MOVEMENT
73 MORNINGSIDE DRIVE NEW YORK 27 MO 3 0800
Baltimore Boston Chicago Detroit Harlem Hartford
Philadelphia Washington, D.C. 65 College Campuses
William Strickland Executive Director

April 22, 1964

Mr. Bayard Rustin
340 West 28th St., Apt. 9-j
New york, New York

Dear Bayard:

First of all, let me thank you for coming to our aid. It is much appreciated.

This particular conference of ours is a very special one. It is going to be very small and very selective. We are only asking those people who are seriously considering working for the summer or beyond. We have attempted to structure the conference for maximal ~~and~~ personal involvement and communication. On Friday evening, we are going to see "In White America", and on Saturday, we are going to take tours of Harlem Hospital, 100 Center Street Criminal Court, and our Harlem project. Jesse Gray will then speak to relate Harlem to all the ghettos in the country. We should then like you to be our dinner speaker.(Saturday, May 2, 6:00 p.m., Metropolitan A. M. E. Church, 135th and Lenox.)

Over the past two years, we have been running community and education projects in the Northern ghettos with predominately white staffs. We have now come to realize that the process of liberation in the ghetto will depend on the ability of the urban poor to participate in and identify with the forces of social change.

The building of indigenous leadership is severely hampered by white leadership because people are not challenged to abandon old ways of behavior. They are instead re-inforced in old dependencies and old deceptions. It is not, as Baldwin says, realistic to expect black people to accept white people in any meaningful sense until they are able to accept themselves. Thus, our conference is entitled "The Crisis in America, The Role of the Negro Student",

The assignment which we are foisting upon you is a huge one; encompassing the following questions:

a. The necessity to expand the civil rights movement to deal with political and economic issues

b. The failure of demonstrations that have an external cast to alter inequity in American life which are basically internal and structural

c. The need to build stable, indigenous groups who are educated to the real issues and who can come together to articulate their needs

d. The need for a national program spelling out what freedom means and extending it into the life of Every Man; to show how we have been dealing with the symptoms of the disorder, rather than the disorder itself

e. The need to stabilize the movement, to stabilize the revolution, to distill its transitory characteristics , i.e. that the mobilizing of people around issues is not a solution, though it may be a precondition to the solution.

f. The need for long-term commitment in the field, in the ghettos, by people who are dedicated to making democracy work by forging vehicles together with the excluded which will enable the disenfranchised and the dispossessed to become a part of the American society

I will order the questions a little better and send them out to you, but I wanted to give you a rough idea now. I am including a paper on community organization that ~~it~~ is more indicative of our thinking. I thought your "Times" letter was good. I am currently working on an article about the stall-in myself and will probably steal one or two of your points.

I also received a letter today from Mr. Reuther concerning a conference on poverty, asking for our participation. I would like to discuss that with you ~~at~~ some time.

Thanking you again, I am

Yours sincerely,
Bill Strickland
Bill Strickland

April 22, 1964

Mr. Bayard Rustin
c/o CORE
38 Park Row
New York 38, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Rustin:

Recent white resentment to the cause of civil rights---especially where civil disobedience is involved---cannot simply be regarded as a growing antipathy to violence, nor even to latent prejudice in the North. Rather, I see tragedy developing along the entire rights front, because too many people among the so-called majority---the mass of politically-illiterate Americans---consciously or otherwise, imagine that the Negroes' drive for equal rights represents a voracious, unlimited drive for "power". Too many, in our power-oriented culture, lacking real political sophistication, see the current rights drive---admittedly, mostly when the struggle takes a violent turn---as jeopardizing and threatening to their own security. Too few realize that the country's enlightened Negro leadership, along with other liberal elements, is, ostensibly, striving for a more democratic social order (truer political and social equality), an order which will secure and guarantee the meaningful rights of <u>all</u> its members.

This aspect of the struggle should be clarified, so that the Negro will have an opportunity to more fully understand the nature of the white "backlash", and, thereby, meet it more resourcefully. By the same token, the white majority needs to understand its feelings, so that it may successfully accommadate whatever dislocations it must, <u>without fear</u>. (I would like to have a nickel for everyone in our country who does not realize hatred and hostility are <u>aggressive forms</u> of <u>fear</u>.)

Sincerely,

Edward F. Nash
Los Angeles, Calif.

April 22, 1964

Omar Ahmed
416 E. 134th St.
Bronx, N.Y.

Dear Omar,

I'm sure you remember that last January -- Paul, Sandy and Rachelle co-signed a note for you with the League for Mutual Aid. At that time Mrs. Weingarten also called me for a reference. I, of course, said you were absolutely reliable.

The League, as you know, does not charge interest and depends on the good-faith of its borrowers and co-signers. Since neither the Feldmans nor Rachelle have the money to pay your loan I have taken over the responsibility as co-signer and have had to give the League some money.

I understand you are up against it, and find large sums difficult, but a note explaining this and a small sum each month would satisfy the League.

I look forward to seeing you soon.

Sincerely,

Bayard

Bayard

BR/jp

NEWSMAN'S GADFLY
WALTER GORMLY, EDITOR
Post Office Box 26
Mt. Vernon, Iowa, 52314

Thank

April 26, 1964

Bayard Rustin
War Resisters League
New York, N.Y., 10038

Dear Bayard,

I think I can work up a good issue of the next Gadfly on how a number of newspapers devoted no more than one or two sentences to the reasons for the demonstrations inside the New York World's Fair on opening day in the course of something like 25 column inches on the demonstrations.

I would like some information on your opportunities to present your reasons to the press and the reasons you gave. I will try to give more than one sentence to your reasons, although you will recognize I have placed considerable restrictions on myself in the amount of space in each issue. I believe I have to keep it brief, but I can usually put a lot of information in small space.

I hope the conference at SUI produces a substantial response for the summer's work.

Sincerely,

Walter

Walter Gormly

NEWSMAN'S GADFLY

April 14, 1964 No. 12

VIETNAMESE OPPOSE SELF-DETERMINATION

The United States, of course, stands for self-determination of peoples. Americans believe that the people of a nation must determine their own destiny free from dictation by a foreign power. Thus, we want to see the government of South Vietnam win the civil war in which it is involved as that will be a triumph for self-determination.

In reading the news it appears that a large majority of the people in South Vietnam do not want self-determination, for a considerable majority are on the side of the Vietcong and are opposed to the South Vietnamese government.

This was true even when the country was under French control and was called, Indochina. A former Chinese diplomat (NEW YORK TIMES, March 12, 1964) quoted Pres. Eisenhower as saying, in his memoirs, of the situation in 1954, "I have never talked or corresponded with a person knowledgeable in Indochinese affairs who did not agree that had elections been held as of the time of the fighting, possibly 80 per cent of the population would have voted for the Communist Ho Chi Minh as their leader rather than Chief of State Bao Dai."

John Sharkey reported from Saigon (WASHINGTON EVENING STAR, March 10, 1964) that an American civilian aide said, "The scrawny little guy in the dirty white shirt and rubber shoes

who hops on his bicycle and pedals out to the hamlets every day is the real cutting edge of our policy out here. And he ain't with us."

Peter Grose, reporting from Saigon (NEW YORK TIMES, March 2, 1964) put it this way: "The rural people have yet to be convinced that well-being flows from Saigon rather than from the energetic Communist insurgent organization, the Vietcong." He also said, "The desertion rate in the Vietnamese Army remains high."

Malcolm W. Browne of the Associated Press said (DES MOINES REGISTER, Jan. 5, 1964): "In the eyes of many peasants, the modern Vietnamese army itself is a foreign army."

Three Months On Foot

The conduct of the war provides another indication that the peasants of South Vietnam don't want the blessings of self-determination which the U.S. is trying to bring to them. The South Vietnamese government cannot put down the insurrectionists even though it has a tremendous advantage in outside assistance.

According to Marguerite Higgins (CHICAGO DAILY NEWS, Feb. 21, 1964) there are no roads from North Vietnam to South Vietnam. It takes, she says, three months to travel on foot from North Vietnam to South Vietnam.

She also says (WASHINGTON EVENING STAR, March 25, 1964) that U.S. files bulge with information on factories in North Vietnam which do nothing but modify Chinese weapons to fit Vietnamese ammunition. I am intrigued by her assertion that weapons are modified to fit ammunition rather than to make ammunition to fit in the first place. I am also intrigued by the implication that large quantities of weapons are carried on human backs over a trail that takes 3 months--one way.

The government of South Vietnam has had billions of dollars worth of American military and economic assistance. It has had modern American means of transportation and American military instruction, yet the soldiers of South Vietnam are not able to put down those whose only outside assistance has to be carried on a man's back for three months. Surely, that demonstrates that there is no overwhelming support in South Vietnam for the blessings of self-determination brought by the Americans.

South Vietnamese troops beat and torture the insurgent peasants, but still they resist the blessings of self-determination. Malcolm W. Browne told of a South Vietnamese lieutenant firing pistol shots inches from the feet of a 9-year-old boy who had bone showing through the skin of a broken hand. Yet, the boy refused to give information to those who sought to bring him a better way of life.

There is not, moreover, unanimous opinion on the part of members of the press as to the ideology of the enemy. Usually, the enemy guerrillas in South Vietnam are said to be Communists and members of the Vietcong. Mark S. Watson, on the other hand (BALTIMORE SUN, Jan. 1, 1964) said, ". . .there are villages where there is literally no knowledge of Saigon <u>or any other government</u> . . ." (Emphasis supplied.). He also said, "In wide areas of Vietnam there is simply no concern with political

Walter Gormly

Editor

ideology, and no sense of nationalism."

There is some question, even, of who the war is against. Marguerite Higgins indicates that considerable numbers of North Vietnamese are among the guerrillas. On the other hand, Tad Szulc (NEW YORK TIMES, June 18, 1963) indicated that American officials said no North Vietnamese were involved in the war. Those that came from the north, they said, were South Vietnamese who were left on the other side of the armistice line in 1954.

This must be the first war, declared or undeclared, in which the U.S. has been involved without there being agreement on who the enemy is nor on what his ideology is.

Newsman's Gadfly
P.O. Box 26
Mt. Vernon, Iowa
52314

Columbia University in the City of New York | New York, N.Y. 10027

OFFICE OF NEIGHBORHOOD SERVICES

Box 83, Low Library

Monday, April 27th

Dear Mr. Austin:

Please accept my apology for having missed you today. I feel very badly for having caused any delay in your schedule; and it certainly isn't the kind of circumstance in which I would like to introduce myself. I had understood that the date was for Tuesday, and Carol Grossberg's message didn't get to me til noon today.

I will continue to call, and hope that I can have the opportunity of meeting with you, at your convenience.

For some time now, I've had the impulse to write just to indicate my support; I have foolishly not done so; perhaps now, I can have the chance of meeting you, and offering

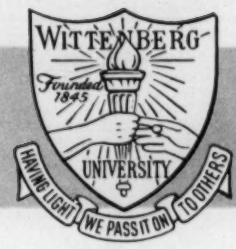
Columbia University in the City of New York | New York, N.Y. 10027
OFFICE OF NEIGHBORHOOD SERVICES Box 83, Low Library

whatever assistance I can give.

It seems to me that the most meaningful positions and actions have come from you and Mr. Randolph, and those associated with you; also such groups as the Ad Hoc Committee on the Triple Revolution and the Harlem Community Council on Housing. The quote in today's Times from your TV statement is one example.

Looking forward to a meeting in the near future.

Sincerely
Bert Wilmot



Wittenberg University

SPRINGFIELD, OHIO

April 28, 1964

Mr. Bayard Rustin
War Resisters League
5 Beekman Street
New York 38, New York

Dear Mr. Rustin:

I am drawing to completion a study of Pacifism and American Life from 1914 to 1941. My main sources have been manuscripts at the Swarthmore College Peace Collection, the Kirby Page papers in California, specialized monographs, and the writings of pacifists.

With the aid of a research grant, I will drive eastward in July in order to (1) check selected manuscripts in Swarthmore and New York City, and to (2) interview a number of the men prominent in the movement between the wars. I would appreciate having the opportunity to visit with you and to discuss this subject with you.

I know the story of pacifist development inadequately because I know it second hand. I feel that if my account is to have life, to have immediacy and insight as well as veracity, then I must have personal contact with men like yourself. I am eager to compare my conclusions with your impressions and understanding, and to fill gaps in my knowledge, particularly of the W.R.L.

My present schedule will put me in New York City August 5 to 8, and possibly on Friday, July 24. I realize that it is very early to discuss summer plans. But perhaps you can give me some idea of whether or not it would be possible to visit you then.

Sincerely yours,
Charles Chatfield
Charles Chatfield,
Department of History

I am writing similarly to Mr Evan Thomas in hopes that I can talk to each of you

April 29, 1964.

Dear Mr. Rustin

I was delighted to get your letter and the material. I belong to F.O.R. and Sane. Altho I am 81, I still am able to do a lot to promote Peace.

I am on the mailing list of the A.F.S.C. & of The Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions at Santa Barbara. I belong to the A.C.L.U.

I take many magazines, to mention a few, the Progressive, The Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists, The New Republic, The National Guardian, San Francisco Chronicle. Walter Lippman recently said "That World War II need never have happened"!

I think Mr. Robert Hutchins is so right when he criticises education in this country. Our problem is to make democracy work, and our schools have not taught that responsibility which is the duty of every citizen.

I am a widow and live alone so I have lots of time for research on the causes of war and poverty.

Paul was <u>so</u> right when he said,

"The love of money is the root of all evil." "Militarism & Industry" by Victor Perlo, certainly proves that! "Arms & The Men" in Fortune magazine march 1934, also.

Your letter is wonderful! I agree with all you say. Signing the test ban treaty is no reason for relaxing our efforts, when we have many times the armament needed to carry on nuclear war.

My son was a conscientous objector and spent 1 year & 5 months at McNeil Island, was sentenced to 2 years because he did not belong to a "peace" church. We sure are "A nation of sheep"!

And the draft! I am so glad you are working on that. Eleanor Roosevelt, an Admiral & a couple of other men, have forgotten their names, whose pictures were in Post were quoted as saying "we need very few men to wage a nuclear war".

So you see, dear Mr. Rustin, why I cannot join W.R.L. but I would like to receive information about your progress.

Thomas Paine was so right about the churches, they protect "power & profit." Christianity has not failed, its been found difficult & not tried". "The profit motive, gone haywire, does dreadful things". Mr. Fordick. My greatest fear is a world dictatorship as predicted by Arnold Toynbee we already have lost many of our

liberties, being forced to pay taxes to finance the arms race.

I moved here from Modesto last July 1st San Jose is the greatest center for defense industries in the U.S.

It sounds presumptious but I am going to see if I can wake up some of the churches here

I am not able to go often. Attended a small Reformed Christian church recently, the minister had never heard of F.O.R. so I asked him to call. I am ready for him with wonderful literature. Next I shall call up a Methodist minister, (I am a Methodist) and ask him to call, so you see how even a person my age, who has "an enquiring mind and a concern for humanity" can work for peace. I also write many letters and send literature to people.

Forgive me for writing so much. I wonder how you got my name. Thank you so much for writing

Cordially,

Urena A. Bagley.

Mr. Bayard Rustin
5 Beekman Street
New York, N. Y.

R-41-105
New Concord, Ohio
43762
April 29, 1964

Dear Bayard Rustin,

It was a great experience for John + I to hear + see you again at Ohio State University this winter. Many of the things you said come back to me as we have contacts with students, citizens and church.

My main reason for writing you is in connection with a letter I received from Frau Heide Friedrich who is the executive secretary of the Gesellschaft für Christlich-Judische Zusammenarbeit in Göttingen, Germany (The Union for Jewish-Christian Cooperation). She writes (translation) "We would like very much to have a well known American Negro give us a lecture about the Negro question" [in the U.S.A. I persume]. I wrote to Alfred Hassler at FOR Headquarters and he stated there was a chance you might be available between attending the International Confederation for Disarmament + Peace and your trip to Russia on the peace mission. He also stated that if you can't be available you might know of some one else who would be able to speak at Göttingen.

I should say that John + I and our 2 daughters spent an interesting 2½ days with Frau Friedrich and other pacifists in 1962. She has also arranged for us to live with other pacifists near Göttingen this summer. In 1962 we talked to some of the members of the Gesellschaft (about 35 or 40 people) about our experiences and work in Arkansas + Prince Edward Co., Virginia where John taught (University of Arkansas + Hampden Sydney College). Frau F. is quite an amazing woman + seems to get things done with a minimum of effort. A good book could be written about her, beginning with her imprisonment along with her physican, communist husband (killed in World War II) under the Nazis. I have no idea about the details of Frau Friedrich's lecture request. I have no idea whether there would be an honorarium.

If you wish to write directly to Frau Friedrich her address is Göttingen, Rasenweg 11, West Germany.

If you prefer to write me and have me make more inquiries I will gladly if I have word from you very soon. I head for Germany May 19th and can be reached through Frau F.

I should say that if you can go to Göttingen you would find English understood by more than half your audience. Göttingen is a University City and a lot of the gathering would be

students, one of whom would make a good translator. (I am assuming you do not speak German.)

John, I know, joins me in wishing you a summer full of good experiences — good for you, good for international peace, and good for racial peace (peace with understanding).

Sincerely,
Ida Jo McKenney
(Mrs. John L. McKenney)

Copy to Frau Heide Freidrich

STATE
UNIVERSITY OF IOWA
IOWA CITY, IOWA 52240

Department of History

April 30, 1964

Mr. Bayard Rustin
c/o Miss Rachelle Horowitz
Worker's Defense League
112 East 19th Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Rustin:

I enclose herewith the honorarium for your participation in our Human Rights Conference and various press reports of the event. I have also taken the liberty of enclosing an article of mine that may be of some interest to you.

Your stay here made a profound impression, not only on the sympathetic, but on others as well. We are extremely grateful for your generous and effective contributions. The campaign in support of the Civil Rights Act collected 1400 signatures.

Sincerely yours,

Alan B. Spitzer

Alan B. Spitzer
Professor of History

ABS/ca

CONFIDENTIAL

To Al Hassler
Bob Gilmore
A.J. Muste
Bayard Rustin
Dimitri Roussopoulos
Anne Stadler.

CND
2, Carthusian Street
London, EC1

April 30, 1964.

Dear Al, Bob, AJ, Bayard, Dimitri and Anne,

The time is obviously overdue for one of my round robin letters putting you in the CND picture. I would have written before but life is very hectic and CND and the Confederation has kept me busier than ever.

You will probably have heard the basic facts. Canon Collins resigned just after Easter, we have elected a new Acting Chairman, George Clark is also causing trouble, but CND is still here. I will fill in the gaps.

It has been obvious for some considerable time that eventually John would resign. Actually he tried to go before the Easter March, which would have been an act of sabotage. . . but we managed to stop that. He announced his resignation shortly after and is now away for several months, writing a book.

He produced a statement on his resignation which has gone out to all Groups and most of which is printed in the May issue of Sanity. One or two of the spicier bits were left out, particularly two suggestions that I ought not to be Treasurer of the Confederation and that I ought to have a compulsory 6 months holiday.

We had a two day Council Meeting on April 11 and 12. It was an interesting and useful meeting. The Canon's statement was discussed but without any ill will and rancour. I talked fairly briefly about the difficulties of the past two years. Someone said it was rather like Khrushchev's speech at the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the USSR!!!

Council then accepted his resignation with regret, passed a warm vote of thanks for all he had done for the Campaign, obviously resented the suggestion for my compulsory holiday and passed a vote of confidence in the Staff and Officers.

They then decided to elect an Acting Chairman to serve until the next Annual Conference in November. We have, of course, three Vice Chairmen, but Ritchie simply couldn't take on the job though he is willing to,help in every way possible. Stuart Hall has just gone to Birmingham University with a Fellowship under Richard Hoggart and had given him an assurance hw would not give more time to CND. The third, Michael Howard, is not really very good. Olive Gibbs was elected. She has been in CND from the beginning, is Labour Party and a City Councillor at Oxford, but more CND than Labour Party, very forthright, an excellent Chairman, and very popular in the Campaign. Everyone is terribly pleased, and in all sorts of areas where LJC was unpopular, new opportunities are now showing themselves. We can't now think why on earth nobody thought of her before! Michael Foot has written to her promising her all possible support and Tribune has referred to the "formidable Olive/Peggy combination. I get on with her very well and it is lovely to have a Chairman who can talk to the Press without ~~xxxxx~~ me worrying about what is being said!!!

There has been additional trouble with George Clarkwho came out of prison in the autumn on a wave of glory and has got more and more out of hand since. He has ~~xx~~ used the opportunity provided by John's Resolution to try all sorts of take over bids but was very unsuccessful. He was defeated again and again at the Council

Meeting and at the Executive which followed and has also now resigned. In fact, if we are to have resignations, I suppose it is better to have them all at once.

The Movement has taken the changes quietly. Olive is popular and in many Groups, LJC was not. They are ~~xbxpxbxbxbxb~~ sorry he has gone after all these years, but they accept that the Movement is bigger and more important than one man. The usual internecine battles are going on inmthe pages of Peace News and Sanity but the number of people involved is small and on the whole CND, though smaller and quieter than in the great days of 1960 and 61 is more balanced and stable. The Easter March was good. It was large enough, in spite of all the Press prophesying doom for weeks beforehand The Guardian had to admit we were still very much alive. The March was older and quieter than for many years. The Rally was the best ever and the collection also. We are lamentably short of money, but I think we shall survive the election and then there will be new opportunities. The Ruislip sit down was also OK and quiet, no violence. There was a supporting march organised by an Ad hoc Committee which was also quiet and non-violent (There was a row with John and George Clark about this which was the last occasion on which he threatened resignation without carrying it out!!)Relationships are now so much better and easier.

One of the odd things, though perhaps it is not so odd, is that we are now starting again to do the background work of argument and persuasion that we were doing in the earlier years before everyone started looking for short cuts, sitting and marching frantically. If we can do that and state some of our basic arguments in terms of 1964 and a coming Labour Government we shall at last be over the hump of moving from a campaign aiming to win next week to what Raymond Williams called "the politics of the Long Haul."

The Confederation continues to struggle into existence. Its main lack is money, like everyone else's If the Exhibition project goes forward, however, this problem may be easier, and this promises well.

Must stop and go to a meeting.

Love to all,

Peggy Duff

Peggy Duff

April 30, 1964

Mr. Bayard Rustin, Organizer
March on Washington & February 3 School Boycott
c/o War Resisters League
5 Beekman Street
New York

Dear Mr. Rustin:

I have been noticing, with distaste, the handling of civil rights matters by the press. A great deal of hostility has been aroused against all civil rights organizations because of the pernicious reports depicting leaders and members as radicals, and incompetents. I have given much thought to ways in which the Negro population might be enlightened as to the damage inflicted and have come to the conclusion the answer is economics. Civil rights can not be gained by Negroes alone; people of all colors must participate. Unless a more realistic problem is presented, meaningful participation can not be gained.

It is evident, from the persistent price increases, the newspaper industry can not withstand economic pressure. At this time I feel an organized boycott of newspapers in this area would be most effective. Such a boycott might gather momentum throughout the United States.

Do you feel such a plan is feasible? If not why not. Do you think the plan should first be presented to a civil rights organization? In other words where and how would such a movement begin?

I know you are a busy person, however, if you can not talk with me would you be kind enough to have someone else do so. In order to expedite I can be reached by phone at JUdson 6-5060, extension 439 or 458 (9-5); after 6 p.m. at ULster 7-2331. May I hear from you? Thank you very much.

Very truly yours,

Matilda M. Garner

Matilda M. Garner (Mrs.)
266 Skillman Street
Brooklyn 5

g

NSM

THE NORTHERN STUDENT MOVEMENT
73 MORNINGSIDE DRIVE NEW YORK 27 MO 3 0800
Baltimore Boston Chicago Detroit Harlem Hartford
Philadelphia Washington, D.C. 65 College Campuses
William Strickland Executive Director

May 5, 1964

Mr. Bayard Rustin
340 W. 28th St.
Apt. 9
N.Y., N.Y.

Dear Bayard,

I want to thank you for coming to our aid and performing so well at our conference. Your speech went directly to the concerns of ours we wished expressed and illuminated them in a very clear and decisive fashion.

Fortunately we were able to tape it and have it transcribed for posterity.

Hope we didn't make you too late for your other engagement. I guess I'll see you at the COFO meeting if you can get away for a day from setting up the March on May 18th. I want to talk to you anyway about the March on the Democratic Convention as we have been considering a similar effort and would like to get your ideas on how to make it the most magnificent thing in the world. Thanks again. Regards to Rochelle.

Yours truly,

Bill Strickland
William Strickland

Lincoln University
LINCOLN UNIVERSITY
PENNSYLVANIA

May 5, 1964

Mr. Bayard L. Rustin
340 West 28th Street
New York City, New York

Dear Bayard:

Greetings. There are many of us who appreciated your address at Lincoln. The basic principles set forth by you in that address were sound and constructive. As I stated to you at Lincoln, I have been thinking strongly of a mass movement for some time.

Now is the opportune time. Hence, I should like to confer with you on this matter. In addition, when we meet I shall have a short statement regarding the bare minimum of common good for a direct action non-violent mass movement.

I shall be in New York City around 1:00 P.M. on May 8th. I shall be free on the 9th up to around 4:00 P.M. During this period I would like to confer with you. As soon as I reach the city, I shall call your office. In the meantime, I shall continue to try to reach you via telephone.

Sincerely,

Laurence Foster

Laurence Foster
Box #28
Lincoln University
Pennsylvania

LF:mlp

X. 3-5-54-500 FORM T. 213

STATEMENT

UNITED TRACTION COMPANY

1197 Broadway
Albany 4, N. Y.

May 6, 19 64

Mr. Bayard Rustin
13 Astor Place
New York, N.Y.

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		March 10, 1964. R.B.O. #7133			
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Rev. David VerNooy
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Springfield Gardens, N. Y.

Rev. James Watson
First Presbyterian Church
Springfield Gardens, N. Y.

May 6, 1964

Dear Mrs. Austin,

I am taking the liberty of sending to you a copy of commentary by Lloyd Schreiber which was heard on the 6:30 news on WNEW on April 27. We thought it was noteworthy coming from such a well-known commentator and would be of interest to you.

Sincerely,

Lydia Herald
Co-Chairman

New File:
BR: Thank you letter

RUTGERS · THE STATE UNIVERSITY

LABOR EDUCATION CENTER
INSTITUTE OF MANAGEMENT AND LABOR RELATIONS

RYDERS LANE AND CLIFTON AVENUE
NEW BRUNSWICK, NEW JERSEY 08903
CHARTER 7-1766,
EXTENSIONS 1502, 1503, 1504

May 7, 1964

Mr. Bayard Rustin
5 Beekman St.
Room 1025
New York 38, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Rustin:

The day following the Ninth Annual Labor Editors Conference I left for a week long meeting in Cleveland. This is the first opportunity, since my return, I have had to thank you for your participation in the program.

I know I speak for all members of the New Jersey Labor Press Council when I say your speech was the most stimulating ever given at the annual conference.

The speech received considerable publicity in the daily press, particularly in the Newark and New Brunswick areas.

We are grateful to you for sharing your ideas with us. We can only hope that the labor movement will accept some of the advice you offered and recognize their role as partners in the fight for equal rights and job opportunities for all.

Sincerely,

Robert A. Steffen

Robert A. Steffen
Extension Associate
Labor Program

RAS/pvw

Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions
The Fund for the Republic, Inc.
Box 4068, Santa Barbara, California — WOodland 9-3281

Reply To: New York Office
133 East 54th Street, New York 22, New York — PLaza 3-1340

May 8, 1964

Mr. Bayard Rustin
c/o Rachel Horowitz
Room 405
112 East 19th Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Rustin:

I think you may be interested in the enclosed materials which deal with the proposal of our Local School Board, District 6-8 in Manhattan, for a "Manhattan Plan" pairing two elementary schools in the Lincoln Square area.

I got a great deal out of our exchange on the ABC television show a few weeks ago. The whole basis of our "Manhattan Plan" has been that an attempt to make a school integration plan successful necessitates substantial improvements and innovations in educational program.

Sincerely,

Joseph P. Lyford

Joseph P. Lyford

Enclosures

V - A - 2

May 4, 1964

To: Bayard Rustin, War Resisters League, 5 Beekman Street, NY 38, N.Y.

From: Charles Bloomstein, organizer, Division V, Peace Action and Research, Scientists on Survival Conference

Subject: Details on Conference and your panel

Your Panel:	How to achieve the social change needed for peace - through the Establishment or become it?
Chairman:	Robert W. Gilmore
Other Panelists:	David Dellinger, Milton I Sacks
Your Listing:	Deputy Director, 1963 March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom, Exec. Secretary, War Resisters League
Time:	Saturday morning, June 20, 1964
Place:	Hotel Roosevelt, 45th Street and Madison Avenue, New York City

It would be appreciated if you would advise us at once whether your listing is in any way incorrect.

The final program will be sent to you in due course, and will list the exact time of day of your panel.

Proceedings of the conference will be published. It is therefore requested that you send in a one or two paragraph summary of your position, to be used for this purpose and also for publicity releases. Such summaries should be in hand by June 1 at the latest.

If you would like to prepare a full scale paper, we can assure you that this will be published in the proceedings with little or no editing. Also, a number of commercial publishers have approached us with a view to producing a book out of such papers, and this is a strong possibility.

To save time and administrative labor, it would be helpful if correspondence on these items (the listing, the summary, or the paper) are sent directly to SOS, at the address given below:

Scientists on Survival, Inc.
101 West 42nd Street, Room 414
New York, New York 10036

Thank you for participating in this conference. We are looking forward to a very successful weekend.

Local School Board
District 6-8, Manhattan
Board of Education
The City of New York

P.S. 75, 300 West 96th Street, N. Y. 25

May 6, 1964

Re Proposed Pairing Plan
PS 191M and PS 199M

Dr. Calvin E. Gross
Superintendent of Schools
Board of Education
110 Livingston Street
Brooklyn 1, New York

Dear Dr. Gross

Attached herewith you will find a report adopted by our Local School Board at its last meeting on Monday, May 4, 1964. You will recognize that we ask for substantial changes in the formulas for teacher assignments and space utilization at the two schools, because we are particularly concerned with the great disparity in learning achievement between the two schools. We believe that the proposed plan realistically attempts to meet the special needs of the children involved.

You will note that the report refers to certain outside community resources which we think can be tapped to help achieve a better integration balance in these two schools. Our Local School Board recognizes that, unlike the fate of community zoning plans suggested in other parts of the city, we can anticipate major community organization support.

We would like to discuss all aspects of the proposed plan for the reasons set forth in the report and review certain innovations in educational procedures which we propose. We therefore respectfully request the opportunity to discuss our suggestions in greater detail with you, your staff and the members of the Board of Education.

Copies of the attached report are also being forwarded to the individual members of the Board of Education and to those members of your professional staff directly concerned with integrated quality education.

Very truly yours

Gerald R. Coleman

Gerald R. Coleman
Chairman

grc-mmcl

Local School Board
District 6-8, Manhattan
Board of Education
The City of New York

P.S. 75, 300 West 96th Street, N.Y. 25

STATEMENT ON PROPOSED PAIRING - PS 191 AND 199

The members of Local School Board 6-8 have prepared the following statement for the dual purpose of reporting to the community, in full substance, on our position regarding the much discussed pairing of Public Schools 191 and 199, Manhattan, and at the same time to submit a specific proposal to the Board of Education and Superintendent of Schools. The issue dealt with in this report relates specifically to the de facto segregation which exists at PS 191 with 95% Negro-Puerto Rican population. Not only have we had a clear directive from the Board of Education to concern ourselves with quality integrated education, but we have the moral directive of our personal belief that segregated education is ultimately harmful for all children.

The Local School Board has been deeply involved with interested parent groups since at least last October in considering approaches to this de facto segregation. Initially, deliberation was given to the possibility of a triple Princeton Plan between PS 111, 191, 199. For many reasons this plan had a generally negative response from all three schools and from the District Superintendent and the Local School Board itself. The Board of Education was informed of this view.

On February 21 the Local School Board was called to the Assistant Superintendent's office for an emergency meeting to consider, at the request of the Board of Education, a proposal for the pairing of PS 191 and 199. We were to give an immediate reply. The proposal in effect included the authorization of six additional specialist teaching positions for the combined school populations of 1400 pupils. We had had no discussions with the principals or parent groups of these two schools on the specific issue of a two school plan, but we felt that these six positions did not constitute an adequate educational approach to this type of school reorganization. We found the Board's own term of "saturation services" an empty one against the reality of need for services to improve the educational level for all children, an ongoing concern of the Local Board even prior to the issue of integration. Out of 8 Board members present, 7 voted against the plan and one voted for it but with reservations which were carefully documented and which expressed many of the educational concerns held by other board members.

Our main objection to the proposed pairing, as offered, was that it provided for a logistics operation with children and did not constitute an educational plan. Generally, we did not object out of committment to the principle of the neighborhood school. Parenthetically, it has been logically argued that the two school zones do constitute a natural larger neighborhood. We did not object because some busing might be required. We did object because we did not think that meaningful integration would occur by the edict of pairing alone. The failure of existing educational service patterns to meet the massive reading retardation which is found among our disadvantaged children has directly contributed to the typically segregated classrooms which exist in almost all other West Side schools with statistically favorable ethnic compositions. To pair these two schools, and continue this pattern, would be a disservice to our aim of quality integrated education.

Since we took that position, we and the District Superintendent have discussed the issue at great length with the parents directly involved, with the principals of the two schools and with interested community groups, raising the question with them of what is necessary to provide for successful integrated education beyond the presence of children of different ethnic backgrounds in the same school. Our role is not to administer the schools. Our experience in the schools has taught us, however, that

such things as additional teachers, smaller class size, flexibility in the organization of the schools to meet the needs of the children, involvement of the teachers in the day to day planning of the schools' operation and in their own professional growth, and finally the physical things (from books to buses) must all be spelled out to constitute an educational plan.

Under the pressure of that emergency meeting of February 21 which required an immediate decision, we had no opportunity to explore any of the above educational factors with either of the principals who would ultimately administer such a program. Their possible antagonism would spell failure before we even began. Their cooperation and genuine interest would figure importantly in any success. We have spent much time in the schools involved learning from the staffs the real nature of the educational factors involved in the establishment of an early childhood school and a middle school to replace two K-6 schools. We now feel better qualified to make a proposal in this area.

We have carefully considered the very well presented arguments advanced by all who met with us. We were greatly heartened and reassured by the universal voice in the community which spoke out strongly in favor of the moral imperative of integration. Residents of the West Side differed only in the means to achieve this common goal.

The Local School Board was unable to satisfy itself that any of the voluntary plans would fundamentally solve the segregated situation at PS 191, and came to see that only within the educational framework possible with the school pairing could the goals of quality education and integration be achieved.

The Local School Board has evolved what must be considered the outlines of a plan to effect quality integrated education. We present this outline with the understanding that many of the omitted details must be filled in by the professional staffs of the two schools in light of their day to day experience with the situation as it evolves.

Success in any educational undertaking is so often determined by the existence of sufficient flexibility in the program itself, combined with adequate staffing. A program for the sake of a program alone is a sterile business and affects teachers and students alike with its rigidity. For children to grow and develop, a school program must grow and develop at the same time, for that very vitality will inevitably touch the children. What we have striven for in this plan is a framework within which this kind of vitality will prosper, with benefit for the teachers, for the parents and for the children.

We should like to thank the many interested citizens of the West Side for their participation in the community dialogue which has developed.

We know that we can count on all these friends of education to continue to show their interest and to join with us in trying to provide an education worthy of his dignity to each and every child.

A PLAN FOR THE INTEGRATION OF PUBLIC SCHOOLS

191 AND 199

A. School Organization

These two schools are to be considered as one administrative unit. It seems best that all children attend Kindergarten in the schools for which they are presently zoned; that all first, second and third graders should attend P.S. 191 and all fourth, fifth and sixth graders should attend P.S. 199. We ask the Board of Education to give the Field Superintendent the authority to work out a plan of teacher assignment after consultation with the staffs of the two schools.

B. Staffing and Class Size

The average class size is to be 25 in both schools. No class with a single assigned teacher is to have more than 30 pupils. We ask for 5 extra classroom positions per school to be furnished over and above the classroom allocation arrived at on the basis of the above class sizes and above the presently assigned "Other Teaching Positions" and such OTP's as are requested in other parts of this plan. These additional positions are to be used flexibly (e.g. 2 teachers in a class) in an ongoing program for strengthening the reading program in the early grades and providing the remedial program presently needed in the upper grades. The latest achievement tests available (January 1964) show a dramatic spread between the reading levels at the two schools. More than one-half of the sixth grade children at PS 191 are reading at below fifth grade level. Almost one-half of the sixth grade children at PS 199 are reading above seventh grade level. To mix children of such disparate achievement without providing the educational wherewithal to lead to the success for all children which we know is possible, will defeat the aims of true integration and might well be damaging to the self image of the disadvantaged child.

P.S. 199 would require an additional assistant principal to provide the principal with the kind of freedom he needs to adequately supervise his teachers for improvement in instruction. A full time library teacher in each school with the libraries appropriately organized for the new age groups would be essential. We ask for one auxiliary teacher and one NE Coordinator for the pair of schools to adequately deal with some of the problems of the Spanish speaking students. Every effort should be made to staff these two schools with talented teachers who demonstrate a desire to grow professionally. Close cooperation between the principals and the Board of Education personnel staff would be productive in the recruitment for new positions and vacancies.

C. Curriculum and Teacher Development

We ask for a mathematics and science center at PS 199 and a language arts center at PS 191 with a full time specialist assigned to each. These laboratories will serve as resource centers for curriculum development in the two schools and as training centers for upgrading teachers in these critical areas.

We ask for a full time teacher trainer for the pair of schools, or for 2 such positions if the additional assistant principal position for 199 is not granted. There are typically about 10 teachers on their first teaching assignment in the 2 schools and this is a critical need.

We ask for the planning of teacher-led grade level meetings, with emphasis on guidance and curriculum on a once-a-week basis. If necessary we ask that classes be dismissed one hour early one day a week to permit this most vital feature of a truly professional teaching climate.

We ask that all details of these proposals be worked out in consultation with the staff and its U.F.T. representatives.

D. Program for Parents

The continued involvement of those parents who have so actively supported the schools and the future involvement of all parents in the school program must be an essential feature of this new two-school organization. The Local School Board has been exploring with an outside agency the possibility of a grant to provide the personnel to plan and effect an imaginative program of parent-school contact. That such a plan will be able to draw upon a wealth of experienced leadership has been most evident in our discussion with all of the parent groups.

E. Special Programs

To complement the basic programs outlined above, we propose the following important programs:

1. All Day Neighborhood School - we ask for a full ADNS program for the pair of schools. At present PS 191 has ½ of such a program.

2. Privately endowed nursery school - the Council of Jewish Women has made a grant which will be used to set up an integrated Nursery school at PS 191 open to the population of the combined school area.

3. School Volunteers - The LSB is impressed with the wealth of talent available in the community and pledges its efforts toward providing a setting in which additional use can be made in the schools of those who might volunteer their help to enrich the many aspects of the learning process.

4. After School Study Centers - We request an after school study center at each school for those children with special instructional needs who cannot be accommodated in the A.D.N.S. program.

F. Supplies and Services

The following are suggested as detailed needs which have become evident up to now. It is apparent that other such items may have to be added later.

1. At least one shuttle bus with a school aide chaperone operating between the 2 schools in the morning before 9:00 A.M., at 3:00 P.M. and at 5:00 P.M. after the A.D.N.S. program. Thereby no parent should have to face the problem of delivering his child to a more distant school than presently might be the case.

2. Fifteen additional hours of school aide time for each of the two schools.

3. Three Dollars additional per pupil for books and supplies.

4. Two additional telephone trunk lines for PS 199. This is extremely important for the guidance program in that school, as well as other aspects of their program.

5. PS 191 has not been painted since its construction eight years ago. We strongly urge that this school's painting priority be advanced to this summer with completion by September 1964. The psychological and morale factors in establishing such outward and visible evidence of the opportunities inherent in this new concept of school organization should not be underestimated.

6. An additional school secretary position will be needed at P.S. 199.

G. Guidance and Health Programs

1. One full time guidance counselor per 500 pupils in the combined school population.

   In these two areas we would be particularly anxious that idential personnel serve both schools. We conceive of contacts in this area for the children and staffs involved as one logical means for achieving continuity between the two schools.

2. A minimum of 1 full time nurse for the pair of schools.

3. One full position each of psychologist and social worker for the pair of schools.

4. One full time health education teacher in each school.

H. Timing and Implementation

The Local School Board feels that the initial phases of this plan should be put into effect by September 1964. The implementation of the total plan involves detailed planning which falls within the purview of the Field Superintendent and the principals. The Board accepts the Field Superintendent's judgment that the plan can be made totally operational by no later than September 1966 with a minimum of dislocation for all of the children, parents and teachers involved.

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SEYMOUR N. SIEGEL
Director

JOHN DE PROSPO
Executive Officer

May 11, 1964

Mr. Bayard Rustin, Director
NAACP/CORE March for Democratic Schools
312 West 125 Street
New York City 10027

Dear Mr. Rustin:

This will acknowledge receipt of your letter of May 8, 1964.

Your request for public address facilities on Monday, May 18, 1964, for a Mass Rally at City Hall at 4 p.m. and at Board of Education Headquarters, 110 Livingston Street, Brooklyn, at 5 p.m. (approximately), in connection with the NAACP/CORE March for Democratic Schools, has been approved by the Director.

Very truly yours,

John De Prospo
Executive Director

JDP:jan

Philadelphia Yearly Meeting
of the
Religious Society of Friends
1515 CHERRY STREET • PHILADELPHIA 2, PA.

YEARLY MEETING OFFICE
(formerly Friends Central Bureau)

LOcust 8-4111

May 11, 1964

Bayard Rustin
War Resisters League
5 Beekman Street
New York, New York

Dear Bayard:

You will recall that I briefly discussed with you the concern which the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting has for a mission of several people to go to Mississippi. As a beginning I will be sent down about May 26. While in New York discussing this concern with Oscar Lee, Jim Farmer and others on Wednesday and Thursday of this week I hope to get counsel from you.

I'll call when I get to the city on Wednesday morning. Possibly we can meet before or after the TTP meeting that day.

Sincerely,

Lawrence Scott

Lawrence Scott

LS:vs

May 11, 1964

The Honorable Michael Murphy
Police Commissioner and
Deputy Commissioner Arm
New York City Police Department
240 Centre Street
New York, New York

Dear Sirs:

You will remember that in preparation for the March on Washington representative of the sponsoring groups and I met with Chief Insppetor Birmingham to facilitate departure and return of buses. Similarly, before the February 3rd boycott we met to discuss the manner of picketing as related to police regulations. We are planning a series of activities on May 18, beginning early in the morning and ending in the early evening.

I would appreciate it, therefore, if another such appointment could be arranged before the 18th. As in the past, this meeting would be closed to the press, but each of us would be free to speak to the press at the close of the meeting. On this occasion, Norman Hill of CORE and Calvin Banks of the NAACP will accompany me.

We look forward to hearing from your office, and are free to meet any morning other than May 14.

Sincerely,

Bayard Rustin

BR:kb

To : Police Commissioner Murphy
Deputy Commissioner Arm

Dear Sirs:

You will remember that in preparation for the March on Washington representatives of the sponsoring groups and I met with Chief Inspector Birmingham to facilitate departure and return of buses. Similarly before the February 3rd boycott we met to discuss the manner of picketing as related to police regulations. We are planning a series of activities on May 18th, beginning early in the morning and ending in the early evening .

I would appreciate it, therefore, if another such appointment could be arranged before the 18th. As in the past, this meeting would be closed to the press, but each of us would be free to speak to the press at the close of the meeting. We look forward to hearing from your office, and are free to meeting any morning other than May 14th.

Sincerely,

On this occasion one representative of each from CORE and Cal NAACP Norman will accompany me.

BR

spell out, typist.

B.R.
B.X.

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AFL - CIO

638

1800 TRANSPORTATION BLDG.
608 SOUTH DEARBORN STREET
CHICAGO 5, ILLINOIS
TELEPHONE WEbster 9-5343

May 13, 1964

Mr. Bayard Rustin
112 E. 19th Street
Room 405
New York, New York

5/26 - $100

Dear Mr. Rustin:

I herewith enclose a round-trip ticket to Kansas City, Missouri and return. You will note that the Airline, as well as the flights are left open and you will have to make your own reservations and get the ticket validated at the airline terminal.

Sincerely yours,

Ralph Helstein
President

rh/amc
encl.

$100

May 26th
$275

Fred L. Richardson
Phi Alpha Psi
Amherst College
Amherst, Massachusetts

P

May 13, 1964

Mr. Bayard Rustin
New York

Dear Mr. Rustin;

I hope Miss Horowitz has already informed you of the very unfortunate but absolutely necessary postponement (and I hope that word is right) of your talk here at Amherst untill next September or October. Several reasons forced this decision.

1) This campus is about as psychologically unfit for a civil rights talk as it can be right now. There has been a parade of second-rate civil rights speakers who have run over and over the platitudes in often thoughtless, conflicting, and generally unanalytic terms, as far as I can discover there is no real way to communicate your departure from this trend this spring -- or to even get a lot of students to come. The talks have been drawing less and less; several of my friends who are active working in civil rights refuse to attend anymore because of the inappropriate "awakening" nature of past talks when a deeper analytic understanding and intellectual committment was called for. Finally, a speaker in our daily ten minute assembly started his talk yesterday by saying that he was <u>not</u> going to talk about civil rights, and the audience cheered.

2) The school year is coming to an end, and papers and exams are on everyone's mind along with the spring weather and the meadows. I didn't realize that exams at the two neighboring girls schools start during the week of the 18th, and here as well so soon after that. This again limits general response, and I don't want to waster your time and effort, particularly with the demonstration on the 18th, for a small crowd when a large turnout in the large chapel can be virtually assumed next fall when the events of the summer bring an increasing concern for understanding and analysis, when people here are fresh again. You would be perfect to start out a new year in furthering a broader committment to sustain our activities and general concern.

I will be in New York briefly this summer, and I hope a date can be arranged for a joint talk here with our neighboring schools. Thank you very much for your time and effort again, and I hope this hasn't been too inconveniencing.

Sincerely,

Fred L. Richardson

CITY OF NEW YORK
OFFICE OF THE MAYOR
NEW YORK 7, N.Y.

LESLIE SLOTE
ASSISTANT EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
TO THE MAYOR

May 13, 1964 RH

Mr. Bayard Rustin, Director
March for Democratic Schools
312 West 125th Street
New York City

Dear Mr. Rustin:

All arrangements have been made for the May 18th Rally here at City Hall.

As I informed you, the Mayor will be in West Virginia on Monday and he has designated as his representative on the speakers platform, Mr. Stanley H. Lowell, Chairman of the New York City Commission on Human Rights.

If you have any last minute problems, call me at 566-5511.

Sincerely,

Leslie Slote

Leslie Slote

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
CHICAGO 37 · ILLINOIS
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY
1126 EAST 59TH STREET

May 15, 1964

Dear Bayard:

Thanks once more for a truly outstanding lecture. The students were greatly simulated and deeply moved. Coverage in the University newspaper was quite good, as the enclosed shows.

Please let us know if you had to travel by first class, and if possible let us have the receipt. If not, let us know in any case and we will cover the difference somehow.

Best of luck on Monday's demonstration and in all your continuing work.

Sincerely,

Don

Don Levine

MARCH FOR DEMOCRATIC SCHOOLS

MEMORANDUM ON CIVIL RIGHTS CRISIS

525 copys

May, 1964

TO: Workers in the Civil Rights Movement

FROM: Bayard Rustin

Dear Friend:

Please forgive this abrupt note; I would have preferred to speak with you privately or to have sent you an individual typed note, but the press of organizing the March for Democratic Schools keeps me from phoning. I want to briefly discuss with you the importance of the May 18 demonstration, because I believe it has implications far beyound those of any previous demonstration.

There is no need, I know, to lecture you about the current crisis in the Civil Rights Movement. Yet I don't want us to lose sight of the fact that between the so-called militant black leadership and the leaders of "Parents and Taxpayers" (I don't for a minute equate the two, however) stand real people--black and white. There are Negroes in Harlem and Bedford Stuyvesant craving unity and demanding better housing and schools, who in the last ten years have seen the ghetto deteriorate around them, who have lost jobs won during the Second World War and who see the possibility of their revolution ending in heartbreak, death and despair. There are white people of goodwill, wanting integration, but not knowing how to integrate and improve their city simultaneously, who think the Negro has a right to a job, but who know that automation is forcing them out of work. They support integration, but cannot fully empathize with the hopelessness and destructiveness of the ghetto.

I believe this demonstration on May 18th--and that is why I agreed to direct it--is a test of responsible leadership and a real opportunity for the masses to be heard. It is a test of those of us who stand for a movement based on solid program, and who believe that the Negro struggle can only succeed if hundreds of thousands of white people joint the fight for a better America.

We who have spoken about the need for white allies are being told, in no uncertain terms, to produce those allies. We know that frustration and hostility run so deep in the Negro community that unless we develop the program to sop up energy and anger, the man in the street will turn to rhetoric and violence. The challenge to us, as well as to white people of goodwill, is three-fold: to organize the man in the street so that we know his mood and needs; to channel those needs into creative programs and projects; and to produce victories, so that he can develop the perspective needed to continue

530 copys

the fight. An all black demonstration on May 18th can only strengthen the hand of the so-called militants who say "everyone be damned," and will allow those who silently sit by and watch PAT march to dismiss this fight as a battle between extremists. It is our philosophy that is on trial.

The crisis within the movement and the frustration of the Negro people reflect the objective situation. It is a period when we must have jobs for all, but can only get four plumbers on the job; when we must have economically integrated housing and can get only one Negro family out of 80 to live in low-cost housing. We must carefully select the area where victory is possible. It seems to me that we can win the school fight and begin from there to wage the larger battle. Our demand is simple; it has precedent, and most importantly, it can work. The Mayor can put the Board of Education, the civil rights leaders and the experts into continuous session. There is the brain-power and vision to develop a plan for quality integrated education.

One more word about Parents and Taxpayers and I will close: when 15,000 white people marched around City Hall, the Board of Education retrenched; Negroes said, "Ah, we knew it all the time," and the liberal movement in New York City lost the initiative. If that initiative is to be regained politically and spiritually, more of us must march on the 18th than PAT could possibly bring out.

I did not intend to go on at such length, but I do hope you will work as hard as the young people in this office to make May 18th an historic day. Please call me if you disagree, have any questions or would like to discuss the questions I have raised.

Sincerely,

Bayard Rustin

Bayard Rustin

k

Elsa Rael
141-34 73rd Terrace
Kew Gardens Hills, 67, N. Y.

June 4th, 1964

MR. BAYARD RUSTIN
Local 65
14 Astor Place
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Rustin,

Recently, I sent you a copy of a new freedom cantata called "A DAY AT SUMMER'S END". It was written to commemorate the Civil Rights March on Washington of last August 28th. Since so much of your dreams and life's work went into making that a most memorable of days, we wanted you to have a copy.

Now, we should like you to know that NBC - TV has videotaped a six minute segment from the work, to be shown on the KALEIDOSCOPE program (hosted by Godfrey Cambridge), July 5th at 3:00 PM. The soloists are Hilda Harris and Gilbert Price, the stars of Jericho Jim-Crow. We hope you'll watch.

When you get the time, won't you read it, and let us know what you think?

Sincerely yours,
Elsa Rael

ANVIL

Association of Negro Voice, Independance and Leadership

A Social Work, Civil Rights, Political and Business Organization

361 AVON AVENUE • Telephone: 242-5800 • NEWARK 8, NEW JERSEY

FRANCIS L. WARREN
Executvie Director

LEWIS MILES, II
Deputy Director

FRANCES E. JOHNSON
Deputy Director

June 5, 1964

Mr. Bayard Rustin
c/o Siloam Presbyterian Church
260 Jefferson Avenue
Brooklyn 16 New York

no!

Dear Mr. Rustin

Iam in the process of organizing a mass Civil Rights Rally here in Newark, New Jersey, on Sunday June 21, at 3:p.m. in the main auditorium of the South Side High School. The purpose of this rally will be to gain support and funds for the Civil Rights Parade that we are organizing for the 28, of June on Broad Street in Newark, New Jersey. The theme of the rally will be the Economic Emancipation of the Negro.

Iam requesting your support by being one of the guest speakers at the rally. If this is possible please contact me here at the office or by phoning me at home E.S.4-5186.

Please find enclosed an Anvil brochure explaining the Anvil program.

Very truly yours,
William Wheeler
William Wheeler
Associate Director
Anvil Division on
Civil Rights

"All The Charity In The World Cannot Compensate For Pride And Dignity"

UNITED STATES INFORMATION AGENCY
WASHINGTON

June 10, 1964

Dear Mr. Rustin:

The U. S. Information Agency would like to secure permission to rebroadcast material contained in the audio portions of BOOKS FOR OUR TIME (Non-Violent Resistance by M. K. Gandhi), telecast domestically over the facilities of WNDT-TV, Tuesday, June 9, 1964, from 7:30 to 8:30 PM. WNDT-TV is willing to make an audio tape available to us provided your consent and those of the other participants are obtained.

This would be used in connection with our Voice of America non-commercial broadcasts to and within world-wide areas, exclusive of the United States.

We are endeavoring to secure permissions from Mr. Louis Fischer and Mr. August Heckscher.

If permission can be granted, please be good enough to sign and return the attached copy of this letter. A self-addressed envelope, which requires no postage, is enclosed for your convenience.

Your kind cooperation will be gratefully appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

Evelyn Eisenstadt

Evelyn Eisenstadt, Chief
Rights Clearance Division

Enclosures:
As stated

Mr. Bayard Rustin
170 W. 130th Street
New York, New York

Mr. ~~or Mrs.~~ Richard B. Gregg
ROUTE 2, BOX 239A
McMINNVILLE, OREGON

June 6, 1964

Dear Bayard:

Here is an idea that might possibly be useful so I want to submit it to your judgement. It is whether or not the rats in the houses in Harlem and other slums could be made useful, turned from a horror into a help, for all slum dwellers.

Years ago when I lived in Boston I learned about a rat exterminator that was not a poison but a way of producing a kind of pneumonia that affected only rodents. It was a liquid bacterial culture that was put on bread or other food and left where the rats could find it. It would give them this special kind of pneumonia which they would take back to their nests and infect their families and other rats. Instead of dying in the walls and cellars they would seek the open for water ~~or~~ air and die outside the buildings. It was invented by some Scandinavian and was for a time anyhow, according ot the advertising literature, used extensively by the companies who owned and operated wharves and docks. I do not remember its name or the name of the company that made it. Whether it is still on the market and being used could be learned from the managers of wharves in N.Y.City or from vermin exterminating companies.

If it is being used, my idea is that the dwellers in Harlem houses could be organized to make a big demonstration before the headquarters or district stations of the N.Y, City sanitary Dept and demand that this exterminator be used in every house in Harlem. This is something concrete and affecting evryone. All the women and many of the men would be interested . The landlords are scattered but the Sanitation Dept is definately located. Maybe ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ rent strikes for eradication of rats might be used to make the landlords get after the Sanitaion Dept. Rats could be trapped and killed and a bunch of them dumped on the steps of the Sanitation Dept building. This could enlist all slum dwellers, not merely the Negroes and Puerto Ricans. If this exterminator is being used, the company that makes it would see a big oppprtunity for themselves and might be persuaded to make some big signs that could be carried by demonstrators. Slum dwellers in all the big cities could be induced to try the same tactics. If it works the demonstrators would gain a lot of self-confidence and morale and would be more willing to start other demonstrations. By being concrete and specific it would provide a specific channel for discontent to operate in and thereby make less likely the explosions of generalized wrath that are unlikely to result in concrete reforms or advance. Bundles of dead rats could be taken to the newspaper offices to provide dramatic evidence for news stories.

Each home could choose one of its members to represent it in organizing a demonstration

In general, do not let yourself be discouraged by any failures of specific demonstrations. All wars have local ~~xxxxx~~ battles that are defeats. Often a seeming defeat is not that but a help by CAUSING PEOPLE TO THINK MORE DEEPLY (my typewriter misbehaved just then; I did not intend those caps). That calls to mind one of the advantages of Gandhi's constructive program; it went on steadily regardless of the ups or downs of the political struggles, and strengthened the people at a level deeper than politics. My guess is that in America the equivalent of Gandhi's constructive program is education at all ages.

(over)

A big advantage of that biological control of the rats is that there is no danger of little children being poisoned, as would be the case if chemical rat poisons were left around.

This rat idea may be no good but I send it on for whatever it may be worth. If it is sound and available, it might be wise to find out the probable cost per building, compare that with some other costs, and thus let the Sanitation and Health departments know that this is a well thought out campaign. Maybe get careful estimates of the amount and cost of food the rats eat up every year and show that to the City Welfare Dept. Maybe some enterprising PhD student in some college could be induced to make a really careful study of the rat situation in New York or Harlem anyhow, and get it published. Or get such a study made for N.Y Times Sunday supplement. It could be made into a juicy horror story.

Anyhow this letter will serve to carry you my best wishes and continuing interest.

Affectionately,

Dick

P.S. Don't bother to answer this

International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers

Local 480 AFL-CIO

225 COLES STREET JERSEY CITY, NEW JERSEY

LEO H. SMITH, SR.
PRESIDENT

JOHN F. VEE
SHOP CHAIRMAN

OLDFIELD 6-8241-2

June 11, 1964

Mr. Bayard Rustin
340 West 28th Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Rustin:

Permit me to use this method to express my appreciation for your magnificent address to our people.

Your words were very timely and have left a lasting impression on those who were privileged to hear them.

With people like you fighting for our cause, we cannot fail.

Again, many many thanks.

Very truly yours,

Leo Smith Sr

Leo H. Smith, Sr.

LHS/gc

GLORIA JEFFRIES
TREASURER

SEYMOUR BROOMER
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June 16th

Dear Mr. Rustin,

Thank you for your participation in the opening program of the Age of Involvement series.
I think that we got the series off to a good start and much of this was due to you. The station has received some good comments on the show.
I have had the opportunity to listen to the tape and hope to develop myself and the series as we go along.
My respects to you.
I hope that you will consider appearing again.
Sincerely,

Dennis Wholey

Dennis Wholey

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JULIUS BERNSTEIN
Regional Director

June 22, 1964

Mr. Bayard Rustin
c/o Workers Defense League
112 E. 19th Street
New York 3, New York

Dear Bayard:

Fran Morrill, of our New York office, wrote to me indicating that you have "evidenced some concern over Noel Day". She asked me to write to you at this address. I can give you, at the present time, a limited amount of information concerning Noel, but if you are desirous of more details, I will make a strong effort to smoke out what more I can.

As an old Socialist who has tangled all too frequently with the Stalinists and fellow-travelers, I would be extremely suspicious of Noel if he were older. It is my impression that he is too young to have been involved in Progressive Party politics. Were it not for that fact, I would suspect that he was deeply involved in it and probably was taken into camp by the fellow-travelers. Aside from the certain indefinable feeling, I cannot help but wonder when he enthusiastically boosts the National Guardian, and when in the paper he did for S.D.S. on the Freedom Movement in Boston, he boosted Che Guevara's "On Guerilla Warfare" as one of the three best books on "grass-roots" organization.

He speaks frequently of the importance of the radical reconstruction of society on an economic basis in order to solve the problem of the Negro who must be led in the direction of real aspirations rather than the tinsel that the white middle-class aspires to. When Noel uses the phrase "social revolution", he means it in a much more basic sense than does some person who is considering the current drive for equality.

All of this, of course, does not add up to anything specific. In a sense, Noel may very well be merely a part of the current crop of young socialists coming onto the American scene. And my feelings may be merely those of the now older group that sees itself about to be displaced by new and younger elements with which it has not had any ties or contact. However, though I am aware of this possibility, I still cannot help but feel something just a little more that I cannot put my finger on, in Noel's case.

Anyhow, if you are concerned about this whole thing, I will dig as deeply as possible and send on to you anything else I can develop.

I presume you are aware of the fact that the people from PAX (Political Action for Peace - the organization that grew out of the Stuart Hughes campaign) played the key role in selling Noel on running for Congress against MacCormack as the person who could best dramatize within himself the inter-relationship of the issues of civil rights, peace and unemployment. Personally, I feel somewhat unhappy because while MacCormack is a hack and run-of-the-mill kind of guy, he does respond favorably whenever he is contacted, and generally has a "right" record on liberal and labor issues. It would have been much more valuable if Noel had attempted to take on someone like Joe Martin, who is always "wrong" on everything.

With best wishes,

Fraternally,

Julie

Julius Bernstein
Regional Director

cc - Fran Morrill

JB/bea
oeiu-6/afl-cio

P.S. It also occurs to me that somewhat along the same lines of being disquieting but not really proof of anything is the fact that Noel will frequently talk in terms of the fact that the Negro lives in the core city and could control the life of the city if he wanted to revolt. He also speaks frequently about blood in the streets, if the Negro's effort for equality is resisted. These references have been made before a variety of groups, usually a majority of those in attendance being whites who grow quite upset about his challenge in those terms. Whether his extreme talk is deliberate or not, I do not know.

Noel is also quite close and friendly with Truman Nelson, who considers himself an American grass-roots radical, but who I would say, quite bluntly, ties in with sectors of the communist movement.

Lastly, I understand that Noel's wife is in the Soviet Union for the summer on some kind of lecture program. I do not have any information as to who is behind it or what she's lecturing on.

Dear Mr. Rustin,

I am a neighbor of yours in bldg. 6A. During the last boycott I helped organize forty teachers at Seward Park High School to picket or stay out of school for the day. Because of the moral issues involved, most of us insisted that we lose the day's pay rather than merely call in sick. We were happy to do so because we supported, in spirit and act, the goals of the civil rights movement.

However, it is apparent in our school that the overwhelming majority who stayed out will not do so next time. Whether or not such reluctance to stay out is justified is really beside the point. Clearly, with reference to the teachers, the boycott will be a fizzle at our school.

What to do? Obviously you want the boycott to be successful. Take into consideration that if a school where so many teachers were courageous enough to stay out refuses to do so next time, perhaps this is characteristic of what most of the other 3500 will do. If it comes to another boycott, it might be a good idea to address yourself to what you expect of those teachers who are with you but not to the extent of staying out again and losing another day's pay.

Anyway, good luck. We shall overcome, I'm sure.

Sincerely,

Abraham A. Chiavetta
290 - 9th Ave.
OR5-3837

South Jamaica Chapter
108-34 New York Blvd.
Jamaica 33, N.Y.

RE.9-9472-1075

Mr. Baynard Rustin
Worker's Defense League
112 East 19 Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Rustin

We would like very much to express our thanks for your participation in our rally of June 11th.

We had an audience of over thirteen-hundred persons, a record turn-out for this area, and feel that this large response was, in a great part, due to your presence.

We feel that you have done a great service for our Chapter, as well as our community, and words cannot convey the appreciation that we feel.

Yours very truly

Franklin Anderson

Franklin Anderson

Stan Hamilton

Stan Hamilton

Roger Kahn

Roger Kahn

Andy Young

Andy Young

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Dear Friend:

If you have not already read the enclosed article, "The Invisible Americans," which appeared in a recent issue of the Saturday Evening Post, I am sure you will want to do so. We will be happy to send you additional copies to give to your friends, or we will send copies directly to them if you wish. An envelope is enclosed for your convenience in letting us know.

President Johnson in his State of the Union message on January 8th said:

> "...This Administration today, here and now, declares unconditional war on poverty in America, and I urge this Congress and all Americans to join with me in that effort....Our joint Federal-local effort must pursue poverty, pursue it wherever it exists...in sharecroppers' shacks or in migrant worker camps...among whites as well as Negroes...."

We are glad that we were able to assist the author of the Saturday Evening Post story in gathering his material. Our South Carolina field representative, in taking him about the state, introduced him to the Cooper family, whose bitter rural poverty is so vividly described. This is just one of the families about which the President was speaking and which the National Sharecroppers Fund is working to help throughout the South.

Knowledge of this misery in the midst of our nation's plenty is a first step toward eliminating it. Wide distribution of this article will help to spread the knowledge.

Sincerely yours,

Fay Bennett

Fay Bennett
Executive Secretary

fb:gh
encs.

Cor of
Apeals

Dear Mr. Rustin,

In case you may not recall, I met you briefly at the Democratic Convention last month. It was here that I approached you because I am puzzled about the forthcoming election.

After working with SNCC in Georgia earlier this year, I have gained a completely new vision of politics in this country, ranging from despair to distrust to disgust. I have told myself repeatedly that I will not vote for Johnson. However, your statement that we must support this man, "not that he may stand straight, but rather less crooked," truly intrigued me. I have been restlessly pondering over your statement. Could you explain more precisely what you meant? I am sure this would help me tremendously in making up my mind in this, my first, election.

expl

If, by chance, you have

any spare time in the near future, there is a "discussion group" in my home town, Lakewood, N.J. (about an hour and a half from N.Y.C.) that would be extremely interested in hearing you speak on the coming election. Should you decide to speak to these people, please contact: Mrs. Frances Sradnick
104 3RD St.
Lakewood, N.J.
area code 201
phone 363-1763

I might add that these young Negroes of Lakewood desperately need a speaker like you, as the NAACP and other conservative elements have a tight noose around their necks, which is getting tighter every day.

Anxiously awaiting your reply,

Sincerely

Jack Heyman

JACK HEYMAN
217 W. FOSTER AVE.
APT. 4
STATE COLLEGE, Pa.

TEACHERS FORUM

305 East 91st Street, N.Y.C.; Jan. 1964

"EXPERTS" VS RANK-AND-FILE WHO SHOULD DETERMINE UNION POLICY

by Henry Addis

Every successful progressive movement in history has its heroic period--a time in which great changes take place through the direct actions of great masses of people. The UFT is no exception to this norm. Our heroic period, and it was one, was the time of the two great strikes without which this union could not have been built.

But it is also an axiom of history that the heroic period is often followed by one of quite a different character. The UFT is no stranger to this process either. The initial creative explosion consumated, men and women tire of the chaos of that period, group needs recede before concern for the ever-present private needs. And this change in focus is inevitably accompanied by changes in the new institution, forged in the earlier period. The new period appears to require a change in the character of the leadership. The situation now calls for leaders who offer "order" instead of chaos, experts who can substitute for the rank-and-file and offer the pursuit of "practical," "attainable" ends, all for the small price of monthly dues. RESPONSIBLE militancy is the catchword of the leaders of the post-heroic period.

Naturally, these new-style leaders cannot completely disown the past. The old leaders and old events become icons. While offering "sane, practical, moderate leadership," the regime at the same time properly celebrates the old days in print and on holiday occasions. Meanwhile they get down to the business of "responsible" trade unionism.

But just as the pressure and involvement of the rank-and-file were responsible for the creation of the union (it is common knowledge that they and not the official leaders were responsible for the decisive show-down struggles) so it is the rank-and-file and not the apparatus, the expert, all knowing machine, which is clearly indis-

(Continued on page two)

A PROPOSAL FOR AN ALLIANCE TO ACHIEVE SCHOOL INTEGRATION

by Stephen Zeluck

In extreme situations, the wise child therapist teaches that "love is not enough." Similarly, it cannot be forgotten that today, the desegregated school is also not enough -- that is, the goals of integration are no longer achievable simply be desegregation.

Just as "separate but equal" schools cannot by their very nature be truly equal, so a physically desegregated school cannot be a genuinely integrated one without vastly increased equality of educational opportunity and quality education. (For our purposes the two are substantially synonymous since quality education would certainly constitute a giant step toward equal educational opportunity.)

The UFT, as a professional union, has an obligation to both its members and the children to advocate and implement a program for both integration and quality education. To shirk that responsibility would constitute a cowardly surrender of leadership on the single most important issue facing teachers and the union today.

What are the elements of such a program, and more important, how can it be achieved?

Naturally, simple physical desegregation itself is the first step, the sine qua non for educational quality. No matter how otherwise attractive any plan may be, without desegregation, we are left with nothing but a separate-but-equal school. Fortunately, however, among most people committed to integration, there is large-scale agreement. The UFT's Human Relations Committee proposals (listed elsewhere in this issue) would be an acceptable point of departure.

Nor is the situation very much different in the search for educational quality. Here it seems undeniable that the single, most fundamental, most indispensable policy must be a drastic cut in class size. Not the nominal reductions "fought" for so far, and not face-saving smoke-screens which the Board of Education has advanced.

There is no need to expand upon the educational advantages of smaller class size. By one formula such as cutting class size in half whereever the reading level (for example) is two years behind the norm, we take a giant step toward both making quality teaching possible, and integration meaningful. HOWEVER, REDUCED CLASS SIZE HAS ONE OTHER SIGNIFICANCE WHICH IS MOST DECISIVE. For the reduction of class size is the one issue which could unite the immediate and long-run interest of teachers, the civil rights movement, and all parents, black and white (especially those understandably reluctant to send their children into the present sub-standard schools of Harlem). IT THEREFORE HAS THE GREAT ADVANTAGE OF MEETING TWO INSEPARABLE NEEDS -- QUALITY INTEGRATED EDUCATION, AND PROVIDING A COMMON PROGRAM FOR THOSE FORCES WHICH MAKE A SUCCESSFUL EFFORT POSSIBLE.

(Continued on page two)

WE BELIEVE

This newsletter is published by a group of AFT teachers, the TEACHERS FORUM, in response to a steadily deepening crisis in the union. We believe that the UFT, like most unions, is increasingly afflicted with the diseases of bureacracy.

The sources of this sickness in the union are not, in the view of the Teachers Forum, a mere matter of personnel. They lie much deeper.

The Forum is convinced that the goals of the union can be realized only if the union recognizes its responsibilities in areas far beyond such immediate bread and butter issues as salary. Action on civil rights, and on other "political" issues is a legitimate and necessary function of our union.

To find the way by which the union can express its original vision, vitality and democracy is the task to which the Teachers Forum is dedicated.

For these reasons, the Forum believes that the health and future of the union demand the widest, freest discussion of all problems confronting the union, with no holds barred.

If this publication has any purpose, it is to facilitate this vital discussion.

THE EDITORS

"Experts" (cont.)

pensable whenever the union is called on for a genuine advance. Faced with a real test, -- the leadership's expertise collapses; its "victories" turn hollow, and in panic it turns to the only place it can -- the membership.

We in the UFT have had overwhelming confirmation of this process in two recent crises of the post "contract" negotiations.

Stuck with its own proclamation of "victory" in September, and a cancellation of those gains in November, the expert generals, the new bureaucrats, turned to the membership and asked us to save them, by the severest weapon in our arsenal -- the strike call. For this drastic reversal there had been no preparation, no building up of events, no education of the membership. Instead they continued to insist that "We Won," that there was a contract, that "we must trust our experts." All to no avail. In the showdown, as always, came the frantic call of the leaders to the soldiers -- "HELP!" We helped, and took them off the precipice. But the teachers paid a price for this reliance on the machine. The "victory" of September became the non-so-great victory of November; a promising preamble (the essence of our "victory") was totally negated by a post script. Nevertheless, we, the rank-and-file, saved our union from the even more humiliating defeat made possible by our not-so-efficient experts.

Has the leadership learned? Will they spare us new crises? Recent events indicate that this is not the case. For, barely out of one crisis, the union, together with the whole school system, has now been plunged into still another. Threatened by a boycott in February by thousands of Negro children, our leadership gives pious lip-service to civil rights, and performs the symbolic rites necessary for those who want to avoid the problem. But once again, it fails to inform the membership, solicit its opinions, and act in terms of its decisions.

As we face the crisis coming to a head in a matter of weeks, there has been no discussion organized in the school chapters, no discussion in the union's legislative body, the D.A. Needless to day, this failure to consult the membership has not prevented the leadership from issuing policy statements in the name of the union.

If this undemocratic method is persisted in, we may be certain that the union will shortly be faced with nothing less than a crisis of catestrophic proportions.

It is in view of these facts and tendencies in our union that the TEACHERS FORUM presents here a summary of the proposals on integrated education adopted by the UFT's Human Relations Committee. This is an official committee of the union, but its conclusions have not been presented to our membership. WHY?

These proposals do not necessarily reflect the opinions of the Teachers Forum, but the fact that this document should be the property of the UFT, and not just its leaders, makes its presentation essential.

We believe every phase of this problem and of every other problem faced by the union must be thoroughly discussed by the membership, which, in the final analysis bears the responsibility for union policy.

We demand the most open, organized discussion of this problem in the chapters and in the DA. Life will not permit us the dubious luxury and comfort of depending on experts. We must reclaim our union!

"Proposal" (cont.)

No doubt, there are many problems in implementing this proposal. But in view of the enormous gains, they appear to be manageable problems and not insuperable obstacles. Above all, we must face the fact that without this step all others are but palliatives.

Unfortunately, with the enunciation of a program, our real problems have just begun. For the major obstacle to quality education is not primarily the lack of a program, a failure to understand what should be done. It is rather the lack of courage, the lack of will to accept the steps necessary to the attainment of a goal of such magnitude and scope. (The cost of reducing class size alone would be about $100,000,000).

It must be apparent that the attainment of such an objective would require an extraordinary effort for which the forces of the UFT alone are inadequate. Nothing less than a powerful movement, headed and inspired by the UFT, could possibly hope to be successful.

Fortunately, we are not alone. Such a movement is, today, for the first time, more than possible. For in addition to the civil rights movement, and aroused parents, it is possible to involve a most powerful force with a great stake in quality education, the organized labor movement. In addition to the fact that it is under great pressure to move ahead on civil rights, the labor movement has its own pressing reasons for supporting the cause of quality education. For we must not forget that, next to the minority groups, it is working class youth who suffer most from low quality education. It is among these youth that unemployment ranges as high as 25%. Faced with the new demands of automation, they are trained in obsolete skills which utterly fail to prepare them for their industrial futures. THESE FORCES, ALLIED, COULD CONSTITUTE AN UNBEATABLE COALITION. IT IS THE DUTY OF THE UFT TO ORGANIZE THAT COALITION. THE QUALITY OF ITS LEADERSHIP WILL BE MEASURED BY THE DEGREE TO WHICH IT ACCEPTS AND FULFILLS THIS, ITS MOST IMPORTANT SINGLE RESPONSIBILITY TODAY.

But such a movement, naturally could not be limited to the program outlined. Every teacher knows the effect of rat-infested housing and demoralizing unemployment upon the family life and learning readiness of the child. The persistance of these conditions has a direct bearing upon true integration. The movement envisaged here would therefore naturally concern itself with these issues as well.

We will be told that these proposals are utopian. No. It is not we who are being utopian. THE REAL UTOPIANS ARE THOSE WHO ACCEPT THE NEED FOR QUALITY EDUCATION AND INTEGRATION, BUT BELIEVE THAT THESE ENDS ARE ATTAINABLE WITHOUT ENORMOUS MASS STRUGGLES AND CONFLICTS. These people are seeking the easy road to progress. However, by traditional routine methods we shall never advance beyond token integration and token quality in education. If our really modest proposals are unrealistic, utopian, then the very goals we all profess are themselves utopian and unrealistic. And if the situation of the Negro in America and in the schools does not change qualitatively and dramatically, we can expect nothing less than accelerated moral decay which must engender a climate in which self-justification leads inevitably to full-blown racism. Only a success, for which this grand coalition is indispensable, can prevent this catastrophe.

SUMMARY OF UFT Human Relations Committee Recommendations on School Integration

1. Redistrict school boundaries
2. Adopt the Princeton Plan
3. Gear school building plans to the needs of integration
4. Heterogeneous class grouping
5. More Negro and Puerto Rican Administrators
6. Reevaluate licensing and hiring policies to encourage entry of Negro and Puerto Rican teachers.
7. Teachers training courses on integration, Negro history, etc.
8. New text books geared to the special needs of NYC students.
9. Work with other civic groups to further integration.

DEMOCRACY -
Word and Deed

The letters below constitute, in our view, a significant comment on the state of democracy in our union.

Herb Jurist, a UFT district leader in Queens, invited Al Shanker, UFT Secretary, to speak at a district meeting. The Mr. Addis referred to in the letters, is a union teacher from Bayside High who was also scheduled to speak.

Nov. 13, 1963

Dear Mr. Jurist:

Before making any commitment on whether to debate on the topic you have indicated, I would like to know whether Mr. Addis favors a rejection of the contract.

Also, if I were to appear, I would be representing the UFT. Which organization does Mr. Addis represent?

Fraternally,
Al Shanker

Nov. 27, 1963

Dear Mr. Shanker:

In reply to your letter of November 13 in reference to an invitation to participate in a debate on the contract with Henry Addis, a few remarks are in order.

You stated in your letter that if you were to appear, you "would be representing the UFT. Which organization does Mr. Addis represent?" The above comment is not only a slur to Mr. Addis, but to a large part of the membership. The inference in your comment is clear, i.e. that there is only one point of view which is to be tolerated in the UFT, and that is the point of view that you represent. You imply that all other points of view are divisive, disloyal and therefore outside the organization.

In such an organization as the UFT there are many points of view, as there should be in any viable group, and more especially in an union. For an elected official of the UFT to deny this is a serious commentary on democracy in our union. The lack of recognition of varying viewpoints has caused the vitality of many unions to be sapped. One way to avoid this is to expose the members to real alternatives.

Therefore, I would like to again extend an invitation for your participation in a debate with Mr. Addis on "The Contract and the Future of the UFT" at a District meeting to be held Friday, December 6th in JHS 59Q, Springfield Gardens, New York. Mr. Addis will present another point of view in regards to the contract.

Fraternally,

Herbert Jurist
District Chairman,
50 Queens

THE TEACHERS' FORUM

January 1964

Editorial Committee:
Henry Addis, Phyllis Dolgin,
Sid Morrison, Mark Uberman

Address: Teachers' Forum
305 West 91st Street
New York 24, N.Y.

"D O N ' T B E A S C A B..."

is what we told others when we planned our own picket-lines not so long ago.

Now the leaders of the Civil Rights movement (and almost all of them ARE supporting the boycott plans) are forming THEIR picket lines in their own search for dignity and equality.

WHAT ATTITUDE SHOULD PRINCIPLED UNION TEACHERS TAKE TO THIS ACTION?

WILL RESPECTING THE LINE VIOLATE OUR CONTRACT?

Hundreds of unions have no-strike clauses in their contracts but this clause has never been an obstacle to respecting the picket lines of other unions. There is abundant legal precedent for this view. It is not the UFT which is calling for or establishing the picket lines in front of the schools, and therefore, as a union, we can not be held responsible for them.

"BUT THIS IS NOT A UNION PICKET LINE."

True. But isn't the principle behind respecting picket-lines in essence a way of showing solidarity with fighters against injustice? Those who cross the lines of the civil rights movement are demonstrating that in the struggle for justice in the USA today they think civil rights are less important than union rights.

IS THIS BOYCOTT ACTION REALLY NECESSARY?

Were the UFT's strikes necessary? Has not our own experience taught us that the Board never yields except to militant action? The concessions the Board has already made, inadequate as they are, were made only in response to the threat of action.

The boycott may not be the most effective way to attain civil rights -- not because it is too drastic, but because a course of action planned together with the union and other forces would have greater chance of success. But as things stand today, the Civil Rights movement (tired of friends who pay lip service to its cause) has decided to press its demands in this way. The issue now therefore becomes, all talk aside, "ARE YOU WITH US OR AGAINST US?" It's easy for us to be for integration in Mississippi. Here in New York, the way in which teachers can demonstrate concretely "Which side are youon?" is by respecting the picket-line of the civil rights movement on February 3rd.

STAND UP AND BE COUNTED FOR FREEDOM.

PUT THE FOLLOWING MOTION TO THE FLOOR:

MOTION -- That it is the sense of this assembly that in the interest of education and civil rights, teachers should respect the picket lines on February 3rd.

T E A C H E R S F O R U M

Dear Mr. Bayard Rustin,

I was very glad to meet you in New York, but both times we met in a party and could not talk much. Now, after your successful school boycott, I hope you are having a good rest.

We are now on a speaking tour in New England. From here, we are going to Georgia and the South. We will be there in 3rd & 4th weeks of February. You told me in NY that you would write to Martin Luther King. Did you write him? We would very much like to meet him. I want to write an article about the nonviolent approach of the civil rights movement. I will be very happy and grateful if you can send me some pictures of civil rights demonstrations in New York. I want a photograph of you also (over)

Please send so I can use them with my article for the Bhoodan paper.

I know that you are very busy, but still, if you can answer my letter (at the adress of NY (NVA) I will apprecate it very greatly.

Yours sincerely,

Satish Kumar

GOOD FRIDAY :— MARCH 27th

Marble Arch—11 a.m.
Edgware Road,
Kingsbury Road—tea break,
Kenton Road.

Disperse at Northwick Park and Kenton tube stations.

EASTER SATURDAY :— MARCH 28th

Phase 1—March :—
Kenton Road—11 a.m.
Lowlands Road,
Roxeth Green,
Eastcote Lane,
Ruislip Base.

Phase 2—Picket along the road outside the base.

Phase 3—Hang reclamation notices on outside of base perimeter fence and obstruct the entrances.

Phase 4—Attempt non-violently to enter and reclaim the base for peaceful purposes. Fix reclamation notices on to the property inside the base and remain there for two hours. (The obstruction and picket will also last two hours.)

PARTICIPATION IN ANY PHASE OF THE PROJECT IS WELCOMED

EASTER MONDAY :— MARCH 30th

Mass march in central London organised by the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament.

Members of the London Committee of 100:

Nathan Adler, Peter Allen, Pat Arrowsmith, Angela Aspinwall, Dudley Barker, Manny Blankett, Nick Bohm, John Brailey, Doug Brewood Jnr., Wendy Butlin, Jane Buxton, George Cabutti, Terry Chandler, Chris Cowley, Robin Davis, Rosemary Dean, Peggie Denny, Ian Dixon, Janice Edmunds, Roger Etherington, Kathleen Farr, Tommy Farr, Peter Fenbow, John French, Wyn Gardner, Adam Gielgud, Roland Gummer, Richard Harvey, Richard Headicar, Bill Holdsworth, Ian Hutchinson, Bertram Izzatt, Jimmy Jewers, Brenda Jordan, Brian McGee, Hazel McGee, Fred Borel, Peter Moule, Tony Murphy, Mark Newnes, Jay Nightingale, Pat O'Connell, Inge Oscarsson, Andrew Papworth, John Papworth, Shirley Parsons, John Pugh, Jim Radford, Nick Ralph, Inez Randall, Ernest Rodker, Sydney Roper, Michael Scott, Colin Seal, Diana Shelley, Barbara Smoker, Tony Smythe, Brenda Stanway, Charles Stimpson, Cynthia Taylor, David Thomas, Harvey Tripp, Peter Turner, Jan Vink, Nick Walter, Ruth Walter, Ken Weller.

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RUISLIP ACTION —EASTER 1964

We live in a hair-trigger world. The slightest political miscalculation or technical error can start World War III. A small local crisis in any part of the world can embroil us all in thermo-nuclear war and lead to mass annihilation.

The Test Ban Treaty removes none of these dangers. It has not even been signed by some of the major powers.

The world is endangered by De Gaullism and the deteriorating relations between the USSR and China. The slight thaw in relations between the USA and USSR is counterbalanced by the dreadful growing tendency towards proliferation of nuclear weapons. This gravely increases our peril.

NO CHOICE

At the General Election we shall be offered no real choice over "defence" policy. All three major political parties are firmly committed to relying on the nuclear "deterrent". Those who believe that the issues of war and peace are the supreme issues of our time, and that the so-called nuclear deterrent is both gravely fallible from the strategic and political point of view and morally indefensible, will in effect be disenfranchised. WE CANNOT RELY ON POLITICAL PARTIES. WE MUST TAKE ACTION OURSELVES.

RADICAL ACTION

By taking radical action this Easter against nuclear war preparations we can show the people of Britain and the people of the world that we will not stay meek and quiet while our rulers are jeopardising the continued existence of life on this planet.

The countries of the NATO and Warsaw Alliances are still preparing to commit genocide. We say that governments do not have the right to gamble with our lives in this way.

OUR RESPONSIBILITY

We are appealing to ordinary people in every country to take the future into their own hands. Since it is the responsibility of all of us to stop war preparations being made in our names, before it is too late, we are calling for mass non-violent resistance to nuclear weapons this Easter.

THE ACTION

The London Committee of 100 is planning a new style "Aldermaston March" to the U.S.A.F. H.Q. at Ruislip. This march will culminate in a non-violent attempt to reclaim the base for peaceful purposes. (The Scottish Committee of 100 is organising a similar attempt to reclaim Rosyth NATO base.) On Easter Monday the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament is organising a march on London, the seat of governmental power. The Committee's action will be aimed at an equally important seat of power: an Air Force base. The two marches will be complementary.

The British Easter Marches of the past six years have encouraged movements abroad to organise similar marches. The Committee believes that the Ruislip Action may help to stimulate radical action against nuclear war preparations in other more authoritarian countries.

THE BASE

Ruislip is the administrative headquarters of the USAF in Britain and contains the central offices and supply depot. An intensive local campaign is being mounted during the months preceding the demonstration. It will aim to harness local opposition to the base into meaningful protest action.

Please tear off and return now to:

London Committee of 100, 13 Goodwin Street, N.4. ARC 1239

I can join in some phase of the Ruislip Action, please send me full briefing documents .....

I can assist the Ruislip local campaign and would like details about it .....

I can offer transport for use with the march ..... (type)

I can offer accommodation for ..... marchers on Friday night .....

Saturday night .....

I cannot arrange my own accommodation and will need it in London on

Friday night ..... Saturday night .....

I can help the project in some other way ..... (please specify)

Name..... Phone No. (home)..... (work).....

Address .....

I enclose £ : s. d. towards the cost. (We need at least £500.)

Reprints of this leaflet available at 4/- per 100, 30/- per 1,000.